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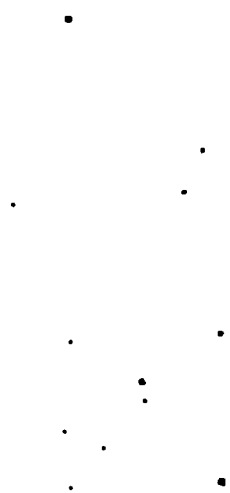
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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW.

MDCCCXLVII.

JANUARY—JUNE.

501

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστη τῶν αἵρεσέων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἀποιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το ἙΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι. — CLEM ALEX. *Sermon*. L. I.

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1847.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JANUARY, 1847.

ART. I.—*History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, by the British Parliament.* By Thomas Clarkson. A new Edition. London: 1839.

‘WE live,’ it is said, ‘in a degenerate age. The times are become mercantile and prosaic. Utilitarianism has swallowed up all ardent aspirations; all high resolve; all deeds of honour, and renown. Chivalry is dead. History, whose office it was, in the world’s youth to record sublime sentiments and sublimer actions is degraded to the functions of a gazetteer. The lines are fallen to us, in places comfortable and convenient indeed, but far too level to be romantic. A smooth but monotonous plain imprisons us, making but poor amends by its ease and inglorious safety, for the wild magnificence of mountain scenery,—the rocks, torrents, waterfalls, and woods, through which we have pursued hitherto our perilous way, and which now shew but as a dim line in the remote perspective. Our footsteps are more facile, but our spirits droop. We have fewer obstacles, but we languish for want of something great, upon which the eye may rest with reverence. Even danger is better than insipidity, and we would rather suffer from terror than ennui. A precipice is grander than a flat.’

This is not the language merely of sickly sentimentalists, or of circulating library devotees. A similar lament is uttered by many a man whose fervid imagination is yet tempered by a masculine understanding, and sufficient knowledge of the world. From philosophers, who like Carlyle, profess hero-worship, and hate ‘flunkeyism;’ from the ranks of a clergy too refined, if not too religious, to amalgamate with the commercial tendencies of

the age ; from the younger scions of the aristocracy, who are not yet cramped with the cares, nor corrupted with the false maxims of a fading political system, may frequently be heard the fervent and, we doubt not, the sincere expression of regret, that, the present is an era, which deals, as they think, in nothing more august than party squabbles, cabinet intrigues, stock, calico, and steam. Carlylism, and Young Englandism, are but two forms of that passion for the sublime, which has not been wholly wanting to any generation of our race. Not finding food for this craving among the living, our modern votaries of grandeur are compelled to search for it among the dead. On the one hand is revived the spirit of the puritan protector, as the last hero, who was not sham, and as one whose religion, it seems, may be pardoned for the sake of those rare accompaniments of piety, a usurped sceptre, and a warrior's success. On the other hand appear the grim ghosts of baronial and sacerdotal feudalism, with their majestic accessories, despotic power, solemn rites, time-worn castles, gothic abbeys, and all the pageantry of knight, priest, and king, during the middle ages. The ideas with which all these objects are associated, however different, have their common source in a reverence for human greatness. They spring alike from a sentiment, which because it is disgusted with the ignoble present, turns mournfully to the past, and exclaims, 'there were giants in those days.'

We are not of those who regard such regrets as wholly fanciful. There *has* come upon us, in these last times, a decay of much that the world calls greatness—of much even that deserves the name. Military glory is all but extinct. Thirty years of peace have dispelled, in a great measure, that enormous delusion which induced our forefathers to bestow the highest honours upon the most extensive and most successful slaughter. Men have at length detected beneath its disguise of frippery and feathers, the gaunt and murderous demon which has so long lured the nations into mutual massacre. The cries of mangled multitudes have at length drowned the fanfaronades of the trumpet, and the rattle of the drum. The smoke of the battle is dispersed, and the dead hosts, whose bones innumerable are whitening the earth, exhort us, with a silence more eloquent than words, to wage war no more. We awake as from a ghastly dream, at the approach of morning. We awake, and find one long-worshipped idol of humanity prostrate in the dust. Beside it lies decrepid despotism, as bloody, as hideous, though once almost as fondly worshipped. Power, whether to kill or to oppress, by losing its vitality, has lost its charms; and ere the last great commander has been carried to the grave, or the last

thrones of absolutism are overthrown, mankind has come to venerate force no longer as an embodiment of the sublime.

But things more glorious than military or monarchical power, have suffered a decline. The triumphs of genius are on the wane. Poetry is silent, or, if she sings at all, it is in accents which contrast meanly with the solemn sweetness of her earlier days. Painting and sculpture exist only in a few fading canvasses and mutilated marbles, which serve to show what the ancients could, and what their successors cannot, accomplish. Music has survived to a later period; but Beethoven, *ultimus Romanorum*, has left none behind him worthy to unloose the shoe-latchets of his predecessors, Handel, Hadyn, or the old Italian masters. Oratory cannot boast of a happier fate. In England, its last refuge, have appeared and departed its last exemplars, Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and Burke. Philosophy and science still live, it is true, but shorn of much of their ancient grandeur. Abandoning the mine of discovery as too deep, or as quite exhausted, they excavate no new systems, bring to light no startling revelations, but content themselves with the useful, though humbler, task of elaborating, combining and applying their rich inheritance of knowledge, derived from a succession of more inventive ages. Statesmanship, too, has lost its strength and dignity. It seems scarcely able to do anything but yield. It deals less in government than in contrivances how to recede before popular opinion with safety, and a sufficiently decorous slowness. Look which way he will, the hero-worshipper is justified in adopting the lamentation of inspired wisdom, 'All is vanity and vexation of spirit.'

There is, however, a brighter side of the picture. Science, if it furnishes no heroes, has done much to compensate for the lack of heroism. The improvements and reproductive powers of modern engineering, if they evince no super-human qualities of living genius, at least serve to scatter the fruits of departed genius with unlimited profusion over the whole earth, and make all mankind partakers of those treasures, which were, till now, the exclusive property of a few. Shakspeare and Milton, Bunyan and Defoe, are now brought within the reach of the artisan. The humblest student of art has access to cheap casts from ancient sculpture, and to cheap engravings from Raffaele and Michael Angelo. Handel's notes find a place in every apartment, and the millions are taught to sing his angelic chorusses. The thoughts, the learning, the philosophy, the devotion, the mind, in short, of past ages, has been so reduplicated, that 'he who runs may read them.' To this increased intercourse between mind and mind, has been added an almost magical accession to the means of communication between man and man. The obstacles

of time and distance are half annihilated, and remote continents embrace each other. The days spoken of by the prophet appear to have arrived when 'nations run to and fro, and knowledge is increased.' Commerce, escaping from its chains, becomes an additional bond of union. All barriers against a universal brotherhood are falling down, and all the world is invited and enabled to participate in a common feast of mental and material abundance. Thus, while in one respect the age has retrograded, in another it advances with gigantic strides. If society be more level than formerly, it stands upon a greater altitude. Prodigies disappear, but humanity rises. *The* men are less, but man is greater than in the heroic ages.

That aggregate development is the cause of individual dwarfishness, it is not now our object to demonstrate. It is enough for our purpose to remark, that, they occur together, and that the one far more than compensates for the other. In the general and equable illumination of the growing day, there is no need to regret the watch-fires that glared through mediæval darkness, or the sky rockets that ever and anon amazed the twilight of two centuries ago. Young England, however, does not think so. Contrast, one source of the sublime, imparts to those fitful gleams a charm, which the serene sunshine of the present age does not, in his estimate, possess. The achievements of the last fifty years surpass, indeed, in magnitude and value, those of any former generation. But they are the work of associations, not of heroes. As might have been expected in an era of mediocrity, men unite their forces, and a committee supplies the place of Hercules. As the steam engine has supplanted genius, so the labours of societies have eclipsed individual effort. Now your true hero-worshipper does not relish the substitution. He lacks his demi-god. The honour of the act has to be shared among so many agents, that he is at a loss to discover any single one worthy of his prostrate adoration.

But the imagination is not deprived of its appropriate object, even amidst what appear to many, the trivialities of our modern work-a-day world. Our achievements, as will be universally admitted, are vast; is not their accomplishment sublime? If there be a marked disparity between the agents and the act, is not this precisely a reason for referring its origin and its success the more exclusively to an unseen and Divine power? And do we not, in fact, observe, that, in exact proportion to the decay of individual genius and force, there has grown up a tendency to recognise the hand of Omnipotence, as the guide and controller of the events and transactions of the earth? Even men, not professedly religious, while gazing sometimes in bewilderment, sometimes with admiration at the rapid progress of

modern reform, marvellous as it is in comparison with its immediate and obvious causes, are beginning dimly to perceive and to acknowledge a mysterious and hitherto unnoticed Providence, disappointing the contrivances of statesmen, perfecting strength out of very humble and feeble instruments, and inducing results the most stupendous, from sources the most unlooked for and despised. Devout men, who of course have no hesitation in ascribing this influence directly to its source, are called upon more frequently than hitherto, with reverent astonishment, to exclaim, 'It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.' God goes to and fro upon the earth, not, indeed, more certainly, but more visibly, than he has done for many an age. Terrestrial glory wanes, but the glory of the celestial is exalted. The idol is withdrawn, that the Deity may appear. Genius fades, heroes vanish away, in order that worship may be paid exclusively to Him in whose presence all human greatness is less than nothing.

It is not a merely casual coincidence, that associated labour, which is more calculated than individual prowess to bring glory to God in the highest, is also better adapted to produce peace on earth, and good will to men. The very reason which makes a copartnership so contemptible in the eyes of a hero-worshipper, makes it a more humble and therefore a more beneficent instrument in the Divine hand. A society, the honour of whose success is to be shared among many, has a tendency to stimulate men whose attention is fixed rather on the end than on the means; on the contrary, ambition, the mainspring of heroism, is that form of selfishness which aims by great actions to make the instrument illustrious. It is from this cause that genius sheds so much less warmth than light, and, that this light glows so frequently with a lurid splendour. It is from this cause that the magnificent operations of isolated power have so often been directed, rather to the desolation than to the improvement of mankind. On the other hand, combinations, even in their most terrible and perverted forms, are at least curative. Revolutions are medicinal; and the reign of terror itself, it may now be seen, was a wild tempest sent to purify the air. But it is only when repudiating physical force, and in conjunction with exclusively moral agency, that the principle of confederation shines with its peculiar and appropriate lustre. Under these circumstances it seems to combine all the good qualities of human exertion, purity of motive, steadiness of action, courage, constancy, and skill; and to be exempt from many of the defects which attach so frequently to individual effort. The rapid march of events has brought these opposite agencies and their effects into almost immediate contrast. On one page of

history are inscribed, in bloody characters, the ravages of a Napoleon thirsting for universal conquest ; the next records the triumphs of a league instituted to sow broadcast among the nations, those economical truths in which lie wrapped up the seeds of universal peace.

The grandeur of our age, then, does not consist in the ensanguined victories of the warrior, the might of monarchs, the subtleties of statesmen, the winged words of oratory, or the creations of poetic or artistic skill, but in those organizations for the advancement of religious and social reform, which have taken root, and flourished, and borne fruit, in such rich abundance within the last few years, and which we may without presumption assume, to be the appointed instruments for the regeneration of the human race. They are happily adapted to the spirit and genius of the gospel ; and even where the object proposed by them is not, in a strict sense, religious, it is rarely that Christianity has not reason to sympathize with their efforts, and rejoice at their success. Heroism has been superseded by a power more lowly in appearance, but more majestic, as well as more effective in reality, whose achievements, however marvellous, are at the same time far less likely to minister to the vain-glory of man, or to derogate from the honour due to the Most High.

No better example can be found of the value of associated action—of its beneficent influence—of the hopes it warrants us to cherish, than that furnished by the work whose title is prefixed to this article, and the labours of its illustrious author. The abolition of the slave trade, and the name of Thomas Clarkson, would suffice to dignify an era. That the glory of the cause eclipses the renown of the advocate, is a circumstance which sheds an especial lustre upon the great man whose loss we have lately been called upon to deplore. It is because the abolition was a work evidently of providential origin, and indebted to providential interference for its success ; it is because in an undertaking too vast to be accomplished by individual effort, Clarkson was ready to become one of a band actuated rather by motives of philanthropy than the desire of fame ; it is because he was found willing, with child-like humility, ardent zeal, and untiring perseverance, to adapt himself to a machinery which he did not exclusively originate, and to elaborate results of which he was not to have all the praise, that his memory is endeared to this generation, and is entitled to go down to posterity, with that of the greatest benefactors of mankind.

As the best tribute that we can render to the memory of Clarkson, we shall offer to our readers a brief review of his 'History of the Abolition of the Slave-trade.' By this course

we propose to ourselves two objects : the first, that of giving as complete a view of the character, motives, and merits of the man, as is compatible with our limits ; for the history depicts emphatically what constitutes the life of the author—his exalted aim—his early self-dedication—his unflinching self-sacrifice : the second, that of telling an entertaining story ; for the narrative, which is one of a voyage of philanthropic discovery in an untried bark upon an untraversed sea, has, however old, the charm which always attaches to the annals of enterprise, especially when the annalist is a faithful auto-biographer at the same time.

The author, with the methodical exactness which was one of his characteristics, and which eminently helped to qualify him for his high destination, details the early pedigree of African emancipation with the minuteness of a genealogist, and has even given us a chart not unworthy of the Herald's College. We need not reproduce the long catena of philanthropy. Suffice it to say, that at various periods during the last few centuries, the voice of religion and nature have been heard denouncing the outrage against God and man involved in the crime of slavery. Sometimes by the injunction of a king—sometimes by the declaration of a pope—now by a poet's stanza, then by a romancer's tale—here by a divine or a preacher, there by a philosopher or a statesman—in various forms, in different languages, and at widely distant intervals of time and space, successive denunciations have been uttered against the monstrous claim of man to hold property in man. The Quakers, or as we prefer to designate them, the Society of Friends, became very early conspicuous in the anti-slavery crusade. George Fox both preached and prophesied in its favour. John Woolman and Anthony Benezet laboured in America in the same behalf. The society was the first organised body to declare itself unequivocally hostile, both to slave-holding and slave-dealing. The 'Friends,' too, were the first to form in England an anti-slavery association. A committee of six—the pioneer of the coming agitation—met in London on the 7th of July, 1783, and took some steps to enlighten the public mind on the subject. The 'Friends,' however, although the forerunners on this as on so many other moral and religious questions, were not allowed to monopolize the honour of befriending Africa. Providence required varied instruments for the work ; and Granville Sharp appeared, whose challenge elicited from the Judicial Bench the noble decision in Somerset's case,—that slavery perishes the moment it reaches the shores, or breathes the atmosphere, of England. The 'History' distinguishes Sharp as the first 'labourer' in this country ; that is, the first who by action, as well as writing, engaged in the cause. Clarkson's own conversion, as it may per-

haps not improperly be called, occurred a few years after Lord Mansfield's celebrated dictum. The incident is a striking one, and bears a remarkable analogy in its abruptness, its overwhelming influence, and its permanent and beneficent effects, to those mysterious and sudden impulses from on high, by which sometimes the Divine life is originated in the soul of man. Nothing had hitherto occurred to mark out the young Cambridge collegian as one more likely than his fellows to become the benefactor of his race. From the period of his birth, twenty-five years before, at Wisbeach, to the year 1785, when this event occurred, his course of life appears to have differed little from that of others. He was preparing to enter the church, and was then of the order of Senior Bachelors. Dr. Peckard, the vice-chancellor of the university, on whom devolved the office of giving out the subject for the prize Latin Essays, and who was already an opponent of the slave-trade, proposed the following: *Anne liceat invitos in servitutem dare?* Clarkson had carried off the prize of the preceding year, and prepared himself with ardent emulation a second time to enter the lists. On studying the thesis, and perceiving the vice-chancellor's drift, he resolved to make his arguments bear against the African traffic; and to supply his lack of knowledge, obtained the manuscript papers of a deceased friend, who had been in the trade, as well as Anthony Benezet's 'Historical Account of Guinea,' and the prior authorities there referred to, Adamson, Moore, Barbot, Smith, Bosman, and others. The effect of these writings must be told in his own words:—

'Furnished, then, in this manner, I began my work. But no person can tell the severe trial which the writing of it proved to me. I had expected pleasure from the invention of the arguments, from the arrangement of them, from the putting of them together, and from the thought, in the interim, that I was engaged in an innocent contest for literary honour. But all my pleasure was damped by the facts which were now before me. It was but one gloomy subject from morning to night. In the day-time I was uneasy; in the night I had little rest. I sometimes never closed my eyelids for grief. It became now not so much a trial for academical reputation as for the production of a work which might be useful to injured Africa. And, keeping this idea in my mind, ever after the perusal of Benezet, I always slept with a candle in my room, that I might rise out of my bed, and put down such thoughts as might occur to me in the night, if I judged them valuable, conceiving that no arguments of any moment should be lost in so great a cause. Having at length finished this painful task, I sent my essay to the Vice-Chancellor, and soon afterwards found myself honoured as before with the first prize.

'As it is usual to read these essays publicly in the Senate-house

soon after the prize is adjudged, I was called to Cambridge for this purpose. I went, and performed my office. On returning, however, to London, the subject of it almost engrossed my thoughts; I became at times very seriously affected while upon the road. I stopped my horse occasionally, and dismounted and walked. I frequently tried to persuade myself in these intervals that the contents of my essay could not be true. The more, however, I reflected upon them, or rather upon the authorities upon which they were founded, the more I gave them credit.

Coming in sight of Wade's Mill, in Hertfordshire, I sat down disconsolate on the turf by the road side, and held my horse. Here a thought came into my mind, that if the contents of the Essay were true, it was time some person should see these calamities to their end. Agitated in this manner, I reached home. This was in the summer of 1785. In the course of the autumn of the same year I experienced similar impressions. I walked frequently into the woods that I might think on the subject in solitude, and find relief to my mind there. But there the question still recurred, 'Are these things true?' Still the answer followed as instantaneously, 'They are.' Still the result accompanied it, 'Then surely some person should interfere.'

But who should interfere? That was the question. In default of any better answer, Clarkson turned to himself. Being, however, neither a great man nor a member of parliament, he became discouraged, and felt obliged to content himself for the present with a resolution to translate, enlarge, and publish his prize essay.

Hitherto he had known nothing of the existence of the 'Friends' committee, although they had heard of him, and of his Latin dissertation. Mr. Joseph Hancock, one of their number, acquainted with Clarkson, introduced him to the circle of his future coadjutors; and here, especially, on meeting William Dillwyn, a correspondent with the American abolitionists, a new light broke in upon his mind. For the first time, with mingled hope and astonishment, he awoke to a consciousness of his high destiny, and his heart dilated with a new and noble emotion. The description of this interview is finely expressive of the writer's humility, and the grandeur of his sensations.

'We talked for the most part during my stay on the subject of my Essay. I soon discovered the treasure I had met with in his local knowledge both of the slave-trade and of slavery, as they existed in the United States; and I gained from him several facts which, with his permission, I afterwards inserted in my work. But how surprised was I to hear, in the course of our conversation, of the labours of Granville Sharp, of the writings of Ramsay, and of the controversy in which the latter was engaged, of all which I had hitherto

known nothing ! How surprised was I to learn that William Dillwyn himself had two years before, associated himself with five others for the purpose of enlightening the public mind upon this great subject ! How I was astonished to find that a society had been formed in America for the same object, with some of the principal members of which he was intimately acquainted ! And how still more astonished at the inference which instantly rushed upon my mind, that he was capable of being made the great medium of connexion between them all ! These thoughts almost overpowered me.

‘ I believe that after this I talked but little to my friend. My mind was overwhelmed with the thought that I had been providentially directed to his house ; that the finger of Providence was beginning to be discernible ; that the day-star of African liberty was rising ; and that, probably, I might be permitted to become an humble instrument in promoting it.’

Inspired with fresh energy, he resolved at once to go forward ; and with this view turned, in the first instance, naturally towards the great. He had a friend at court, Bennett Langton, who was associated with Burke, Reynolds, and the other eminent men of the Georgian era. Through this channel, the Essay was widely circulated, and the author introduced to several persons of rank and influence. Among them was Sir Charles Middleton, afterwards Lord Barham. It was at Teston Hall, the mansion of this gentleman, that the crisis of Clarkson’s life took place. When at dinner one day with the family, and during a conversation, which turned as usual upon the deliverance of Africa, the young enthusiast exclaimed, ‘ in the joy of his heart,’ as he says, ‘ that he was ready to devote himself to the cause.’ The following morning brought some uneasiness and much serious reflection. Prudence began to plead. A pledge had been given, was it not a rash one ? To solve this question, profound deliberation—and for deliberation, solitude—was necessary. He betook himself, therefore, to the woods, his usual resource on such occasions. Here, before the secret tribunal of his conscience, and as in the sight of God, he balanced the reasons for and against the resolution of the preceding day. On the one side was arrayed the consideration, that many friends, much money, and the entire dedication of his life to the work, would be requisite to success : on the other were ranged, the excellence of the object, the imperative call of duty, and the encouragement he had already met with. He thus summed up the argument :—

‘ In favour of the undertaking, I urged to myself, that never was any cause, which had been taken up by man, in any country or in any age, so great and important ; that never was there one in which so much misery was heard to cry for redress ; that never was there

one in which so much good could be done ; never one in which the duty of Christian charity could be so extensively exercised ; never one more worthy of the devotion of a whole life towards it ; and that, if a man thought properly, he ought to rejoice to have been called into existence, if he were only permitted to become an instrument in forwarding it in any part of its progress. Against these sentiments, on the other hand, I had to urge, that I had been designed for the church, that I had already advanced as far as deacon's orders in it, that my prospects there, on account of my connexions, were then brilliant ; that by appearing to desert my profession, my family would be dissatisfied, if not unhappy. These thoughts pressed upon me, and rendered the conflict difficult. But the sacrifice of my prospects staggered me, I own, the most. When the other objections I have related, occurred to me, my enthusiasm instantly, like a flash of lightning, consumed them, but this stuck to me, and troubled me. I had ambition. I had a thirst after worldly interest and honours, and I could not extinguish it at once. I was more than two hours in solitude in this painful conflict. At length I yielded, not because I saw any reasonable prospect of success in my new undertaking, (for all cool-headed and cool-hearted men would have pronounced against it) but in obedience, I believe, to a higher power. And I can say, that both on the moment of this resolution, and for some time afterwards, I had more sublime and happy feelings, than at any former period of my life.

'The heart proved itself, in this instance, as it has not unfrequently done in others, a sounder casuist than the head.'

The first fruit of his self dedication was an animating conference with the 'Friends,' who seem to have been as much invigorated by the co-operation of Clarkson as he had been by the discovery of their previous efforts. Two of the essential elements of the future agitation were now amalgamated,—the laborious enthusiasm of the Cantabrian neophyte, and the placid though profound energy of George Fox's followers. A third was yet wanting,—the Parliamentary and public influence, the fascination and eloquence of Wilberforce. This was soon to be superadded. He had been supplied by Clarkson with a copy of the Essay, and the first interview between the two great leaders in the cause of Africa took place soon after. As their relative claims to priority of enlistment have been misrepresented, it may be worth while to refer to Clarkson's own account of this meeting ; an account which, it is needless to say, no one now will venture to discredit, and which proves as clearly as possible that ere Wilberforce had travelled beyond the region of thought, Clarkson was far advanced into that of action.

'Among those whom I visited, was Mr. Wilberforce. On my first interview with him, he stated frankly that the subject had often em-

ployed his thoughts, and that it was near his heart. He seemed earnest about it, and also very desirous of taking the trouble of inquiring further into it. Having read my book, which I delivered to him in person, he sent for me. He expressed a wish that I would make him acquainted with some of my authorities for the assertions in it, which I did afterwards, to his satisfaction. He asked me if I could support it by any other evidence. I told him I could. I mentioned Mr. Newton, Mr. Nisbet, and several others, to him. He took the trouble of sending for all these. He made memorandums of their conversation, and, sending for me afterwards, showed them to me. On learning my intention to devote myself to the cause, he paid me many handsome compliments. He then desired me to call upon him often, and to acquaint him with my progress, from time to time. He expressed also his willingness to afford me any assistance in his power, in the prosecution of my pursuits.'

At this point of the history we begin to catch sight of the indefatigable nature of Clarkson's industry. He was now seldom employed less than sixteen hours a day. These hours were occupied in visiting, in correspondence, in the distribution of the Essay, and the acquisition of knowledge connected with the subject of slavery. One branch of inquiry—that which related to the fatal effects of the slave-trade upon the sailors engaged in it—soon became especially laborious. The muster-rolls were obtained, and their examination, which took place at the chambers of Richard Phillips, one of the 'Friends' Committee, was long and tedious. 'We usually met for this purpose,' says Clarkson, 'at nine in the evening, and we seldom parted till one, and sometimes not till three, in the morning. When our eyes were inflamed by the candle, or tired by fatigue, we used to relieve ourselves by walking out, within the precincts of Lincoln's Inn, when all seemed to be fast asleep; and thus, as it were in solitude and in stillness, to converse upon them, as well as upon the best means of the further promotion of our cause.'

Wilberforce at length declared himself ready to take up the question in Parliament. His pledge to this effect, was given at a dinner party, invited by Bennett Langton, among whose guests were, Windham, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Boswell; a circumstance strikingly illustrative of the rapid march of events, and of social changes in England. How vast an interval, moral, and political, appears to separate the man who survived the corn law repeal of 1846, from the members of the brilliant *coterie*, chronicled by Boswell! and yet both parties have been engaged in discussing together the same question, around the same table, within much less than the span of a single life!

All the elements of the confederation which was, after twenty years, to destroy the slave-trade, were now blended. Like a steam-engine, when the three elements of its motive power, the metal, the water, and the fire, have been arranged in due proportion to each other, a mighty organization was formed, whose united action was to be infinitely more potent than that of the sum of its component agencies. The society was instituted ; a committee of twelve was formed ; and the parts in the great work were distributed. Clarkson was to be labourer in chief, to hunt up evidence, to correspond, to agitate. Wilberforce was to be parliamentary leader. The committee were to assist in every possible way. These in turn were a body, each of whose members, however unequal, were yet essential to the vitality of the whole. 'One man,' says Clarkson, 'was an eye, another was an ear; another an arm, and another a foot:' and he adds, 'I believe no committee was ever made up, of persons whose varied talent were better adapted to the work before them.' Again, with reference to the society he asks, 'What could I have done, if I had not derived so much assistance from the committee? What could Mr. Wilberforce have done in Parliament, if I, on the other hand, had not collected that great body of evidence, to which there was such a constant appeal? And what could the committee have done without the Parliamentary aid of Mr. Wilberforce?' The secret of this harmonious and successful co-operation was purity of motive. To each member of the hallowed partnership may be applied the following eulogium on Wilberforce by the author of 'the History:'

'But most of all the motives, on which he undertook it, insured its progress. For this did not originate in views of selfishness, or of party, or of popular applause, but in an awful sense of his duty as a Christian.

'It was this which gave him alacrity and courage in the pursuit. It was this which made him incorporate this great object among the pursuits of his life, so that it was daily in his thoughts. It was this which, when year after year of unsuccessful exertion returned, occasioned him to be yet fresh and vigorous in spirit, and to persevere till the day of triumph.'

Having traced the course of Clarkson, through the first great era of his life, that of self-dedication, up to the second, that, of the selection and organization of a sphere of labour, we proceed to give some illustrations of the intense, and enthusiastic diligence with which he performed his share of the work. And here we cannot but express our admiration of that clear perception of the right means for his end, which prompted him to base all his operations upon facts; and of that accurate esti-

mate of his own character and powers, which led him to select the discovery of evidence, as his peculiar department. He had every requisite for the task ; strength, patience, industry, self-controul, a passionate ardour for the discovery of truth, and an anxious caution in its investigation. He chased facts with the zeal of a lover or a huntsman. He fished for facts, with the eager and silent watchfulness of an angler. Facts were his meat and drink, his meditation by day, his dream by night. With eyes fixed upon Africa, and heart lifted up to God, he was unceasingly occupied for years together in the detection, examination, arrangement, and publication of facts. His first journey in this behalf was to Bristol. He travelled on horseback, in order that he might the better reflect on the proper means of promoting his object. On approaching the city, his thoughts were those of a true-hearted knight-errant.

‘ On turning a corner within about a mile of that city, at about eight in the evening, I came within sight of it. The weather was rather hazy, which occasioned it to look of unusual dimensions. The bells of some of the churches were then ringing ; the sound of them did not strike me till I turned the corner before mentioned, when it came upon me at once ; it filled me, almost directly, with a melancholy for which I could not account. I began now to tremble, for the first time, at the arduous task I had undertaken, of attempting to subvert one of the branches of the commerce of the great place which was then before me. I began to think of the host of people I should have to encounter in it ; I anticipated much persecution in it also ; and I questioned whether I should ever get out of it alive. But in journeying on I became more calm and composed ; my spirits began to return. In these latter moments, I considered my first feelings as useful, inasmuch as they impressed upon me the necessity of extraordinary courage and activity, and perseverance, and of watchfulness also over my own conduct, that I might not throw any stain upon the cause I had undertaken. When, therefore, I entered the city, I entered it with an undaunted spirit, determining that no labour should make me shrink, nor danger, nor even persecution, deter me from my pursuit.’

The testimony of which he was in search related to three points—the productions and capabilities of Africa—the cruelties of the slave-trade—and the ill-treatment of the sailors employed in it. He found here, and in other towns subsequently visited, and especially in Liverpool, ample information on each. He made a collection of curiosities, examined seamen, and visited slave-ships. At each step horrors accumulated, and stimulated him to fresh energy. He wept and worked by turns. He found one man dying from ill-usage, whose image haunted him, both night and day. The discovery that another had been

foully murdered, made, he says, his blood boil within him, and gave a new spring to his exertions.

His eager researches led him frequently into strange company. At one time, in order to see the way in which sailors were entrapped into the slave service, he made acquaintance with an honest inn-keeper, who engaged to accompany him in a series of nocturnal excursions, among the low public-houses frequented by the mariners of Bristol.

‘At about twelve at night, we generally set out, and were employed till two, and sometimes three in the morning. He led me from one of those public-houses to another, which the mates of the slave vessels used to frequent, to pick up hands. These houses were in Marsh Street, and most of them were kept by Irishmen. The scenes witnessed in these houses were truly distressing to me, and yet if I wished to know practically what I had purposed, I could not avoid them. Music, dancing, rioting, drunkenness, and profane swearing, were kept up from night to night.’

In order to secure evidence of a murder, he had recourse to an expedient still more extraordinary.

‘By the assistance of Mr. Falconbridge, I found a public-house, which had two rooms in it; nearly at the top of the partition, between them, was a small window, which a person might look through by standing upon a chair. I desired Ormond, one evening, to invite the man into the large room, in which he was to have a candle, and to talk with him on the subject. I proposed to station myself in the smallest, in the dark, so that by looking through the window, I could both see and hear him, and yet be unperceived myself. The room in which I was to be, was one where the dead were frequently carried, to be owned. We were all in our places at the time appointed. I directly discovered it was the same man with whom I had conversed on board the ship in the wet docks. I heard him distinctly relate many of the particulars of the murder, and acknowledge them all. Ormond, after having talked with him some time, said, ‘Well, then, you believe Peter Green was actually murdered?’ He replied: ‘If Peter Green was not murdered, no man ever was.’ What followed, I do not know. I had heard quite enough; and the room was so disagreeable in smell, that I did not choose to stay in it longer than was absolutely necessary.’

He soon became the depository of innumerable complaints, and sometimes the redressor of the wrongs to the account of which he was compelled to listen. In his room at the King’s Arms Inn, at Liverpool, there was a daily levee of distressed seamen. At Bristol, also, he gave frequent audience to the maimed, the crippled, and the flogged. At the intreaty of a mother, he prosecuted the murderer of her son; and at the

urgent request of the friendly publican before mentioned, he went on board a slave ship, and liberated a man improperly detained. Nor were these services free from danger. He nearly lost his life on one occasion, when, in order to catch a witness, he crossed the Severn in a stormy night. The slave captains and others engaged in the trade insulted and threatened him, and on one occasion actually attempted his destruction.

‘I was, one day, on the pier-head, with many others, looking at some little boats below, at the time of a heavy gale. Several persons, probably out of curiosity, were hastening thither. I had seen all I intended to see, and was departing, when I noticed eight or nine persons making towards me. I was then only about eight or nine yards from the precipice of the pier, but going from it. I expected that they would have divided to let me through them; instead of which they closed upon me, and bore me back. I was borne within a yard of the precipice, when I discovered my danger; and perceiving among them the murderer of Peter Green, and two others who had insulted me at the King’s Arms, it instantly struck me that they had a design to throw me over the pier-head, which they might have done at this time, and yet have pleaded that I had been killed by accident. There was not a moment to lose. Vigorous on account of the danger, I darted forward. One of them, against whom I pushed myself, fell down; their ranks were broken; and I escaped, not without blows, amidst their imprecation and abuse.’

He suffered, however, more from disappointment than from fear. Information was abundant; evidence was scarce. Men were restrained from becoming witnesses, by dread of violence, or by motives of self-interest. The intense anguish inflicted on him by tantalising refusals to repeat in public, testimony poured into his private ear, was but too rarely counter-balanced by the delight he experienced when successful. In either case his emotions were poignant. A favourable answer ‘produced,’ he tells us, ‘such an effect upon me after all my former disappointments, that I felt it all over my frame. It operated like a sudden shock which often disables the impressed person for a time. So the joy I felt, rendered me quite useless for the rest of the day.’ On the other hand a refusal, and still more the unworthy motives which generally prompted it, ‘grievously’ he says, ‘afflicted my heart.’

His labours were not confined to the collection of evidence. He wrote books and pamphlets, and traversed the country periodically, during many years, for the purpose of distributing them. Wherever he went he formed local sub-committees, invited help, proselytised his opponents, animated his friends, enlightened the ignorant; in short, agitated the public mind upon the subject which engrossed his own. He visited

too, Pitt, Fox, Burke, and most of the eminent statesmen of that day, in order to secure their adhesion to the cause. Before them he reasoned, supporting his argument by his memoranda, his muster rolls, his African specimens, his thumb-screws, handcuffs, and shackles for the legs. No wonder that he prevailed; no wonder that his ardent and pure enthusiasm led captive even the master-spirits of that age.

Another important episode in Clarkson's operations, was a mission to France during the early days of the revolution, in order to solicit the assistance of the national assembly. This visit, though it proved unsuccessful, owing to the complicated and excited state of affairs, at that moment, affords a proof of the catholic feeling of the first abolitionists. Engaged in a cause wherein all might assist, they knew no distinction of language, climate, nation, or party; rejected no help; put no bar upon religious heterodoxy; repudiated connexion with no erroneous system of politics. Working *for* mankind, they were willing to work *with* all sorts and conditions of men. Limiting their association to a simple, well-defined, and noble aim, they thought it right to lay down no condition of fellowship, but that of concurrence with the common object.

These various and long-continued labours, and, still more, the mental excitement of which they were both the cause and the effect, at length undermined the health of Clarkson.

'The nervous system was almost shattered to pieces. Both my memory and my hearing failed me. Sudden dizziness seized my head. A confused singing in the ears followed me, wherever I went. On going to bed, the very stairs seemed to dance up and down under me, so that, misplacing my foot, I sometimes fell. Talking, too, if it continued but half an hour, exhausted me, so that profuse perspiration followed; and the same effect was produced even by an active exertion of the mind for the like time.

'These disorders had been brought on by degrees in consequence of the severe labours necessarily attached to the promotion of the cause. For seven years, I had a correspondence to maintain with four hundred persons with my own hand. I had some book or other annually to write in behalf of the cause. In this time, I had travelled more than thirty-five thousand miles in search of evidence, and a great part of these journeys in the night. All this time, my mind had been on the stretch. It had been bent, too, to one subject; for I had not even leisure to attend to my own concerns. The various instances of barbarity which had come to my knowledge within this period had vexed, harassed, and afflicted it. The wound which these had produced, was rendered still deeper by those cruel disappointments before related; which arose from the reiterated refusal of persons to give their testimony, after I had travelled hundreds of miles in quest of them. But the severest stroke, was that inflicted by the persecu-

tion, begun and pursued by persons interested in the continuance of the trade, of such witnesses as had been examined against them, and whom, on account of their dependent situation in life, it was most easy to oppress. As I had been the means of bringing these forward on these occasions, they naturally came to me when thus persecuted, as the author of their miseries and their ruin. From their supplications and wants it would have been ungenerous and ungrateful to have fled. These different circumstances, by acting together, had at length brought me into the situation just mentioned; and I was therefore obliged, though very reluctantly, to be borne out of the field, where I had placed the great honour and glory of my life.'

It was not until after nine years retirement, that our author was able to return to the charge. He rallied just in time to witness the great consummation for which he had toiled so long and sacrificed so much. The abolition passed in 1807, after an agitation of twenty years, kindled and maintained by benevolent zeal, irradiated by brilliant eloquence, and exacerbated both in and out of Parliament by a furious and revengeful opposition. The situation of Clarkson and his friends during all this interval was one demanding courage, as well as patience. Mammon let loose all his forces upon them. They were calumniated, threatened, ridiculed, and contradicted by reiterated and impudent falsehoods. They were tantalized by delays the most unexpected, and cast down by disappointments the most severe. They were like mariners breasting a head-wind on a stormy sea. Their success, under these circumstances, was due to their own unshaken constancy, and the unflinching support of the English people. It is clear, from Clarkson's account, that the strength of the cause lay, not so much in the declamation of Pitt, or the thunder of Fox, as in the warm and enduring sympathies of the country. After describing one of those defeats which so often beclouded his hopes, he says:—

'The committee, however, were too deeply attached to the cause, vanquished as they were, to desert it; and they knew, also, too well the barometer of public feeling, and the occasions of its fluctuations, to despair. In the year 1787, the members of the House of Commons, as well as the people, were enthusiastic in behalf of the abolition of the trade. In the year 1788, the fair enthusiasm of the former began to fade. In 1789, it died. In 1790, prejudice started up as a noxious weed in its place. In 1791, this prejudice arrived at its growth. But to what were these changes owing? To delay; during which the mind, having been led to the question as a commercial, had been gradually taken from it as a moral object. But it was possible to restore the mind to its proper place. Add to which, that *the nation had never deserted the cause during the whole period*. It is much to the honour of the English people, that they should have continued to feel for the existence of an evil which was so far re-

moved from their sight. But at this moment their feelings began to be insupportable.'

And again he tells us: —

'Of the enthusiasm of the nation at this time none can form an opinion but they who witnessed it. There never was, perhaps, a season when so much virtuous feeling pervaded all ranks. Great pains were taken by interested persons in many places to prevent public meetings. But no efforts could avail. The current ran with such strength and rapidity, that it was impossible to stem it.'

The abolition has served to teach us, that in great reforms the legislature acts less upon the nation, than the nation upon the legislature. Truth, as well as heat, mounts upwards; and agitation, like a furnace, is best lighted from below.

The 'history,' of course, closes with the account of the glorious victory of 1807; and at this point we, too, must conclude our notice of Clarkson, from a more extended view of whose life we are precluded by the limits alike of our space and subject. Our intention, we have already said, is less to exhibit the biography than the character and motives of the man, as portrayed by his own nervous and faithful pen. We shall not, therefore, follow him into his retreat at Playford, to which, during the later years of his life, he retired, and where he continued to the last moment engaged in philanthropic labours. We shall not detail the narrative of those dying hours, when his aged and decaying frame was animated alternately by a Christian's hope, and a passion strong in death for mitigating the miseries of mankind. Still less shall we dwell upon the controversy with the biographers of Wilberforce, the revival of which is now unnecessary either to establish his honour or their shame. Suffice it to say, that he descended to the grave accompanied by the blessings of the oppressed, and the admiration of the civilized world; and that he has left a name destined to go down to posterity, inseparably linked with the well-earned designation of 'the venerable.'

To those who sigh wistfully over the ruins of departed genius and power, we present Clarkson as a new-world hero of the true stamp. He won, indeed, no victor's wreath; but he earned laurels undrenched with blood, by his conquest over self in that two hours struggle amidst the silent woods, where he decided to give up all for the sake of Africa. He was indeed no statesman, but it was his honour to pioneer the greatest statesmen in the path of benevolence. He was indeed no martyr, but his cause was one for which to drudge was more honourable than to die. He was indeed ungifted with the skill of the orator, the poet, the artist, or the musician; but he, too,

has reared a monument more durable than brass or Parian marble. He had all the elements of true greatness. He was intensely real. He loved emancipation even more than most men love themselves; and made more sacrifices on its behalf than others are accustomed to make for their own good. He panted for the liberation of the negro as the hart pants after the water-brook. From the hour when he took upon him the vows of humanity, to the hour of his departure, he had but one thought, one object, one desire—his duty to God and to his fellow man. Again; he was original. Others had imagined the deliverance of the slave; he first resolved to see slavery to its end, or to die in the attempt. Again; he was lofty in aim. Who now, comparing Napoleon in his midnight study planning his first campaign in Italy, with the young collegian meditating in solitude the scheme of Ethiopian liberty, will hesitate to concede to the ambition of the latter the palm of grandeur? Again; he was humble. So that the sufferings for which his heart bled were assuaged, he cared not who had the honour of assuaging them. Only let him have his due share of labour, and he cared not how many participated in the praise. In the fervour of his emotions he forgot himself. These were the qualities which ensured that cordial and effective co-operation with others to which, under Providence, the two great anti-slavery triumphs are due. And this brings us to the last item in the catalogue of heroic requisites which the world rates at a higher value than any other, but which great men have not in every instance attained—success. Africa, it is true, is not yet emancipated; but the day approaches when she will be finally delivered from serfdom; and from that day forth to the end of time, the unshackled tribes of Africa will have to ascribe the origin of their freedom in a great measure to the triumph which crowned the labours of Thomas Clarkson.

Art. II.—*Marston, or the Soldier and Statesman.* By the Rev. George Croly, LL.D. 3 vols. H. Colburn.

SOME few years ago, we read, in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' the first three or four chapters of a novel, under the title of the *Statesman*; but we could not conquer our repugnance to go any further with the tale. It was not merely from want of sympathy with the evident, though not avowed object of the writer, that we generally passed over the pages, which, in each successive month, were filled with highly-coloured extravagances, under the guise of history. It was principally because, in those introductory chapters, the writer evinced such a heartlessness, and conceit, such an indifference and contempt for the natural, social, and religious affections and duties,—the whole dressed up in an offhand, free and easy, glittering, and not over delicate style, that we rejected the fragments, as the worthless recollections of an aristocratic coxcomb.

In the volumes now before us, we recognise the long forgotten phantasmagoric exhibitions in 'Blackwood.' The name, and the profession of the author, given in the title-page, somewhat startled us, at first; for, although the result of our own experience and observation is an opinion not very favourable to the clergy of the state church, yet we should have considered it unjust to attribute to a clergyman the objectionable passages we had met with in our first perusal. At all events, we were not prepared for seeing the authorship publicly acknowledged by a reverend doctor.

We are aware, that, though novel-writing was never claimed as one of the privileges of the apostolic succession, many of the would-be successors of the apostles have, at all times, sought for relaxation from the fatigues and dulness of pulpit ministrations, in the more lively composition of works of fiction; and that, in Italy, Spain, and France, as well as in England, the very worst compositions of the kind, are from the brains of clergymen and dignitaries of the established churches. Now-a-days, however, such trespasses on profane and licentious grounds, instead of public admiration, as formerly, on the part of a depraved generation, obtain almost general censure. If we are not bold to contend for the superior morality of our age over the preceding, we, at least, can now vouch for its greater respect for decency, or rather *decorum*; and we are inclined to think, that the late Sidney Smith has closed the list of the reverend writers of coarse or, as they are called, facetious books.

Not only do the generality of the public refuse to tolerate

their clerical eccentricities; but all religious people of the establishment object, and with justice, to clergymen becoming mere literary men. They think, that, at a time when the cry 'the church in danger,' resounds in all parts of the country;—when the bishops, in their visitations and pastoral circulars, deplore the steady increase of dissent, of religious indifference, and of infidelity;—when, to avert the dreadful consequences of this increase, the prelates, the archdeacons, the chapters, and all the clergy, unanimously, incessantly, and every where, ask for money, to build more churches,* to enlist and endow more clergymen,—they think, that the already acting and well endowed clergymen, have something better to do than to write even unobjectionable poems, tragedies, and novels; and that they evince, by such pursuits, either their ignorance of their duties, or their disregard of, and, consequently, their unfitness for them.

The congregation of Dr. Croly may be of this opinion, or not; but we have no doubt, that, if any one of them has read this work, not intended for them, but for people of fashion, his estimation of the reverend rector of Walbrook will not be enhanced by his literary performance, considered in a moral or religious point of view. He will find a great discrepancy between the church service and the book, and, we hope, between the writer and the religious teacher; he will certainly find a singular illustration of the fourth command, in the following portrait of a father, by the hero of the romance.

'My father was an earl, and as proud of his titles as if he had won them at Crecy or Poitiers; and not in the *campaigns* of Westminster, *consummated* on the backstairs of Whitehall. He had served his country, *as he termed it*, in a long succession of parliaments; and served it still more, as his country neighbours *termed it*, by accepting a peerage, *which opened* the county to any other representative among the sons of men. He was a strong built, stern-countenanced, and haughty-tongued personage, by some thought a man of sense, by others a fool, with all his depth, arising from his darkness. My own experience convinced me, that *no man made more of a secret, or thought less of a job*. From my boyhood I must own, that I feared him more than honoured him; and, *as for love*, even if I had been more susceptible, *mine would have flown round the globe before it could have fixed on that iron visage*. The little love which I

* Our right reverend diocesan of London has long taken the lead in the Church-building League, the most profitable speculation of our time. Five hundred new churches have signalized his Episcopal reign. A consecration-fee of £150 per church, produces £75,000; and the disposal of five hundred livings, each of them worth, on an average, £250 a year, cannot but add as much to the paternal and religious comforts of the Lord Prelate, without any simony.

could afford for any human being, was for another and different order of existence.—pp. 3, 4.*

'The earl's indignation' [at the flight of a young lady with a scamp] 'was of so ultra a quality; his revenge was so fiery, and his tongue so fluent, as to make me suspect that he had other motives than the insulted laws of hospitality. I reached this discovery, too, in time. The declining health of my gentle mother had made him speculate on the chances of survivorship.'—p. 13.

'He pursued the fugitives day and night, until the pursuit threw him into a sort of fever. While under this paroxysm he met the enamoured pair, but it was on their way from that forge on the border where so many heavy chains have been manufactured. Useless as challenging was then, he challenged the husband. The parties met, and my father received a bullet in his body, while he had the satisfaction of lodging one in his antagonist's knee-pan. The chevalier was doomed to waltz no more. But his bullet was fatal.'—p. 18.

No doubt, that, when he was thus delineating the character of his hero, our author had completely lost sight of this passage of the sacred volume, '*Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.*' But this is not the only instance of such forgetfulness, quite the reverse; and the work before us would justify the inference, that Dr. Croly is either very little addicted to reading the Bible, or reads it to very little purpose.

Indeed, friendship, love, and the sacred bonds and duties of matrimony, are dealt with, by the reverend author, with as little regard as filial or fraternal affections. He seems fully aware that, to please fashionable and aristocratic readers, the hero and personages of a novel must be above such vulgar weakness, tolerable only in the middle and lower classes; and he misses no opportunity for gratifying the taste of the HAUT TON. Consequently, young Marston, just emerged from Eton, without money to enter one of the universities, and who wants to do something, and to be something, is not over-nice in the choice of the means. He intends to do 'what others have done—what I should do in a crowd in the streets—push some aside, get before others; if made way for, be civil; if resisted, trample. It has been the story of thousands; why not mine.'—p. 22.

With such dispositions Marston cannot be a respecter even of the aristocratic or political institutions of this country. He finds fault with and ridicules every thing; first, his college of Eton, and the system of education of that 'great school of

* The italics are ours. They call more particularly the attention of our readers to the refined feelings, the lucidity of ideas, or correctness of style of the reverend doctor.

aristocracy, would-be and real barons and dukes in *esse*; and the Herald's Office alone, or Bedlam, knows what in *posse*.'—p. 5: then the officials at the Horse-Guards, who do not grant at sight, to the son of an earl, the promised ensigncy,—the diplomatists, the titled nobility, the peerage, and the House of Commons,—‘that colossal poultry yard, on entering which the member for the shire is clipped of all his plumage, and must take his obscure pickings with other unnoticeable fowls.’—p. 299.

We have given a faithful, but a very incomplete outline of Marston's intellectual and moral character; and we regret that our space does not allow us to give to the sketch, the perfection, the colours, the life which adorn it, in the three volumes of the reverend author. Most of our readers will take for granted, that a doctor in divinity, the rector of a metropolitan parish, has portrayed such a character for the purpose of bringing condign contempt, abhorrence, and penalties, on the heartlessness, egotism, and profligacy, which it displays; and thus impress on the public mind, the advantage of the study and pursuit of that wisdom and those virtues which make the man, the citizen, and the Christian. Our readers would be mistaken in this supposition. The object of Dr. Croly is widely different. Far from finding fault with his hero, he admires him, he identifies himself with him; he brings him forward as the pattern-champion of our glorious church-and-state constitution. In short, the rector of Walbrook has created this paragon of loyalty and patriotism, in order to have a worthy and authoritative expounder of his own political views, and of his warnings to his countrymen, against the dangers of changes and alterations, by a new perversion of the history of the French Revolution.

‘The general tendency of Europe at this hour’ (says the doctor in his preface) ‘is to political change, *But the true peril is not to be looked for on the Continent*. The frivolities of foreign life waste all national energy for either good or ill; the flame exhausts itself through the mere feebleness of the fuel. The ball-room patriotism and the coffee-house conspiracy are equally contemptible. Even the French Revolution was only the madness of a mob, justly terminating in a chain. *The real danger would be an English revolution*. If the popular mind, with its proverbial strength, steadiness, and courage, should once be thoroughly inflamed, the conflagration would soon spread to every throne of Europe. A republic in England would republicanise the world: turn all the old institutions of society into dust and ashes, and leave nothing to posterity, but the task of deploring our rashness, or hopelessly struggling to restore our ruins. *Without desiring to say that these volumes have been written solely for the purpose of giving a public lesson*, their writer will con-

sider himself fortunate if they should assist in impressing the conviction, that, in all violent political changes, the humblest ranks are sure to suffer most ; that their bodies are used merely to fill up the trench over which their leaders pass to power ; that their severest sacrifices only turn a demagogue into a tyrant ; and that the only alternatives of a democracy, are national decay or military despotism.'

We cannot help remarking, that, such being the object of the reverend novelist, he has committed an egregious blunder in the selection of his principal personage. Common sense and experience ought to have made him aware, that '*this hour*' the '*public*,' however much inclined to receive '*a lesson*' on moral, religious, and political matters, from persons qualified to give it, by their superior intelligence and morality, scorn, as it deserves, the teaching of the ignorant and the dissolute. The '*tendency to political change*' might perhaps be checked and arrested by the solemn warnings of statesmen, raised to eminence by their talents, their virtues, and their services ; but conservatism, and hatred or fear of revolutions, can never be inculcated and propagated by the examples and dicta of such noble profligates as the last Duke of Queensbury and the late Marquess of Hertford, or by the ravings of their honourable and right honourable, reverend and right reverend parasites.

The blunder in the choice of his hero and spokesman, is not the only one which the romantic divine may be reproved for, as well by his conservative friends as by his political adversaries. Both will tell him, that his object of deterring his fellow-countrymen from entering upon a career of reform which may lead to a revolution, by the picture of what passed half a century ago among our neighbours, can be attained only by giving to that picture a character of unquestionable truth and accuracy, which can never belong to works of fiction. Imaginary personages, situations, and events, naturally lead the reader to infer, that everything else in the work is imaginary ; and that the author is no better than a foolish nursery-maid, trying to subdue unruly children by appalling them with hobgoblin stories. To this remark, the rector will of course reply, that nobody can doubt the reality of the horrors of the French Revolution. But, if that revolution really were so horrid as to remain for ever a dreadful warning to all nations, why has he recourse to fiction ? Surely, with his avowed purpose, he could not draw upon his imagination, except to make the thing worse than it may have been in itself. This is palpable to the weakest understanding. What, then, can be the effect of his performance, when he announces it as a fancy article ? He reminds his readers of the strolling player, who thus addressed the public,

assembled in a barn, just before the principal scene in Othello : ' Ladies, do not go into hysterics : it is all gammon.'

We have frequently heard some of our friends expressing their surprise that the atrocities of the French revolution, its ' reign of terror,' its ' guillotine,' its confiscations, should have been, during the last twelve or fourteen years, such a favourite theme with reverend and fashionable writers, and such a relish for a portion of the reading public, whilst our own history might, perhaps, be of greater service for the purpose of exhibiting, in all their hideousness, the calamities attending some revolutions. The fact, however, can easily be accounted for. It is true that the annals of England, from the very beginning to the accession of William of Orange, are but heartrending narratives of an uninterrupted series of bloody revolutions and civil wars ; all in turn illustrated by popular, aristocratic, clerical, and royal atrocities. If we go back only two centuries, we meet with, in some sort, a first edition of the French revolution of 1792. A king made a prisoner, and afterwards legally or illegally executed ; a republican government established ; a master-mind exercising the most absolute authority in a commonwealth ;* a restoration, attended with horrible vengeance ; and, soon afterwards, the final expulsion of the restored family, and the abolition of legitimacy. As to confiscations, there is scarcely an acre of ground in Great Britain and Ireland, whose possessors can claim any other original title to it, than robbery, confiscation, and *reconfiscation*. But there is this difference between the English revolution and the French, that here, in England, the aristocracy and the clergy were not touched. Lords, aristocrats, prelates, and clergymen, were alternately victims and victimisers, according to the vicissitudes of the political or religious party which they followed or headed ; but the spoils went all to enrich the triumphant party, and to strengthen the two privileged orders, as the reward of the loyalty or disloyalty of the one, and of the apostacy of the other. In France, one of the very first defensive measures of the revolution, against the menaces and attacks of the same orders, was the suppression of their titles and privileges. The property of those who had fled to foreign countries, to raise all Europe in arms against France, and lead the invading armies, was confiscated, not to be granted to the subservient members of their classes, but to be sold in order to defray the expenses of the war. Thus the first elements of an aristocracy, lay or clerical, landocracy and primogeniture, were for ever done away with. This is the

* We still find five-franc pieces, with ' République Française,' on one face, and ' Napoleon, Empereur,' on the other.

great crime of the French revolution, in the eyes of its English assailants. They call glorious the revolution which in England has secured a paramount power and an unparalleled wealth to an oligarchy and to a church, by beheading one king and expelling another ; but they are consistent, when they pursue with their anathemas a revolution, the object of which was the liberation, the supremacy of the people. All the men who took a prominent part in that revolution, must be represented as so many ruffians and monsters ; and, to frighten the English people out of their wits, noble, honourable, and reverend showmen stand up in some daily and weekly newspapers, or monthly and quarterly periodicals, with horrible images of Marat, Robespierre, Danton, St. Just, Barrère, Couthon, and many others.

A writer in one of our periodicals lately said, speaking of these men, that they were painted for posterity in such horrid colours, not because they were unjust or cruel, but because the sufferers belonged to the writing class. There may be some truth in this observation, but there is another, and more satisfactory explanation. The power of those men was but of short duration, extending only from September 1792, to July 1794 ; and even the *comité de salut public*, which made them omnipotent, was established only in April 1793. During that period, Spain, Sardinia, Austria, Russia, Germany, the Netherlands, Holland, and England, invaded, at the same time, all the frontiers of France,—France, who, without a real army, without money, without credit, almost without arms, equipments, and ammunition, and, besides, afflicted with a civil war, seemed doomed to fall an easy prey to the European coalition. None of the hostile governments entertained the least doubt of the speedy entrance of their victorious troops into Paris ; and yet, at the fall of Robespierre (9th Thermidor—28th July, 1794), all the invading armies had been conquered and dispersed ; the French legions were everywhere quartered on the soil of their humbled enemies ; all the sovereigns had begun to tremble for the consequences of their invasion ; and their terrors could not but represent as infernal monsters, those who, after disappointing their hopes of an easy triumph, were shaking their very thrones.

There is not an instance, in the whole history of the world, of a government of any kind having had to encounter, at the same time, so many and such appalling perils, and having so rapidly and so signally overcome them all. Compared with the *comité de salut public*, our ‘ *pilot who weathered the storm* ’ and his crew fall into utter insignificance. The struggle in the interior was as fierce and desperate as that in the battle-fields ; and equally successful. Alas ! in civil wars, there are no capitulations, no surrender. Those whose mottos were, ‘ To be free, or not to

be,'—'To conquer or to die,'—expected no mercy and showed none, until complete victory over foreign and domestic enemies, making them conscious of their strength, made them accessible to pity.

Had Robespierre, assisted by his colleagues, succeeded in his attempt to check the thirst for revenge, which attempt was the real cause of his overthrow,—nay, even more, had the *comité de salut public* continued in existence for fifteen years, instead of fifteen months, and protracted, during that long period, the system of terror, to secure to themselves the possession of supreme authority,—we have no doubt that they would have been, and would now be, very differently judged. A long possession of power, of patronage, of the distribution of the emoluments and favours at the disposal of all governments, would have increased the number of their partizans, gradually allayed resentment, disarmed hostility, and reduced the number of their enemies. Masters of the press, by the censorship, not a word of accusation or reproof would have been allowed on their conduct; whilst their services, their wisdom, their courage, and their triumphs, would have been blazoned in all the prints, and proclaimed throughout the land. Cromwell and Napoleon stand foremost amongst the names of mighty rulers of nations which modern history transmits to the admiration of posterity. Yet if the Protectorate had been put an end to, on the very day that the audacious Puritan expelled the Parliament, and put the keys of the House into his pocket, Cromwell would for ever have been branded as an ambitious hypocrite, a regicide, and a traitor. No hero-worshipping Carlyle would now preach his idolatry. Again, if, on the 18th of Brumaire, in the galleries of the palace of St. Cloud, at the patriotic call of the *conseil des cinq cents*, summary justice had cut short the career of General Buonaparte, he would have left no name but that of executioner of the 13th of Vendemiaire, of cowardly deserter of his army in Egypt, of a rebel against national sovereignty.

But why should we stop short in our observations upon this subject, when living examples confirm and strengthen our opinion, that to the short existence of the *comité de salut public*, and to its sudden and tragical dissolution, must be attributed the lasting horror attached to the names of its members? And here we must protest that we are no admirers of those men; we are no advocates of their measures; we do not deny or excuse their cruelties: far from it. Long, long ago, we have faithfully portrayed those dreadful characters, and our indignation at their atrocities was expressed as earnestly and as forcibly, and more so, than by any Tory statesman or churchman. But we want equal justice; and it must be done. If

European execration pursue the memory of the departed actors in the deplorable drama of 1793 and 1794, how is it that men equally cruel, equally merciless in their atrocious policy, and whose victims are more numerous than those of the dreadful committee, are not equally held up to present and future generations as objects of universal detestation? The names of PASQUIER, DECAZE, BELLARD, PEYRONNET, BARTHE, PERSIL, D'ARGOUT, GISQUET, MARTIN, and the new HEBERT, are as execrable as any of the most sanguinary leaders of the Convention. THIERS is but a BARRERE, without the convictions and integrity of the *Montagnard*. GUIZOT is the incarnation of the two natures of ROBERSPIERRE and MARAT, with the addition of his innate mendacity and cowardice. But, for sixteen, or rather thirty-two years, these new terrorists have been the willing instruments of all the successive and rival governments which have in turn enslaved and oppressed their country. They have spread their own corruption over the land ; and treachery, apostacy, unsparing cruelty, and insatiable cupidity, are represented as the wisdom, the skill, the strength, the virtues of wise and great ministers. Forty thousand professors and teachers of all degrees are enlisted and paid for training the young generation to the worship of those worthies ; two thousand French and foreign mercenary authors are salaried to convert the virile population to the creed of their intellectual and moral superiority ; and five or six hundred courts of justice are ready to fine and imprison any one who dares to say, write, or print anything to the contrary. Had the *comité de salut public* lasted sixteen years, and possessed the same organization and used the same means of influence, no one would now be found to recollect and relate their horrible misdeeds ; and France and Europe would be filled with their praises, as they now are with the praises of LOUIS PHILIPPE, of GUIZOT, and of SOULT.

But the time is coming when the praises bestowed on successful tyrants, and the accusations and anathemas heaped on fallen revolutionists, will be equally impotent to blind an intelligent nation to the real causes, circumstances, and results of revolutions and *counter-revolutions*. All the historical romances, as well as all the romantic histories, on the events of the last years of the eighteenth century, cannot any longer influence a reading population so as to reconcile them to the yoke of an aristocratic or clerical oligarchy, from fear of the sufferings attending the overthrow of both. The only effect of such publications on reflecting people, is to convince them that they have nothing to gain in taking the part of the two privileged classes in any conflict with the popular interests and the national will. The production of Dr. Croly is well calculated to strengthen this

feeling. His unbounded admiration of George the Third, George the Fourth, and the Duke of York, in connexion with his eulogies on 'our glorious constitution in church and state,' cannot but excite disgust in the mind of moral men, instead of making converts to his out-and-out loyalty.

We have shown that the volumes before us, considered as the work of a clergyman, are highly disreputable; and, as the work of a politician, are malicious and mischievous even to the party to which the author professes to belong. We will now consider their literary character; and, to enable our readers to judge for themselves, or to appreciate the justice of our censure, we must give an analysis of the tale.

Young Marston, the hero, leaves Eton after the ordinary course of studies, and arrives at the baronial hall of his father, (the Earl of Mortimer, who had recently returned from a tour on the continent) just in time to witness and act a part in the entertainments given to commemorate three happy events,—the majority of his eldest brother; the death of an uncle who had left money enough to carry the county; and, lastly, the election of his brother for the North Riding. Of course, the mansion is full of visitors, who, after many days passed in all sorts of amusements, resolved to wind up the entertainments with an amateur play. 'Romeo and Juliet' was, after some contestation, fixed upon. Marston had the part of Romeo, whose Juliet was a beautiful sentimental girl, the ward of a duke, and entitled to twenty thousand pounds a year, on coming of age. This accumulation of charms had induced Earl Mortimer to think of the young lady for the survivorship of his countess, who had given him six boys and two girls, and was in a declining state.

The play went on as well, or rather as badly, as amateur plays generally do, until the scene where Juliet was to awake from her trance, at the voice of her lover. Then it was in vain that Romeo called his bride. All his invocations were of no use. Astonished at this singular erratum, he approaches the bier, and with a timid hand tries to raise the lovely damsel; but, another surprise! the tomb is vacant; and the play ends with the announcement that Juliet is no where to be found. Soon after it was ascertained that the heroine had passed from her mausoleum to a carriage where a Polish emigrant had waited for her, and that both had started for Gretna-green. Nor is this all: the French valet of Chevalier Charlatansky, following the example of his master, had eloped with another young lady visiter, the wealthy heiress of a Yorkshire squire, and the intended bride of the eldest son of the Earl. Both father and son started immediately in pursuit of the fugitives, in two oppo-

site directions. The earl met the chevalier just after his marriage, got shot by him, and died a few days afterwards. As to the son, he had succeeded in outstripping the other runaway couple; but, meeting an acquaintance at Canterbury, on his way to Dover, he dined with him, got drunk, had a game or many games; went to bed in the morning, to awake at sunset, and found that he had not one shilling left, and that his rival had changed horses at the same hotel six hours before. As a compensation for his unlucky expedition, he had, on his return to the castle, the satisfaction of finding himself Earl of Mortimer.

Marston asks his brother for his share in the family property, in order to begin the world, and the exercise of his influence to procure him an ensigncy. The new lord answers that he has no money to pay him, and no influence with the new ministry; though, with regard to money, the statement was false—Marston being entitled to five thousand pounds by the will of his uncle. Rather than pay that sum, the lord, when he saw that his brother knew his rights, promised him a commission; but some months passed without bringing it. The French Revolution, in the mean while, was beginning to arouse the population in England; the new principles of social and political economy proclaimed by the *Etats généraux*, and the news of the capture and demolition of the Bastille, produced an indescribable sensation. The youngest son of an embarrassed family could not but wish for the bursting, or the blowing up, of all barriers to fortune and distinction. Marston, then, made his first effort in political life,—a harangue, in true Gallic style, to the rabble of a neighbouring borough, which so much excited the people, that there were riots and attempts at the seizure of arms. The ministry were alarmed; a duke in the neighbourhood, and the new Earl of Mortimer, were frightened; and all determined to rid the county of the youthful demagogue, by accepting his services in a regiment of the guards! Marston hastened to London to join his flag, after a bargain with his lordly brother, by which he abandoned one half of the legacy on consideration of the prompt payment of the other half.

Weeks passed, and the promised ensigncy had not been gazetted. Marston wrote to his brother to express his vexation. The brother excused himself as lords do, and sent to the expectant ensign a letter of introduction to Mordecai, a person of unbounded wealth, who paid him his reduced legacy, after further reducing it by three-tenths, for interest, commission, and prompt payment. After this honest transaction, Mordecai ordered refreshments; and eating and drinking soon made the usurer and his victim such good friends, that the former invited

Marston to accompany him, and pass some time with him, at his cottage at Brighton,—at that time a poor fishing-place, though already the favourite rendezvous of the Prince of Wales. The invitation was accepted.

At Brighton, Marston found a crowd of French emigrants—princes, dukes and duchesses, marquesses and marchionesses, counts and countesses, generals and officers of all ranks—*who had fled to the coast of Sussex to defend the throne of Louis the Sixteenth!* One of those recently arrived officers had already found time to fall in love with the daughter of the Jew, a most eccentric and coquettish young lady. Captain Lafontaine,—Lafontaine the best swordsman of the *chevaux-legers*—no sooner saw the reception given to Marston, than he suspected him to be a rival, brought by the father of Mariamne, and resolved to get rid of him. On the day after his arrival, early in the morning, when walking on the sea-shore, Marston is accosted by a friend of Lafontaine, who delivers a hostile message. Our young Etonian, nothing daunted by the duelling celebrity of the emigrant, fought him with swords, and wounded him, just at the moment when the fair Mariamne, having some misgivings as to the consequences of her coquetry during the previous evening, arrived on the spot, to prevent the encounter: fainting fits, followed by very satisfactory explanations, soon made them all the very best friends in the world.

A few days afterwards, another and more serious adventure occurred to Marston, who was accompanying the daughter of Mordecai in one of her morning rides. They saw at a distance the Sussex hounds; and, Mariamne's horse, having determined to enjoy the sport, became irrestrainable, and, darting down the hill, flew over a broad and high fence, and continued his furious course towards the cliffs; but Marston's horse threw him in the middle of the hedge, where he left him stunned and unconscious. When he recovered his senses, he sprang on the groom's horse, and dashed on the track of the huntsmen, all galloping to the rescue of Mariamne, who had lost all controul over her steed. In short, Marston came in just in time to seize the reins of the bewildered animal, when he was going to precipitate himself into the sea a hundred and fifty feet below.

The Prince of Wales, and all the hunters who had witnessed this exploit, complimented Marston. The royal servants were sent for a post-chaise to take home the daughter of Mordecai, reduced to a state of exhaustion next to death. When the old Jew saw his daughter almost in a dying condition, despair and rage took possession of him. He would listen to no explanation; and, instead of tendering his thanks to the preserver of Mariamne, he accused him of having killed her, and cursed the

day when he had first set foot under his roof. Marston could not brook such treatment, and resolved to leave on the following day : he retired to his apartment, and excused himself from joining the dinner party, though Mordecai, when acquainted with all the circumstances, showed his regret for his unjust violence. Having packed up his equipments, he pensively sat at the window. A flock of curlews flew by. Marston took his gun, and went out in pursuit of them upon the sands. He succeeded only in being caught in a storm in the evening ; sought for a shelter without finding it ; lost his way ; rambled about in the hills during part of the night, and at last arrived at a miserable building, where an offer of two guineas obtained him admittance. All this, however, was but the beginning of new and greater trouble. The hospitable roof was the headquarters of the Sussex smugglers, who happened to meet there a short time after his arrival for an important operation, which was to take place that very night. Marston, being discovered, had no alternative but to be shot dead or to join in the expedition. He chose the latter ; and, after witnessing an engagement between a smuggling lugger and a preventive service cruiser—the landing of the goods—another conflict between the coast-guards and the smugglers, and a charge of dragoons, a bullet struck him in the breast, and he fell senseless.

When, many weeks afterwards, he recovered his senses, he found himself in Mordecai's house, at the door of which he had been deposited, early in the morning of the skirmish. Health gradually, but slowly returned ; but another blow awaited him. When able to attend to his affairs, he found, among his accumulated letters, three from the Horse Guards ; the first apprising him of his nomination ; the second ordering him to join immediately ; and the third announcing to him, that, as he had not joined his regiment, his commission had been cancelled. In his despair, he instantly went to Mordecai, to show him these letters. The Jew shook his bushy brows ; Miss Mariamne was delighted. She took her harp, and sang, 'How lucky it was to be unlucky.' Then they had supper ; and, after supper, Mordecai, who could not but accuse himself of being the cause of all the mischief done, determined to make all right, by proposing to Marston to marry his daughter. But our Etonian, who had fought a duel with Lafontaine, rather than abandon his supposed suit of Mariamne, could not, after wounding his adversary, accept the hand of his mistress. Such are the laws of honour. Marston's refusal had, however, another cause ; and Miss Mariamne was very dissatisfied. She had discovered that she had a rival.

Mordecai took it more easily, and proposed to go to town, and

see what could be done at the Horse Guards. This was agreed to ; and, before leaving, Marston called at the Prince of Wales's villa to leave his card, as the prince had frequently sent to inquire during his illness. The gentleman in waiting told him that his royal highness had ordered, that, whenever Mr. Marston called, he should be apprised of it. He, in consequence, was introduced. The prince, having important letters to answer, could not keep him long ; 'but,' said he, 'we dine at seven ; you will probably meet some whom you would be gratified by seeing. Adieu ! Remember, seven.' Marston was punctual ; and immediately after his arrival was introduced by the prince to his companions : C—— and H—— ; Sir P—— F——, and W——. Sheridan arrived during the dinner. After cracking some jokes, all in very bad taste, very dull, and contrasting with the reputation for wit of the royal host and his associates, the conversation was turned on politics by the arrival of the French papers, and the reading, by the prince, of some parts of an oration of the famous Mirabeau ! The private band of the prince, stationed in one of the thickets near the cottage, put an end to the reflections that followed ; and, after an elegant supper, the company retired.

On the following day, Marston left for London, for the purpose of recovering his lost ensigncy ; but the guest of the heir to the throne could not succeed at the Horse Guards, even with the assistance of Mordecai. Fortunately for him, however, the influence of the Jew in another quarter—the foreign office—was sufficiently established to have his *protégé* sent over to Paris as an *attaché* to the English embassy, '*without a public appointment, without even being known by name to the foreign secretary ;*' and yet, '*on a most secret and confidential mission ;*' in fact, '*to carry on all the real work of diplomacy.*' ! An Etonian of eighteen or nineteen, who cannot get a commission as an ensign, is not very particular about what he can get ; and therefore he allowed himself to be made a statesman, trusting to the chapter of accidents for becoming a soldier. He started for Paris.

Our hero, of course, was well acquainted with the French Revolution : he had heard it all from the French princes, duchesses, generals, noblemen, and noble ladies, to whom he had been introduced at Brighton ; and the morale of it had been given to him by the Prince of Wales, and by Mordecai ; so that, on his arrival in the French metropolis, he was prepared for any emergency. He entered the city at the very moment that Louis XVI. and his family were brought back as prisoners, after their attempt to escape ; and the description of the procession could not be given without a due accompaniment of

murders which never were perpetrated. ‘*His time was soon occupied with official functions, which became constantly more important, and of which he, (though an unknown agent,) received flattering opinions from Downing-street.*’ He mingled extensively in society, and met with Brissot, Condorcet, St. Etienne, Servan, Vergniaud, Talleyrand, Maury, De Stael, Roland, Robespierre, Lafayette, and even Buonaparte; besides beautiful ladies who afterwards became celebrated.

Whilst engaged in these diplomatic intercourses, a letter from Mordecai, delivered to him by a friend and agent of the wealthy usurer, acquainted him with the facts, that ‘the monarchy of the Bourbons had signed its own death-warrant;—that, by suffering a legislature to be formed by the vote of a multitude, it had flung all property into the power of beggars; that the three pillars of society were cut away, and the throne left in the air; that the train was already laid, and the day fixed.’ The letter concluded with the advice ‘of avoiding the mine, *there being no pleasure in being blown up, even in company with kings.*’

On receiving this important communication, which he was recommended ‘to impart to the English officials,’ Marston called on the ambassador, who was absent in the country. The first secretary was taking a lesson on the guitar, and would not be disturbed: a second, was under the hands of a valet, curling his ringlets, preparatory to a drive in the *Bois de Boulogne*, and could not attend to business; so that Marston had no means left of communicating his news, but by going to Dumouriez, the French minister for foreign affairs, whom he then saw for the first time; but who, of course, spoke to him with the greatest confidence; and kept him till midnight, ‘over a supper-table loaded with all the good things which French taste can provide!’ Within twenty hours of this interview, the ministry was dissolved, and Dumouriez had left, post-haste, to take the command of one of the armies. A few days afterwards, on the evening of the ninth of August, the same agent of Mordecai in Paris, who seems to have been another ‘statesman without official or public appointment,’ but commissioned to serve as a spy in the revolutionary police, and to be an ardent republican, apprised Marston, that the insurrection was fixed for that very night; and our hero, to ascertain the truth of the information, wandered along the *boulevards* and the *jaubourgs* till he was arrested by fierce-looking fellows, who took him to the head-quarters of the insurrection; where, after a short interrogatory, he was ordered to be shot as a spy. Fortunately for him, the sentence was hardly pronounced, when the sound of the tocsin was heard, and all the ruffians who had sat as his judges, or were preparing to be his executioners, immediately

left to march on the Tuileries. Marston thus easily escaped, and not being yet cured of his curiosity, went everywhere, to see every thing. At the end of the battle, he found himself at the Place du Carousel, just in time to see his friend Lafontaine almost shot dead, and to convey him to his hotel. Having put him to bed, under the care of his servants, he went to the physician of the embassy to claim his attendance. But when he returned, Lafontaine was gone. The brave fellow, on hearing the yells of the populace in the street, had started from his bed, seized his sword, and rushed out of the hotel. The statesman naturally ran after him, and, in his pursuit, went to the Assembly, where the king and his family were kept prisoners, and where he stopped till they were all transferred to the Temple.

On his return to his hotel, Marston found a dispatch from Downing-street, ordering him to repair, within twelve hours of its reception, to the head-quarters of the Austrian and Prussian army. Compliance with the order was almost impossible, the *barriers* being closed, and nobody allowed to leave Paris. But Mendoza, the agent of Mordecai, and the revolutionist statesman, overcame the difficulty by proposing to his royalist coadjutor to take the place of Capitaine Lafontaine, whom he had been ordered to arrest, and send to the prison of Vincennes, but who could not be found. The proposal was accepted. Marston was arrested as Lafontaine, and driven to Vincennes, where he was detained two days ; but, the blunder being discovered, he was set at liberty ; and, being provided with post-horses by his captor and liberator, Mendoza, he started for his destination, where he arrived on the fourth day. Of course, he was welcome, invited to supper, and consulted by the Duke of Brunswick, the generalissimo of the army ; and soon afterwards began to join military operations, in one of which he took Lafayette and his escort, who were leaving France. He soon afterwards threw up his diplomatic commission, volunteered as a common trooper in the Brunswick Hussars ; in which capacity, however, he was enabled to act as a staff-officer, to command captains and colonels, to be the equal of generals, and even to be made a Knight of Prussia. His bravery at the battle of Walmy was again praised by all ; but, summoned by the generalissimo to sign the treaty which was to secure the retreat of the Prussian army, he refused. During the retreat, he was surrounded by a French regiment, taken prisoner, and sent to Paris to be guillotined. Liberated on his way by a band of peasants who had routed his escort, he was soon after recaptured, and led to Paris ; but, before he arrived at the prison, he shot his keeper dead, and escaped. Again arrested in his flight, he is saved by his friend Mendoza, who

was in the midst of the murderers of September, and he accompanies them to the Jacobins, where his indiscretion again subjects him to arrest and imprisonment at St. Lazare. Tried soon afterwards, he is found guilty of royalism, and sentenced to death. Respited, without any cause, he is taken back to his prison—attempts to escape—is shot—again brought back, and, after a few days' delay, led to the guillotine with the Girondists; but, while he is waiting, in his waggon, the summons to ascend the scaffold, a troop of dragoons, sword in hand, ride into the square, seize all the waggons with their contents, and drive them to the barrier, where *wounded soldiers, French and Austrians, were waiting for means of transport to the military hospital of Vincennes*. There Marston was taken with them. He had been there but a few days, when the commandant, one day, put into his hands an order for immediate attendance, signed Robespierre. He went, and the *Terror of France* told him, that his services were requested for a journey to London, in order to open negociations with the English ministry for the maintenance of peace. Marston was too happy to accept such a mission; and, after passing, by order of Robespierre, the night at a *grande soiree*, given by Madame Roland, where he met with and was introduced to all the great men and beautiful ladies of the time (including *Josephine Beauharnais acting with Talma in a play drawn from Paul and Virginia*), he hastened on his journey, and safely arrived in London. After depositing his dispatches with one of the under-secretaries of the foreign office, he 'flew to Mordecai's den in the city.' Alas! his 'patron and family had left England. His disappointment was a pang. His head grew dizzy; he reeled; he would have fainted in the street.'

We are not informed of the results of the mission of our statesman, though we are told of his frequent communications with the government. But his services were at last rewarded: he obtained his ensigncy in the guards, and, in a short time, was appointed to a company, and, on the following day, his regiment embarked for the *glorious* campaign of 1793, under the Duke of York. After distinguishing himself on every occasion, as he had previously done, Marston was wounded, made a prisoner at the siege of Valenciennes, and liberated only by the surrender of the place, the result of which he was requested, by the Duke of York, to carry to London. He no sooner arrived, than he heard everywhere, even at the Horse Guards, the most unqualified censure of all the military operations; a censure which was soon justified by the disasters of the allied armies, and the return of the English troops.

But, even before the last event, Marston had been found necessary in Parliament, and a government borough elected him. His maiden speech, approved by Pitt, showed that he was

fit for any thing, and led to his appointment as secretary of Ireland, where he remained till 1798, when he was called into the English Cabinet. A mission to Russia enables him to discover the conspiracy against Paul, and to find, in the ball-room of the palace, a list of all the conspirators, without enabling him to save the aristocrat, whose death put an end to his embassy. On his way home, he hears that peace is made with France, and he repairs to Paris, which he leaves, after the scene between the First Consul and Lord Wentworth, to resume his seat in the Cabinet. The death of Pitt deprived him of his office, which he recovered after the death of Fox, and kept till the quarrel and duel between Canning and Castlereagh. In 1808, soon after the Spanish insurrection, he was appointed minister in Spain, where he was taken prisoner by Dupont, and escaped being shot only by the defeat of the French at Baylon. Having accomplished his mission to the Junta, Marston returned to England, and retired into private life. The tale is told.

Any one at all acquainted with the world, will agree with us, that the author of this novel has exhibited, particularly in the first two volumes, and in part of the third, either complete ignorance of the rules of our social relation, or a profound contempt for the intelligence of his fashionable readers. From his leaving Eton, to his interview with Robespierre, Marston is almost constantly represented in situations so much contrasting, not only with our own manners and habits, but also with those of the continent, and, above all, of France, during the Revolution, that, had not the name of the author been affixed to the title-page, we should have thought the work to be the essay of some young author, who had seen and read nothing but a country town and the magazines, and who had still to learn how to write. The confusion of men, of facts, of dates, and the enormous blunders to which that confusion leads, such as introducing prefects and sub-prefects in 1793, showing a convent of *béguines* in 1794, and innumerable others of the same character, are licences which cannot be tolerated, even in works of fiction, particularly when they pretend to convey historical lessons.

The reverend author does not even understand those of our own great men whom he introduces in his pages. They are all reduced to the standard of a blundering parish rector, in whatever they say or do. His wit is stale; his *bons mots* are, generally, not at second, but at fourth or fifth hand; most of his characters, those of Mordecai, of his daughter, of Lafontaine, of the smugglers, are piracies from Ainsworth, Dickens, and other authors. In short, as a literary composition, *THE SOLDIER AND STATESMAN* is discreditable to any one pretending to the title of scholar. Certainly it will benefit nobody;—except, perhaps, Alderman Gibbs, who may exultingly exclaim—*Dr. Croly has written a book!*

Art. III.—*Life in Christ : Four Discourses upon the Scripture Doctrine that Immortality is the peculiar privilege of the Regenerate ; being the substance of Lectures delivered at Hereford in the year 1845.* By Edward White, &c. London: Jackson and Walford.

UPON the face of this volume there stands an assumption which affords no favourable augury either of the modesty or discretion of its author; that '*immortality is the peculiar privilege of the regenerate,*' the author had to prove against all the Christian world, and this, no doubt, was part of the intention of his book; but that this is identical with scripture doctrine, or is a scriptural doctrine, is rather too much to assume in a title page; though it would have been quite admissible to tell us that he could prove it, or with at least a grain of modesty, as making a bow upon coming before his audience—that *he should attempt to prove it.* But let that pass; perchance the clearness and force of his reasonings will justify the confidence of his announcement.

We have no wish to inhibit any wise and well-intentioned effort to make crooked things straight and dark things light. We are perfectly willing that such subjects as the present volume discusses should be candidly and freely examined, provided it be done in the spirit of Christian humility, and with a deferential submission to the final authority, which we hold to be, not reason, not philosophy, representing purely human inferences, but *revelation*, which imparts final truths. The attempt to justify the ways of God with men may seem to many a promising path of usefulness; and it is not a little remarkable, that young divines are much more frequently drawn towards it than the old ones; but it is, to say the least, a path which, to tread safely, requires more than the circumspection, wisdom and knowledge which usually adorn the years of young men. If, however, their attempts are limited to the means which God has himself furnished, they may hope for a reward; but if, as is too common with youthful aspirants, they push their speculations beyond the frontiers which divine wisdom has appointed for our present knowledge, they then incur imminent peril of being bewildered, and at length totally benighted. The attempt to gaze continuously with unveiled eyes upon the celestial orb of light deprives us of the ability to perceive even terrestrial objects. It is well, therefore, for us all, if we must venture out of the beaten track of gospel truth, to keep before us the saying of the Apostle Paul, '*now we see through a glass darkly*' (δι' ὁσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι). The Christian revelation neither imparts nor was intended to impart, distinct and perfect knowledge of all that concerns either the original state of man, or the procedure of the Almighty with his human creation. If

such a man as Paul classed himself with those who 'knew but in part,' and if he was content to wait till 'that which is perfect is come,' much more may all the eager philosophers and divines, who are spreading their ambitious wings for flights into the regions of forbidden knowledge. At all events they must tolerate the caution not to report every undefinable mass they discover at a distance as *new land*, for they may rely upon it, the chances are in favour of its proving only a *fog*.

But germane to the task of justifying the ways of God, there is such a thing as a gratuitous, needless jealousy for God, which springs from a disloyal sympathy with his enemies. Some professedly zealous advocates for God's honour, are more tender of the rights of rebels than of the rights of Deity: and to such the rebuke is pertinent 'who hath required this at your hands?' The friend of revelation who attempts to diminish the mortifying repulsiveness of some revealed truth, or to set it in a softer light, for the sake of conciliating the depraved heart, or making the general scheme of divine revelation more palatable to the corrupted reason, which ought to be bowed and broken before the sovereign authority, performs a very dubious service, viewed either in reference to the truth and majesty of God, or the moral interests of men. There is a measure of explanation which it is perfectly lawful to attempt: this, however, is limited to the careful criticism of revelation, and the employment of our reason in ascertaining its sense: but to intermingle our own speculations and theories is always perilous, frequently presumptuous, and rarely productive of any benefit to those unbelievers whom we attempt to conciliate. Let revelation stand, with its own light and shade, untouched by a foreign hand. Its accuracy will ultimately be vindicated.

We have no wish here to insinuate any charge against the gentlemen who have lately been endeavouring to make the scripture doctrine of future punishments comport better with human notions of what is reasonable, equitable, and so on. Our readers shall have an opportunity of judging hereafter how far they have done justice to God's holy oracle, or how far they have betrayed it to the scoffer and the infidel. But we wish to hint to them, that the revolution they are endeavouring to effect in the whole scheme of Christian theology, and the strong protests they are lifting up against the received doctrines of the universal church, require them to see to it, that their reasonings have not been suggested by any such feelings of sickly and unholy sympathy with that proud and carnal heart of man which is 'enmity against God.'

If anything could excite the suspicion of such a perilous procedure it would be an ominous sentence in Mr. White's

pamphlet, (alas, not a solitary one!) in which he says, 'these are days when the thoughts of many hearts must be revealed, and when the doubts of honest minds must be silenced by argument, rather than by authority. *We need a credible Christianity*—a religion which is not afraid to give a reason of the hope and the fear which is in it: and the God of truth is best served by those who 'prove all things,' and 'hold fast that which is good.'" It is fairly to be inferred, both from this phraseology and the author's bold assumption in his title-page, that the Christianity we at present enjoy, is, in his esteem, neither credible nor capable of giving a reason of its hope or its fear. Surely he who can make such sweeping and censorious allusions to the deplorable state of the Christian church is about to usher in a new age, and to pour a flood of light upon the hoary heads of those grandsires who have believed and taught an incredible Christianity, quite unsuited to the superior intelligence of this era of sages, who have discarded authority and intend to bow only to irrefragable argumentation. How far his success with his more credible Christianity will justify his expectations, is yet among the possibilities of the future; but in so far as the experience of others affords any insight into its tendencies, it has no very flattering records to unfold, and has certainly achieved nothing in the way of vanquishing unbelief, to entitle it to the appellation of a 'more excellent way.'

The difficulty of reconciling the scripture doctrine of future punishments with human notions of supreme mercy and perfect justice, has led to the formation of various theories in different ages of the church, which have for a time attracted some attention, but have generally been found to create more difficulties than they removed, and have necessitated the adoption of interpretations of scripture so irreconcilable with the laws and usages of language, that the great body of learned men, who must be supposed to have examined the subject as anxiously and conscientiously as the authors of those theories, have felt constrained rather to bear all the moral difficulties than tamper with the plain sense of scripture. These amended interpretations have been proposed, examined, and rejected, simply under the overpowering conviction, that the divine authority has certainly attached the idea of perpetuity to the doom of the wicked. It ought not to be doubted, and no honourable controversialist would insinuate such a doubt—whether all these learned and pious persons have calmly and seriously weighed the full import of the terms, and have considered all the pleas urged by what is denominated 'moral argumentation.' The fact is acknowledged, that they have not felt constrained to renounce the established and common acceptance of the disputed passages. We cannot

allow Mr. White or any one else to go unreprieved, when they insinuate that this has arisen from a tame acquiescence in authority, or in traditional interpretation: and for this reason, that it has prevailed as generally in churches where authority and tradition are discarded, as where they are more or less admitted. Neither can we allow that this fact is attributable to any indifference, or wilful oversight of the questions at issue: for we believe there are few studious and thoughtful divines, who have not felt their minds anxiously exercised upon the subject, who have not read anxiously and carefully what has been written on both sides, and have probably pursued their investigations more extensively and for much longer periods than the gentlemen who have recently taken part in the debate. Yet to them the force of the documentary evidence—that is, the authority of the supreme judge himself—has appeared so strong as to leave them no room to doubt the accuracy of the orthodox interpretation. The position in which such minds have been placed, by having to keep the moral argument in abeyance, may have been a painful and an anxious one, but at any rate they have, as we think, adopted the humbler, wiser, and safer course—of submitting to what they considered, the supreme decision; taking refuge under their difficulties, as all others are occasionally obliged to do, in that *finale* to all our rational questionings about God's ways, 'shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?' If a being constituted immortal before his probation sins and incurs punishment, the perpetuity of the punishment follows his nature, and not the will of the avenger.

This may perhaps be allowed to pass as an outline of the best men's thoughts and reasonings upon this momentous subject for ages past. But as there have always been some few who could not acquiesce in this decision, so lately two or three such persons have felt constrained to lay their thoughts and reasonings upon it before the public. Among these Mr. White undoubtedly takes the lead, if not in point of time, yet clearly in accomplishment and general ability. His first *brochure* was entitled, 'What was the Fall?' of which it is enough to say here, that it contained a very imperfect and partial statement of the opinions of some eminent divines, with a sprinkling of very fallacious reasonings in notes by the author, calculated rather to unsettle the mind of the reader and shake his faith in admitted opinions, than to fix any definite idea, except that Mr. White denies the perpetuity of future punishments. But this has been succeeded by the volume named at the head of this article, which contains an elaborate exposition of the author's new theory of 'Credible Christianity' to the extent of between three hundred and four hundred pages.

We believe there is nothing new in the theory itself, though there is novelty in the combination of the parts, which have certainly never before figured in juxta-position. Its fundamental principle has long been before the world, in the works of Dodwell, from which quiet dormitory, Mr. White has thought proper to rouse it, and to present it in a novel dress. But that our readers may have a full view of Mr. White's new and improved edition of Christianity; we shall lay the complete outline of his theory before them.

He strenuously maintains and endeavours to weave into a system to which he labours hard to make holy scripture tributary, the following opinions:

1st. That the human soul and the human body were both created equally mortal; that is to say, the soul as naturally subject to death as the body; or taking the converse, that neither of them was absolutely intended by the Creator for immortal existence. His words are,

'Thus, then, we are unavoidably conducted to the conclusion that the doctrine, whether of a necessary or of an actual immortality in the human soul, whether in the case of Adam's original constitution or our own, is a great and fundamental error; having no ground of reality whatever, either in natural or in revealed religion.'—p. 33.

2nd. That Adam thus constituted of a mortal body and soul had the prospect of immortality set before him, only as the prize to be gained by observing the prohibition not to eat of the forbidden tree; but that failing, he missed that precious prize of immortality, offended his Creator, and just remained in his constitution as created, a mortal creature, but doomed to die *that very day*.

3rd. That God foreseeing such an issue, determined to suspend, through the intervention of mercy in a mediator, the execution of the sentence thus incurred, in order to bring man and his race under a *second probation* for immortality, which was to consist of an appeal to his faith in the promised seed, in distinction from the trial of obedience to a prescribed law; and, that thus the actual sentence was superseded.

4th. That all Adam's progeny are like him, mortal in body and in soul, not in consequence of his fall; but by the natural law of their creation.

5th. That by a belief of the Gospel of Christ (meaning thereby, what is usually denominated evangelical faith,) men become united to Christ, in whom alone they have the hope of immortality for the entire man, both body and soul, through his resurrection.

6th. That, finally, all who die in a wicked and unrenewed state will be punished by having the body raised to life,

reunited to the soul, publicly judged and condemned, and then subjected to severe suffering for a limited period, at the expiration of which they will be utterly exterminated.

There are two or three points in which this theory deviates from the speculations of Dodwell and others. It starts indeed with the same assertion, that mankind were not created immortal; but, whereas Dodwell traced the origin of immortality to the virtue of *baptism* duly administered by the episcopally authorised dispensers of the gift of life, Mr. White traces it to the living faith which unites the soul to Christ; and further, while Dodwell encumbered his theory with the doctrine, that those who rejected the Gospel, that is, baptismal regeneration, should be condemned to *everlasting punishment*; Mr. White refuses to accept from Dodwell this notion, and maintains, that, all who have sinned, whether under the light of natural law, or in defiance of Gospel grace, will only suffer a limited punishment, and then sink into annihilation, either as the necessary effect of that punishment, or as the consummation of the primitive law of their nature; which we must suppose to have been superseded at their resurrection, and during the whole period of their punishment after death, through the mediation of Christ, for the sole purpose of inflicting such punishment. We are not quite certain, however, which of these representations the author would acknowledge, or whether both; since both seem to be inseparable from his theory, and may be discovered in different parts of his discourses.

The first and principal objection to this entire scheme is, that commencing with the denial of man's natural immortality, it totally perverts and inverts the Mosaic statement of the divine prohibition, and the threatened consequences of its violation. It assumes that man had no immortality, and no title to any, prior to the command not to eat of the tree of knowledge; but that a prospect of gaining such immortality, both for his soul and his body, opened upon him in that most extraordinary, and (in this view) unintelligible sentence; 'in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.' Where does Mr. White find any promise offered to Adam of this stupendous endowment of immortality? To make the theory comport at all with the text of scripture, obedience ought to have been stimulated by a promise—a promise of eternal life—not disobedience threatened with a loss of being. Had the divine sentence been 'do this and thou shalt become immortal'—we could have admitted that Mr. White had a foundation for his opinion; but while the text reads—'*in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die*'—we must aver that never was theory on any subject in more fatal collision with the facts which could alone sustain it. Upon Mr.

White's theory the eating or the non-eating was to be the hinging point of man's immortality. That ineffable prize was to be gained by his abstinence (say for a limited space), and yet not a hint is given of any such issue; no form of promise is used by the *Deity*; no intimation of the stupendous result; no promise of reward at all is set before man for keeping the divine command; but simply and exclusively a threat of something which he might not understand, yet might infer was tremendously awful, as indicating his Maker's anger. No powers of logic, nor legerdemain of critics can ever reconcile the language put by the sacred penman, and, as Mr. White believes with us, by inspiration, into the mouth of God, with the supposition that man was not then immortal, but was to become so by keeping the prohibition; and further, that the conception of the method by which he was to merit that immortality, was intended to be conveyed to him by the words; 'But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it, for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.' Gen. ii. 17.

Supposing Mr. White's theory true, the intention of the Supreme Being must have been, to present before the mind of his new made *image* this highest conceivable prize which omnipotent love could offer, in language adapted to excite all the youthful and healthy vigour of a pure and loyal spirit, by those visions of immortal hope which ought to have burst upon his soul in the divine words, displaying a prize so vast and glorious. Instead of which, we find nothing but the significant, appalling threatening, '*thou shalt surely die.*' To say that this means, *thou shalt not attain to immortality*, appears to us the most outrageous perversion and inversion both of language and thought, that modern times have witnessed. We hesitate not to pronounce it perfectly inconceivable, that the almighty and gracious Being who had determined to subject man to such a test as that described, could have used the language attributed to him by Moses, if he had intended to offer to Adam eternal life, upon the supposed condition. It is quite impossible that any human mind could so present its ideas to any other mind. Let every reader, and Mr. White himself, if he shall peruse these pages, imagine the case of a sovereign prince proposing to confer some valuable immunity on one of his subjects, as a reward for a given act of obedience to an absolute or arbitrary command, and that, instead of naming what should be the reward, he never alludes to it in any way, not even affording the obscurest hint that it was a valuable *something*, but only threatening to take something away for disobedience. Yet, upon Mr. White's theory, God did not really intend to take any good away from man, for he was already a mortal creature, he simply intended to withhold

from him that reward which obedience alone could have gained. The difference is so vast between the text of Moses and the explanation supplied by Mr. White, that the attempt to reconcile them is not simply fruitless, it is *absurd*. Either Moses must give way, or Mr. White's theory must fall to the ground; for as long as the text stands in the Bible, and that will be as long as the world lasts, '*thou shalt surely die,*' can never be read, nor made to signify, *thou shalt not gain immortality*.

But this difficulty is not the only one arising out of the text. The next is scarcely less serious. Mr. White insists that the term '*death*' shall mean in this first threatening, just natural death, the dissolution and end of body and soul, and nothing more. Very well; be it so. Now us let try it. Man is already a mortal creature, both in body and soul, and, by the law of his constitution, will, some day, fall into utter decay, be as though he had never been. Where, then, is the terror of the divine threatening, which is to keep him back from transgressing? It simply announces, Mr. White replies, that the law of his constitution should take effect *that very day* on which he transgressed. And this, be it observed, is openly avowed by Mr. White to be his view of the import of the sentence; it merely pledged the Almighty to carry into effect *instantly*, the law which had previously subjected man to death or extermination. It is not a little remarkable that Mr. White, with his seeming knowledge of Hebrew idiom, should have attached the whole weight of the threatening to the clause relating to time; since nothing is more certain than that such a restriction cannot be forced upon the terms. All that from the analogy of other similar phrases could be determined, and from the divine exposition of the sentence afterwards given, was, that from that very day he should incur the sentence '*to die,*' the meaning of which had yet to be unfolded, at least, experimentally—perhaps even the very idea to be gained. Mr. White's notion of the divine threatening reduces it as nearly to a *brutum fulmen*, a mere nullity, as can well be conceived: for he insists that it does not mean that a being otherwise endowed with a principle of immortal life and happiness in his Creator's favour should, in some sense, forfeit this life, and at some future period taste death, in one or both the component parts of his nature—but simply, that a being already so constituted that he must die at some indefinite period, if he did not merit immortality by his own obedience, should come to his end on the day of his offence.

But after thus exhausting the divine threatening of all meaning, save that of time, what will our readers think of the final step in the reasoning by which even this is to be set aside, since the exigency of the theory required that, some how or other, even

this shall be got rid of—for instead of dying on the day of his sin, as God had threatened, he is told that *he shall live on to labour and suffer*, and does actually live on for nearly a thousand years, and for aught that appears, or Mr. White can show to the contrary, that may have been quite as long as he would have lived according to the law of his original constitution, if he had never sinned. So that by this process Mr. White has effectually deprived the divine threatening of all meaning. It only threatened at first instant death to a being sure to die some day, and it turned out that instead of dying on the day indicated, the sinner lived nine hundred and thirty years.

This is making light indeed, both of the offence of man and the threatening of God. The answer to the question, ‘What was the Fall?’ is, upon this hypothesis, a very slight and simple affair—it was as near to nothing as can well be conceived. But is it really so? Will reverence for the divine word allow us to speak thus of a threatening which makes *death* appear to depend *exclusively* upon disobedience, and implies that sin could alone incur it? Can any sense at all be attached to the Apostle’s words, ‘Sin entered into the world and death by sin;’ and must they not be contradicted and denied by the person who says, death had virtual possession of man before his fall, and therefore sin could not introduce it; all that sin did was to *antedate* death, for without sin both man’s soul and body would have perished, and yet even the death so hastened by sin did not come!! Whatever obscurity may attach to the term *death* as then first used, and used by the Deity, and whatever controversy may be raised upon the question of its literal or figurative import, surely nothing is more obvious than that the forfeiture of something ineffably precious and in man’s present possession, is signified. The only way in which the threatening could exert an influence upon the mind of Adam, must have been through the consciousness of possessing that precious something which the words place in jeopardy; and, just in proportion to the deep sense of the worth of that something, must have been the force of the appeal which the Creator thereby made to man’s hopes and fears.

This view of the import of the threatening appears moreover to be confirmed by the language both of Eve and of the tempter, language which we deem wholly incompatible with Mr. White’s theory. If man was really constituted mortal, he must be supposed conscious of it, just as he was conscious of his rationality; and Mr. White must admit that this knowledge was possessed, whether by revelation or intuition, before there could have been felt any motive to keep the prohibition which involved the promise of immortality; for otherwise there could

have arisen in his mind no rational motive for obedience. Let us, then, accept Mr. White's hypothesis, that Adam and Eve were mortal before their fall, and knew that they were so. The woman says to the tempter, repeating God's words, which had impressed her mind as a threatening of some portentous evil, 'God hath said ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.' 'And the serpent said unto the woman, ye shall not surely die. For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods (God, *Elohim*), knowing good and evil.' Gen. iii. 3—5.

Here it is throughout supposed that the threatening conveys a sentence of terrible forfeiture, which the woman evidently dreads, but which the tempter denies, affirming that instead of *dying* they should acquire superior knowledge, equal to the Deity himself. But suppose the temptation addressed to beings conscious, as we have shown they must have been, of mortality, on Mr. White's hypothesis, the terms of the temptation would have been inappropriate, and destitute of subtlety, since their own consciousness would have been a refutation to the saying, 'Ye shall not surely die.' They would have better known the law of their own being than to yield to so gross a delusion. But suppose them conscious of a natural immortality, which the divine threatening places in jeopardy, and then the impious assurance that they should not forfeit it by the suggested act, but should rather attain to a new and higher kind of life, by becoming like God himself—'ye shall be as God'—becomes a temptation flattering to their present state, confirming their own consciousness of an imperishable nature, and insinuating the prospect of extensive and mysterious accessions of knowledge. But upon Mr. White's theory of non-immortality, the language of Satan must have called up an instantaneous contradiction, 'we shall die; for it is the law of our being.' So also when God held out the threat, the reply would have been pertinent; *that is no more than thou hast doomed us to already, for we expect to die, and we have no promise of reward for our obedience, or of immortality, if we abstain.* Such thoughts, if not expressed in words, could hardly have failed to pass through their minds, upon the hypothesis of our author. In short, to make the whole history of the facts, as well as the inevitable reasonings and reflections of all the parties concerned, comport with Mr. White's theory of man's natural mortality both in body and soul, and of immortality depending upon obedience to the prohibition, every thing must be reversed, and the whole narrative be thrown into inextricable confusion. If this is Mr. White's idea of 'credible Christianity,' we are quite sure the old orthodoxy will

still maintain its ground ; and for aught we have yet discovered, it is in all respects worthy of doing so.

The elaborate attempt made to sustain his first assumption of man's mortality, by denying all weight and force to the universal belief of immortality, and by endeavouring to expel the idea from every passage both of the old and new Testament, we cannot undertake to refute. His determination to translate *death* and *life* as signifying literal death and natural life, is necessitated by his theory, and is pursued in opposition to a host of passages where a literal sense cannot be imposed. The idea of the loss of the Divine favour, as the real death of the soul of man, is totally discarded, though one would have supposed that to a contemplative man, full of deep thoughts, as Mr. White professes to be, this would have presented the fullest and most solemn image of death. 'In Thy favour is life;' 'to be spiritually minded is life;' 'to be carnally minded is *death*;' 'I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly;' are all passages which cannot, by any possibility, be made to signify respectively existence or non-existence. It would be no difficult task to overthrow the whole fabric of misrepresentation which Mr. White has built up upon this subject, but it is wholly impossible, within our limits, and we hope is now quite needless. His assertion, laboriously sustained by texts from the whole Bible, that man is not affirmed to be immortal, may be answered by affirming, neither is he in any distinct proposition affirmed to be rational, but he is throughout treated and appealed to upon the implied truth of both these facts; and it was just as needless to state and prove his immortality as his rationality. The Bible can no more be understood without the one than without the other. The very notion of moral government, and the essential idea of redemption, are little better than nullified without it. But we must pass to other matters.

If Mr. White has not made out his first principle of the natural mortality of the soul, he has established nothing else. All his arguments, for instance, upon the limited meaning of *αιων*, fail to exclude from it, in all cases, the unlimited sense; and if he cannot show that the particular case in question—future punishments—is one of those cases to which its own nature supplies a necessary limit; then he cannot show that *αιων* and *αιωνιον*, as applied to such punishment, must have their limited, and not their unlimited signification. The real difficulty which he either did not perceive, or has evaded, lies in the fact, that the very same term stands in connexion with the promise of life, and in the same passages in which it is connected with punishment; it stands so evidently in emphatic and designed contrast, that our wonder is how that fact could have

escaped him. Mr. White rests his case very much upon his *exegesis*; but never was there a more conspicuous failure than in his remarks upon Matt. xxv. 46. His inculcation of our translators, his attempts to substitute another idea for *κολασιν*, *punishment*, with his concluding apology for the unnatural and forced construction he advocates, together with the oversight of the pointed antithesis or contrast, are quite unworthy of the man who, scouting authority, is to be satisfied, and to satisfy others, with nothing but sound reasoning and unanswerable arguments. In his whole reasoning upon the texts cited, we find nothing that is new, nothing that has not been answered again and again; but we find much that is not true, and can never stand the test of a clear and searching examination.

But there is no part of Divine revelation upon which his theory has so important, so injurious a bearing, as upon the doctrine of redemption. He represents the mercy of God through the Mediator, as commencing with the suspension of the first threatening, 'In the day,' &c. The only reason why it did not take effect *that day*, he derives from the mediatorial scheme. So that all Adam's progeny owe their very existence not to the law of their Creator, which said, *before the fall*, 'be fruitful and multiply, &c.:' but to the mediation of Christ, that is to say, Christ's mediation relates, in the first instance, not to sinful beings, as such, but to the bringing into existence the whole progeny of Adam. This is, indeed, a novelty of speculation, crude and indigestible. No foundation can be found for it in the Divine word; and it appears to us wholly irreconcilable with the nature of the Mediator's work, as represented both by himself and his apostles.

Moreover, in scripture, the redemption is everywhere represented as a buying of men back from impending evil, a deliverance from the wrath to come, and from the curse of the law. 'The soul that sinneth it shall die,' 'Cursed is every one,' &c. But Mr. White's theory virtually says there was no such deliverance, and no such redemption, for sinners were never exposed to eternal death; and there is no such thing as a perpetual exclusion of the soul from God and bliss, and consignment to everlasting punishment, consequently we are not indebted to Christ for any thing of this sort; but, on the contrary, we owe to him our very existence—our life as men is in Christ, but for whom we should never have been born. The second probation for attaining immortality by believing the gospel thus becomes a new law of man's very being, and no redemption. We presume it did not occur to the author, that this is any depreciation of the work of Christ. Neither does he seem to be aware that such a theory must become burdened with far heavier difficulties than the old orthodoxy. For whereas that system represents the existence of

Adam's progeny as the result of the sovereign will of the Creator, expressed before man's fall, and therefore throws the responsibility of their coming into existence as a fallen and exiled race upon the head of their progenitor; while Mr. White's theory represents all the human race as deriving their existence solely through Christ's mediation: so that upon that theory, the mediatorial scheme has to sustain the responsibility of this depraved race existing at all, existing under the appalling circumstances Mr. White so vividly describes in other places; and then by far the majority of them going out of this world into a future one, of limited duration indeed, yet without receiving any benefit whatever from that intervention of mediatorial grace which brought them into existence; unless, indeed, he counts it a sufficient advantage, that they have had a depraved and miserable existence, and that Divine *mercy* means to sustain it till they are raised from the dead, and punished in a future world.

If these are Mr. White's notions of the mediatorial scheme, then we must say it would have been far more merciful to have allowed the sentence to take effect instantly, and, by the death of Adam and Eve, to have cut off the possibility of their giving birth to a race, the masses of which were to be finally destroyed. The old theology at least does not trace these horrors up to the mediatorial scheme. Here is an astounding novelty in this age of comprehensive and deep thinkers, which our readers, as well as ourselves, little expected to encounter. Whether it removes any difficulties, or aggravates them a thousand fold, it will require no Œdipus to determine. The whole theory evinces great inattention to the bearing of favourite notions upon undeniable facts and revealed truths. Frequently the author's statements clash among themselves. There is throughout a lamentable deficiency of deference to scriptural statements, and a constant effort to unspiritualize spiritual things. The determination of the author to overthrow the orthodox doctrine of future punishment, leads him to theorize in every direction where he thinks he can close a pass, or open a battery against it, without perceiving that, in so doing, he is constantly making war upon some other truth of scripture, or destroying some of his own principles.

Let us take an instance or two of his inconsistencies. He says in his pamphlet, p. 44, 'The doubts of honest minds must be silenced by argument rather than by authority.'

In his volume, Ded. p. viii., we read, 'the argument from authority is a useful accessory to the force of evidence, and in the present case is most eminently needful. It may therefore be mentioned, that amongst the many moderns who have on various grounds been opposed to the ordinary opinion upon one

principal subject examined in these discourses (the doctrine of future punishment) the great name of Archbishop Whately, and of the late Mr. Foster may be adduced.'

Before proceeding further, Mr. White must allow us to say he is obviously wrong in stating so much of Archbishop Whately. That eminent person has certainly not declared his approbation of Mr. White's opinion. His decision, after giving a view of both sides of the argument, is, first against the notion of a universal restoration, and then against such a determination *either way* as to insist upon belief. His closing words are 'on the whole, therefore, I think we are not warranted in concluding (as some have done) so positively concerning this question as to make it a point of Christian faith, to interpret figuratively, and not literally, the 'death' and 'destruction' spoken of in scripture as the doom of the condemned; and to insist on the belief that they are to be kept alive for ever.'

'There are persons, I believe, who do not like to hear this question spoken of as one left *undecided* by scripture. Some would wish that the final extinction of the condemned should be positively declared, because they *wish* to believe the doctrine *true*; and some again, from thinking it a *dangerous* doctrine, wish to have the opposite one positively declared. But all such wishes are quite foreign from the subject.'—*Script. Rev.* p. 235.

This is a very different account of the matter from Mr. White's, and shows that he had both mistaken the archbishop, and pressed him into a service which he declines. But let us return to the subject of the passages cited above. Mr. White says,—

'It is obvious that our *first* inquiry should be, 'what saith the scriptures?' our first business to ascertain the declarations of Almighty God Himself on this fearful subject, by interpreting his words according to the ordinary and invariable rules of sacred criticism. If the Bible teaches us, as we are assured that it does, that the wicked will be 'tormented' and 'destroyed' in the literal sense of those words, we may feel quite at our ease in reference to any and every objection of a practical nature that may be brought against the conclusion, 'The weakness of God is stronger than man.' If we are warranted in taking the position, 'Thus saith the Lord,' *we are warranted also in dismissing without examination every opposing argument directed to the overthrow of the doctrine as manifestly self-condemned and unsound.*'—p. 305.

This amounts to a total rejection of all 'moral argumentation,' as urged against his supposed scriptural theory. Yet he is profuse in the employment of that very kind of reasoning against the orthodox opinion, and does not hesitate to dress it up in some passages more in the garb of infidelity than becomes one professing supreme deference for the authority of the Bible.

Moreover, Mr. White has laid some considerable stress upon the extracts given from Mr. Foster's letter, the whole force of which consists of *moral argumentation*. First, he disclaims authority, and then appeals to it: next, he disdains to stand upon any foundation but 'thus saith the Lord;' but yet, when it suits his purpose, he is quite willing to accept the reinforcement of a good piece of moral argumentation. But in quoting Mr. Foster, it now appears, from the 'Life of Foster,' that he has suppressed one or two passages which throw light upon that eminent man's opinion. Speaking of the question, what say the scriptures? he remarks, '*there is a force in their expressions at which we well may tremble.*' 'On no allowable interpretation do they signify less than a very protracted duration and formidable severity.' And, again, 'Some intelligent and devout inquirers, unable to admit the terrific doctrine, and yet pressed by the strength of scripture language, have had recourse to a literal interpretation of the threatened destruction, the eternal death, as signifying annihilation of existence after a more or less protracted penal infliction. Even this would be a prodigious relief. But it is an admission, that the terms do mean something final in an absolute sense. *I have not directed much thought to this point.*'

It is very evident that Mr. Foster felt the language of scripture to be formidably strong, and his chief plea is, that because it does not absolutely settle the question by the use of words that it would be absurd to attempt to soften or evade; therefore he hopes it may not be presumptuous to allow the arguments, derived from weighty moral considerations, to enforce the necessity for a limited interpretation of some terms, and a literal interpretation of others. But it is evident that Mr. Foster had very slightly considered the critical part of the question, and that his mind was almost exclusively influenced by the moral argument: upon Mr. White's own showing, therefore, Mr. Foster's arguments are '*to be dismissed without examination.*'

But Mr. White has advanced far beyond Archbishop Whately, who thinks the scriptures have left the question *undecided*, and almost equally beyond Mr. Foster, who evidently shrinks from the task of stating what he thought the scripture language teaches. To our author it is all plain and clear, that the scripture neither teaches man's immortality nor the perpetuity of punishment. It may be so, but he has certainly not been successful in proving it. His vauntings and his misrepresentations add no force to his reasonings. The many things said very contemptuously of orthodoxy and its 'easy wisdom,' display no favourable state of mind for so serious, and important, and difficult a subject. To us it appears a much easier wisdom to invent or compound such a theory as Mr. White has done,

than to bow down the understanding before the authority of revelation, and receive its dictates with unswerving confidence, even when the proud heart is rising up in rebellion, and the struggles of natural propensities against the truth maintain a conflict with faith. Rather indeed would we groan in spirit through life under the moral difficulties which reason presents, than commit to publication many passages which disfigure this volume. Take for instance the following :

‘ The first reflection which suggests itself, as of some weight, in favour of the preceding series of statements, is, that they constitute, altogether, *a scheme of religion more intelligible to the ordinary moral understanding of mankind*, and therefore more likely to be practically efficacious, than the opinions which are generally entertained. Irreligion and the attractions of sinful pleasure, take hold of the minds of men by the handles of so many passions and faculties, by the allurements of sense, by the blandishments of taste and imagination, by the sophistical deceptions of erroneous thinking, by the ties, the sympathies, and the affections of nature, that one would suppose it was impossible for Christianity to fix too firm a grasp upon the convictions of the intellect, and upon the warmer sentiments of the heart. It is, however, to be admitted, with much lamentation, that the popular spiritual religion around us does *not* thus excite the mental faculties to vigorous and believing action ; does *not* commend itself, in all its parts, to the hearty assent of the meditative power ; does *not* elicit the free, graceful, and joyous expression of the feelings of the soul. The truth of the *gospel* is received, and the faith of it operates to an admirable extent in the production of a holy life ; but the scheme of eternal salvation, as a whole, is seen by the common mind invested in a sort of lurid indistinct haze, which takes it completely out of the range of topics adapted for the ordinary exercise of thought and reflection. A spurious humility is consequently engendered, which, but too often, flatters the self-complacency of good men, by imputing to them the easy wisdom of orthodoxy, and excuses their idleness, by pronouncing all ‘ reasoning ’ upon the objects of ‘ faith ’ a presumptuous sin. Thinking comes to be regarded as a dangerous employment, and honest inquiry is confounded with Socinianism.

‘ Now, it appears to be no inconsiderable advantage of the statements which have been set forth in the previous discourses, that they present Christianity to our view in a shape adapted to the moral intelligence of the humblest minds, as well as to that of the higher order of understandings. Under the prevailing representations, indeed, we can scarcely wonder at the submissive but unmeaning stare of the village labourer, or Sunday-school child ; at the stubborn incredulity of the learned philosopher ; or at the indignant repulse of the astonished idolater, when we tell them, in the same breath, of the *tender mercy* of our God in the gospel, and of the reputed constitution of things which that gospel came into the world to remedy for the elect. And it is not enough for us to declare, with an assumption of peculiar piety, that the want of assent to the theory thus promul-

gated is to be attributed to an absence of the Holy Spirit's converting and illuminating grace ; since it is not the office of the Spirit to quench the moral understanding of man ; and large numbers of persons, who give the best practical evidence of being subjects of the grace of the Spirit, experience as much difficulty in the reception of that theory as the labourer, the philosopher, or the subtle Hindoo." —pp. 290—292.

Upon this passage, which is really very flippant and insulting towards all the teachers of the orthodox system, as well as totally unfounded in many of its assertions, we can find room only for two or three brief observations. The first is, how much wiser and more modest would it have been for the author to wait the superior effects of *his scheme of religion* upon the moral understandings of men, before he had thus published his anticipations. If, in converting the wicked people of the land, he had risen to the commanding position of such preachers as Whitefield, Wesley, and others, and he had demonstrated that the superior excellency of *his scheme* was the cause of his transcendent success, his orthodox readers might then, indeed, have looked grave and serious, under the rebuke he has administered ; but at present, all such gloryings are vain.

Moreover, Mr. White's recommendation of his scheme of religion as 'more acceptable to the moral understanding,' etc., interpreted into scripture language, just means making the wisdom of God more acceptable to the carnal hearts or minds of men, which Paul says are '*enmity* against God ; which cannot receive the things of the Spirit of God, because they are foolishness unto them, neither can they know them because they are spiritually discerned.' We feel quite satisfied that Paul is right ; and, while we doubt the superior intelligibility of Mr. White's scheme, we can perceive in it no augury of greater success, either in converting labourers, Sunday-school children, philosophers or idolaters. That it will produce that superior kind of piety he describes, we utterly disbelieve ; but that it will form an initiative, as it has done in other cases, to far greater deviations from gospel truth, and to a total renunciation of spiritual religion, as it recedes further from orthodoxy, is nothing more than observation warrants us to anticipate.

Our last remark shall be, that Mr. White's acquaintance with the opinions, practice and piety of the orthodox of various bodies, lay and clerical, learned and unlearned, ought to have restrained him from penning so essentially false and slanderous a description as that contained in the cited passage. He ought to know, and certainly will hereafter, that, if what is termed *the easy wisdom of orthodoxy* does not 'take hold of the warmer sentiments of the heart, does not excite the mental faculties to vigorous and believing action, does not elicit the free, graceful, and

joyous expression of the feelings of the soul'—then there is nothing else that does—or can: for, as to the effect of theories like his own, and crude speculations beyond the terms of the simple 'truth as it is in Jesus,' wherever they have been introduced and gained a footing, they have uniformly promoted any thing and every thing rather than that high state of joyous and intelligent piety which he so warmly desiderates. And assuredly his experience twenty years hence will be as singular as happy, if his new scheme of a more credible Christianity should evolve these predicted capabilities for arousing a lost world to the call of salvation, and preparing a degenerate church for its Lord's final advent.

But we must terminate our strictures. If we have employed the language of rebuke beyond the bounds of ordinary criticism and calm argument, it is because there is in Mr. White's work so much that is offensive and calumnious towards all orthodox Christians, and so many passages better becoming the flippant and taunting pen of infidelity than that of a young and inexperienced minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ. He is, no doubt, a well educated, amiable, and, in some respects, clever man; but he has entered upon a course of speculation for which his powers of abstraction and generalization, as well as of criticism, are wholly incompetent. It is next to impossible that he should remain where he now stands. He must go forward to further deviations from the truth, or retrace his steps to principles he has renounced. No man would have remonstrated more warmly and strenuously against several of his opinions, and especially his denial of immortality, than the late John Foster; and glad indeed should we have been had he lived to render his young friend this service. But his departure reminds us how soon all speculations must yield to facts; and how important it is, while we live, that we should do nothing calculated in any degree to weaken the force of Divine threatenings, or confirm the alienated heart, in its hatred of God, and impeachment of his ways. We have penned our strictures less for Mr. White, than for the Christian public; and we have done so from a deep sense of what is due to the truth of God, and to the interests of vital Christianity. It would, indeed, be a humiliating, as well as inexplicable fact, if Mr. White's theory were the true one; that amidst all the myriads of minds employed upon the Holy Scriptures so intently and for so long a period, it should have been reserved for him, at this late age, to make the discovery of the TRUE SCHEME OF RELIGION. If he really has the presumption to indulge this complacent thought, nothing we have written can disturb it. There is, however, some hope, from the high probability that further discoveries are in store for him; and we can wish him no greater joy than that he may live to unravel the web of his own sophistries, as many other speculators in theology have done.

Art. IV.—*Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay, Author of Evelina.*
Vols. VI. and VII. London: Henry Colburn. 1846.

THE D'Arblay world is dead or dying out. The ideas which satisfied the generation of Madame D'Arblay as interpretations of the actual and spiritual universe, are already gone by and obsolete. Neither the outward nor the inward world is now regarded as it was fifty years since. To teach grandmothers to suck eggs, is just precisely what every new generation is competent to do, though the old generation are generally incapable of receiving the instruction. To make them less ignorant than their grandchildren, the grandmothers need a knowledge of the eggs of the future. There is nothing more melancholy in old age, than the incapacity to acquire new ideas. A growing mind is always changing, adding light to light, and beauty to beauty. In old age, except in extraordinary cases, this process ceases. The mind moulders within a coating of moss. Opinions stagnate into prejudices. The well of truth, without the bubbling up of fresh springs, or the agitations of winds or tides, becomes putrid and loathsome, and the water instead of being sweet and clear, is streaked over with slimy colours. A child-like credulity, in favour of new truth, is the disposition which we ought to cultivate as we advance in years. The maxims which recommend suspicion as the best state of the mind, in reference to new ideas, are just prescriptions for darkening and deadening the soul.

Madame D'Arblay has not been long under the sod, and yet she long outlived the crop of opinions which she cherished as the flowers and fruits of eternal truth. She was a worshipper of feudal aristocracy and hereditary monarchy, in the persons of the French and English nobility, and of George the III, and Louis the XVI. For us and our readers, therefore, for all the active minds of this age, all the parts of her books which embody this worship, have only an antiquarian and historical interest and value. Madame D'Arblay had many opportunities of observing the conduct and preserving the conversation of men and women who have helped to make the world wiser and better. Her prejudices, however, blinded her to their splendours. The companion often of people of genius, she was led to leave their talk comparatively unrecorded, while she devotes tedious pages to the tattle of the princesses, and vapid declamations on the woes of the Bourbons.

The sixth volume embraces the nineteen years which intervened between 1793 and 1812. We have found in it

some glimpses of personages whom it will always be interesting to see and hear. Edmund Burke and his wife are saying pleasant congratulations on the marriage of the author of *Evelina*, who returns the warmest thanks through her father to 'the very amiable Mrs. Burke.' Hannah More is profoundly sorry; a twelve month of ill health has made her incapable of doing what she wished for the subscription for the French emigrant clergy. M. Talleyrand is in England, but under a notice to quit. 'I am sorry for the sorrow' writes Madame D'Arblay in February 1794.—

'I am very sorry for the sorrow I am sure Mr. Burke will feel for the loss of his brother, announced in Mr. Cooke's paper yesterday. Besides, he was a comic, good-humoured, entertaining man, though not bashful.

'What an excellent opening Mr. Canning has made at last! *Entre nous soit dit*, I remember, when at Windsor, that I was told Mr. Fox came to Eaton purposely to engage to himself that young man, from the already great promise of his rising abilities; and he made dinners for him and his nephew, Lord Holland, to teach them political lessons. It must have had an odd effect upon him, I think, to hear such a speech from his disciple. Mr. Lock now sends us the papers for the debates every two or three days; he cannot quicker, as his own household readers are so numerous. I see almost nothing of Mr. Windham in them; which vexes me: but I see Mr. Windham in Mr. Canning.'—p. 19.

Edmund Burke and his brother Charles James Fox, and his pupils Mr. Canning and Lord Holland, are all to be seen in this extract. Nothing is more common than to observe in young men, features of the models they have admired. Madame D'Arblay saw Windham in Canning. It will be a good subject for a new paragraph in the next edition of Robert Bell's biography of Canning, to shew in him the traces of Windham; and why they were more visible than the effects of his instructor Fox.

Here is a view of another affliction which has befallen Edmund Burke. The affecting scene took place in a house in Cromwell Lane, Old Brompton. A few hundred yards from this house stands Gloucester Lodge, in which the career of George Canning came to a close. Canning appeared in the skies when the clouds settled on Burke. Within a furlong of the spot where Edmund Burke mourned over the extinction of the career of his son, the Premier Canning, successful and heart broken found the rest of death.

'How truly grieved was I to hear from Mr. Lock of the death of young Mr. Burke! What a dreadful blow upon his father and

mother; to come at the instant of the son's highest and most honourable advancement, and of the father's retreat to the bosom of his family from public life! His brother, too, gone so lately! I am most sincerely sorry, indeed, and quite shocked, as there seemed so little suspicion of such an event's approach, by your account of the joy caused by Lord Fitzwilliam's kindness. Pray tell me if you hear how poor Mr. Burke and his most amiable wife endure this calamity, and how they are.'—p. 30.

In 1795, Siddons and Kemble acted in Madame D'Arblay's unsuccessful tragedy of 'Edwy and Elgiva.' Mr. Sheridan had exhibited the greatest good will for its reception, and Mr. Cumberland consoled Dr. Burney for 'what happened at Drury Lane,' by saying he could have told it *d'avance*, for the players had given the play an ill name. This was rich consolation from a man who was producing his three successful new plays in one season. Dr. Burney writes:—

'The club has been very much crowded this season. Mr. Fox was at the last, and Windham! who, coming late, did not put a good face on the discovery: however, all were very loquacious and good-humoured. We have vacancies. Poor Sir William Jones has occasioned one—but black balls have been plenty. Three or four d—lish democrats, *Dieu merci!* have had the door shut upon 'em.'—p. 37.

What these democrats thought, we may infer from perhaps the most amusing passage in the volume, in which Dr. Burney dramatically relates how he floored Mr. Erskine on the subject of Parliamentary Reform:—

'I must tell you what happened at Mrs. Crewe's *déjeuner*. I arrived late, and met many people coming away, but still found the house and gardens full of fashionables. It was a cold-lunch day, and, after eating was over, people went into the bit of a garden to a lottery, or to take a turn. Among the peripatetico-politicians, there was Lord Sheffield, the Master of the Rolls, Canning, with abundance of *et ceteras*, and Mr. Erskine. On meeting him and Mrs. Erskine, we renewed last year's acquaintance. After we had passed each other several times, we got into conversation, and what do you think about, but the reform of parliament? He told me his whole plan of virtuous representation;—what new county members were to be added, what rotten boroughs destroyed; and his ideas of keeping down corruption from ruining the state. It is not to be quite universal suffrage at elections, which are to be triennial, &c. &c.

'Well, but,' says I, quietly, 'can government go on without influence, or a majority, when its measures are good?'

'Oh, yes: the people will be in good humour, and easily governed.'

‘ ‘ But, my good sir !—you, who understand these things so much better than I, be so good as to tell me, what is the ultimate end of them, if the present constitution of king, lords, and commons is allowed to subsist, but to make it easy to pull down a minister, at least ? and if it is rendered easy to pull down Mr. Pitt, will it not be easy, likewise, to pull down Mr. Fox, or any successor ? ’

‘ He did not seem prepared for so queer a question ; he shuffled about, and gave me an equivocal No, which more clearly said Yes. All this while he had hold of my arm, and people stared at our intimacy, while that rogue Mrs. Crewe and the Marchioness of Buckingham were upstairs, sitting at a window, wondering and laughing at our confabulation. ’—pp. 42, 43.

Madame D'Arblay writes to her father ‘ how she would have enjoyed being with that rogue,’ as he calls Mrs. Crewe, ‘ peering at him and Mr. Erskine confabbing so lovingly.’

Dr. Burney, in his discussion with Mr. Erskine, was only doing—respecting parliamentary reform—what hundreds of intelligent gentleman were doing lately upon free trade, and so will do for some years to come upon the separation of church and state. He was triumphantly darkening his mind ; he was dragging himself behind his age with a chuckle of self-satisfaction at his own cleverness ; he was complacently stultifying himself in reference to the future. A wiser man would have avoided seeming a dotard to his grandchildren. Wise old men know that they need nothing more for their mental and spiritual growth, than to retain under gray hairs the teachableness of little children. Nothing is more weakening to the intellect than the self-satisfaction of the controversialist. To hide new truths from our minds, we have only to argue against them. To be hermetically sealed into a prejudice, we have only to defeat our opponents in debating it.

There are some traits of Warren Hastings. Dr. Burney rejoices over having called on him during his trial, when his acquittal was doubtful, and thus got the start of all the fashionable world who called upon him after his acquittal. Hastings returns the obligation characteristically. Madame D'Arblay was publishing a book by subscription. When told what was going forward, he gave a great jump and exclaimed—‘ Well, then, now I can serve her, thank Heaven, and I will. I will write to Anderson to engage Scotland, and I will attack the East Indies myself.’

By September, 1797, Edmund Burke was dead, Dr. Burney having only attended his funeral and been properly measured for his mourning ring. In the end of this month, Dr. Burney pays a visit to Dr. Herschel, at Slough.

' Lord Chesterfield had unexpectedly been obliged to go to town by indisposition. Though I was asked to alight and take refreshment, I departed immediately, intending to dine and lie at Windsor, to be near Dr. Herschel, with whom a visit had been arranged by letter. But as I was now at liberty to make that visit at any time of the day I pleased, I drove through Slough in my way to Windsor, in order to ask at Dr. Herschel's door when my visit would be least inconvenient to him—that night or next morning. The good soul was at dinner, but came to the door himself, to press me to alight immediately and partake of his family repast; and this he did so heartily that I could not resist. I was introduced to the family at table, four ladies, and a little boy about the age and size of Martin. I was quite shocked at seeing so many females: I expected (not knowing that Herschel was married) only to have found Miss Herschel; but there was a very old lady, the mother, I believe, of Mrs. Herschel, who was at the head of the table herself, and a Scots lady (a Miss Wilson, daughter of Dr. Wilson, of Glasgow, an eminent astronomer), Miss Herschel, and the little boy. I expressed my concern and shame at disturbing them at this time of the day; told my story, at which they were so cruel as to rejoice, and went so far as to say they rejoiced at the accident which had brought me there, and hoped I would send my carriage away, and take a bed with them. They were sorry they had no stables for my horses. I thought it necessary, you may be sure, to *faire la petite bouche*, but in spite of my blushes I was obliged to submit to my trunk being taken in, and the car sent to the inn just by.

' We soon grew acquainted,—I mean the ladies and I; and before dinner was over we seemed old friends just met after a long absence. Mrs. Herschel is sensible, good-humoured, unpretending, and well-bred; Miss Herschel all shyness and virgin modesty; the Scots lady sensible and harmless, and the little boy entertaining, promising, and comical. Herschel, you know, and everybody knows, is one of the most pleasing and well-bred natural characters of the present age, as well as the greatest astronomer.

' Your health was drunk after dinner (put that into your pocket); and after much social conversation and a few hearty laughs, the ladies proposed to take a walk, in order, I believe, to leave Herschel and me together. We walked and talked round his great telescopes till it grew damp and dusk, then retreated into his study to philosophize.

' I had a string of questions ready to ask, and astronomical difficulties to solve, which, with looking at curious books and instruments, filled up the time charmingly till tea, which being drank with the ladies, we two retired again to the *starry*. Now having paved the way, we began to talk of my poetical plan, and he pressed me to read what I had done. Heaven help his head! my eight books, of from 400 to 820 lines, would require two or three days to read. He made me unpack my trunk for my MS., from which I read him the titles of the chapters, and begged he would choose any book or character of a great astronomer he pleased. 'Oh, let us have the beginning.' I

read him the first eighteen or twenty lines of the exordium, and then said I rather wished to come to modern times ; I was more certain of my ground in high antiquity than after the time of Copernicus, and began my eighth chapter, entirely on Newton and his system. He gave me the greatest encouragement ; said repeatedly that I perfectly understood what I was writing about ; and only stopped me at two places : one was at a word too strong for what I had to describe, and the other at one too weak. The doctrine he allowed to be quite orthodox, concerning gravitation, refraction, reflection, optics, comets, magnitudes, distances, revolutions, &c. &c., but made a discovery to me which, had I known sooner, would have upset me, and prevented my reading any part of my work : he said he had almost always had an aversion to poetry, which he regarded as the arrangement of fine words, without any useful meaning or adherence to truth ; but that, when truth and science were united to these fine words, he liked poetry very well ; and next morning, after breakfast, he made me read as much of another chapter on *Des Cartes*, &c., as the time would allow, as I had ordered my carriage at twelve. I read, talked, asked questions, and looked at books and instruments till near one, when I set off for Chelsea.'—pp. 125—128.

An interchange of visits gives us a charming description of Mr. and Mrs. Barbauld.

' Mr. Barbauld is a dissenting minister—an author also, but I am unacquainted with his works. They were in our little dining-parlour—the only one that has any chairs in it—and began apologies for their visit ; but I interrupted and finished them with my thanks. She is much altered, but not for the worst to me, though she is for herself, since the flight of her youth, which is evident, has taken also with it a great portion of an almost set smile, which had an air of determined complacency and prepared acquiescence that seemed to result from a sweetness which never risked being off guard. I remember Mrs. Chapone's saying to me, after our interview, ' She is a very good young woman, as well as replete with talents ; but why must one always smile so ? It makes my poor jaws ache to look at her.' '

' We talked, of course, of that excellent lady ; and you will believe I did not quote her notions of smiling. The Burrows family, she told me, was quite broken up ; old Mrs. Amy alone remaining alive. Her brother, Dr. Aiken, with his family, were passing the summer at Dorking, on account of his ill-health, the air of that town having been recommended for his complaints. The Barbaulds were come to spend some time with him, and would not be so near without renewing their acquaintance. They had been walking in Norbury Park, which they admired very much ; and Mrs. Barbauld very elegantly said, ' If there was such a public officer as a legislator of taste, Mr. Lock ought to be chosen for it.'

' They inquired much about M. D'Arblay, who was working in his garden, and would not be at the trouble of dressing to appear. They

desired to see Alex, and I produced him ; and his orthographical feats were very well-timed here, for as soon as Mrs. Barbauld said ' What is your name, you pretty creature ? ' he sturdily answered, ' B, O, Y, boy.

' Almost all our discourse was upon the Irish rebellion. Mr. Barbauld is a very little, diminutive figure, but well-bred and sensible.

' I borrowed her poems, afterwards, of Mr. Daniel, who chanced to have them, and have read them with much esteem of the piety and worth they exhibit, and real admiration of the last amongst them, which is an epistle to Mr. Wilberforce in favour of the demolition of the slave-trade, in which her energy seems to spring from the real spirit of virtue, suffering at the luxurious depravity which can tolerate, in a free land, so unjust, cruel, and abominable a traffic.

' We returned their visit together in a few days, at Dr. Aiken's lodgings, at Dorking, where, as she permitted M. D'Arbly to speak French, they had a very animated discourse upon buildings, French and English, each supporting those of their own country with great spirit, but my monsieur, to own the truth, having greatly the advantage both in manner and argument. He was in spirits, and came forth with his best exertions. Dr. Aiken looks very sickly, but is said to be better : he has a good countenance.'

A portrait of the intellectual and voluptuous face of Madame De Stael fronts this volume. But there is nothing in it respecting her, except an account of the reluctance of Madame D'Arblay to know her in Paris. Poor De Stael lay under suspicions, both in England and France, of being an improper lady. Generous to a marvel, devoted to the service of her friends, returning good for evil to her enemies—exhibiting virtues which would do honour to any character whatever—Madame De Stael could not be honoured with the acquaintance of Madame D'Arblay, because her misfortunes had been distorted, and her conduct maligned by scandalous tongues. Madame D'Arblay saw good and grand qualities in the acts of De Stael, which she knew, yet could not perceive, that in what was unknown, the same qualities must have been at work just because De Stael could not cease to be herself. However much the literary student may regret what deprives him of some views of a nobly gifted woman, it is unquestionable that Madame D'Arblay was right, according to the convention of English propriety. A higher morality, a code of conduct nearer the example of Him who went about doing good, would have regarded, interpreted, and treated the character of De Stael as a whole.

Art. V.—*The Life of a Negro Slave*. Re-edited by Mrs. Alfred Barnard. Norwich: C. Muskett. London: Hamilton and Adams. pp. 245.

THIS little volume is the faithful narrative of a black man who lived forty years in Maryland, South Carolina, and Georgia, as a slave under different masters. It gives an account of the wages paid by the slaveholders of the south, of their treatment of the slaves, and of the morals amongst the cotton planters; and contains a relation of the perils and sufferings of a fugitive slave who twice escaped from the cotton country. The history of his life was dictated to a gentleman in America, by the unfortunate sufferer himself, and first published in that country; but the book being out of print, and not attainable in England, it has been thought desirable to offer a new edition, which is rendered more fit for the juvenile reader, by some omissions of necessary and horrible details and by several judicious abridgements.

The celebrated John Wesley said truly that ‘American slavery is the *vilest* beneath the sun.’ And of the truth of this assertion no other proof is required than an examination of the statute books of the American slave states. Sending missionaries to proclaim the truths of Divine revelation to the uttermost parts of the earth, the Americans have thought it necessary to maintain heathenism at home by special enactments; and to make the serious offence of teaching their slaves the Gospel, punishable with death.

But there is another testimony as strong as that found in the statute books. We refer to what may be collected from the newspapers of the slave states; the public testimony of the slaveholder and wrong-doer himself: the open admission of the men who have the strongest interest in keeping the horrors of their system out of sight. Having, however, framed iniquity by law, it is out of their power to hide it. For the recovery of their runaway property they are compelled to advertise in the public journals, and, that it may be identified, they are under the disgraceful necessity of describing the marks of the whip on the backs of women, the iron collars about the neck, the gunshot wounds, and the scars left by the teeth of dogs, or by the branding iron.

The following specimens will be sufficient; they are faithfully transcribed from southern papers:—

‘100 Dollars reward.—Ran away from the subscriber, six weeks ago, two negro men, one a tall fellow, stoops considerably in walking. The other is a short, stumpy fellow, of a very black colour

and large cheeks; has a scar over one eye, also one on his leg from the bite of a dog, and a burn on his body from a hot iron in the shape of a T.

J. A. DILLAHUNTY.'

'New Orleans.

'200 Dollars reward.—Ran away from the subscriber, a certain negro man, named Ben. He is about five feet six inches high, chunky made, yellow complexion, and has but one eye; also another negro, called Rigdon; he is stout made, tall, and very black, with large lips.

'I will give one hundred dollars for each of the above negroes, to be delivered to me, or confined in the jail of Lenoir country, *or for killing of them, so that I can see them.* Masters of vessels and all others are cautioned against harbouring, employing, or carrying them away, under the penalty of the law.

'Lenoir county.

'W. COBB.'

Such is American slavery. The little volume before us contains the story of a slave, written from his own statements. There appears to have been no effort on his part to make the picture one of entire darkness; he details everything of a mitigating character which fell under his observation, and even the cruel deception practised by his master did not render him unmindful of early kindness. Believing, as we do, that this narrative is one of truth, that it presents an unexaggerated picture of slavery as it exists on the cotton plantations of the south, we particularly recommend it to the attention of the young, not doubting that it will awaken in all who read it, such strong sympathy for the oppressed, as must manifest itself in active exertions for their deliverance.

After a variety of changes, some for the better, some for the worse, Charles Ball, for that was the name of the negro, lost his master by death. 'He died in May, and I followed him to the grave with a heavy heart, for I felt that I had lost the only friend that could protect me against the tyranny and oppression to which slaves on a cotton plantation are subject.' He determined at all hazards to run away, and before August, had completed all his preparations with such secrecy, that no one suspected his design:—

'I only waited the ripening of the corn. On the eighth of August I perceived that nearly half the ears were so far grown, that on being roasted, they afforded a food on which a man could live pretty well; and I resolved that the next day I would take leave of this plantation for ever.

'I now took to the forest, keeping as nearly as I could in a northern course all the afternoon. At night I lay down and slept soundly, and when I awoke and could see my way, I walked on till I came to a river, which I knew must be the Appalachie. I sat

down on the bank and made my breakfast, using my meal very sparingly, as my most valuable treasure, though I had in my pocket three Spanish dollars, which, however, could not avail me anything. The morning was sultry, and the thickets along the margin of the river teemed with insects and reptiles. After taking my breakfast, I prepared to cross the river, which was here about a hundred yards wide, with a sluggish and deep current, too deep to be waded, and I prepared to cross it by swimming, which in my youth I had learned in the Patuxent. I stripped myself, bound my clothes on the top of my knapsack, with my bag of meal above my clothes; then drawing the knapsack close to my head, I threw myself into the river. I kept in a straight line to the opposite bank, and when I had reached it, I turned round to view the place from which I had set out on my aquatic passage; but my eye was arrested by an object nearer than the opposite shore. Within twenty feet of me, in the very line I had pursued, was a large alligator, moving in full pursuit of me, with his nose just above the surface, in the position which that creature takes when chasing his prey. The alligator can swim more than twice as fast as a man, and had I remained ten seconds longer in the water, I should have been drawn to the bottom. . . . I travelled all day in the woods; but a short time before sunset, came within view of an opening in the forest, which I supposed to be cleared fields; but, on a closer examination, finding no fences or other enclosure, round it, I advanced into it, and found it to be an open savannah, with a small stream of water creeping slowly through it. At the lower side of the open space were the remains of an old beaver dam the central part of which had been broken away by the stream. Around the margin of this former pond I observed several decayed beaver lodges, and many stumps of small trees; these had been cut down by this industrious little nation, which had fled at the approach of white people, and had gone to seek refuge in the deepest solitudes of the forest, from the glance of every human eye.'

After again sleeping in the forest as well as it was possible, considering the deafening chorus made by the owls, which are very numerous in all parts of the south, he continued his course north towards Maryland, keeping a continual look-out for plantations, and listening attentively to every noise he heard among the trees. He soon finds out that he is pursued, and lies in concealment, while a party passes so near that he hears one of them express his opinion 'that the fellow had not come this way at all.' The obscurity caused by the fog saved him this time, and after remaining in the water a quarter of an hour, he came out, wrung his wet clothes, and ascended a hill to view the country. He found that he was near the residence of a gentleman who had kindly entertained his master and himself some years before, 'as they went to and returned from Savannah with the waggon. Although this gentleman had told me to

come and see him if ever I passed this way again, I knew, notwithstanding the benevolence of his character, that to see a runaway slave on his premises, and not cause him to be apprehended and sent home, was held to be one of the most dishonourable acts which a southern planter could commit. It was like throwing oneself in the way of a lion, who is known sometimes to spare those whom he might destroy, yet I resolved to approach this planter, and tell him my story. I did so. At first he did not know me; but I reminded him of having been at his house. I told him I was a runaway—that my master was dead—that my mistress was so cruel I could not live with her, showing him, at the same time, the scars on my back. After a short silence, the gentleman said, ‘Charles, I will not betray you; but you must not stay here. It must not be known that you were on this plantation, and that I saw and conversed with you: however, as I suppose you are hungry, you may go into the kitchen and get your breakfast with my house servants.’ Here he was kindly treated, and a black man brought him a dollar and a packet of bread and meat, telling him that his master desired him to leave the premises as soon as he had finished his breakfast. Passing through Virginia, he at length almost touches the borders of Maryland, and his anxiety to reach his home and revisit his wife and children, quite overcoming his prudence, he incautiously travels till daybreak, and is seen by a white man, who called to him to stop. Not heeding him, the man shot at him, and, receiving the contents of the gun in his legs, Charles fell, and was soon surrounded by people, who beat him till he was almost senseless. A justice of the peace was then sent for, who reprimanded those who had so unmercifully beaten the poor man, and after having asked Charles a few questions, told him it was his duty to send him to prison. Here a surgeon dressed his wounds, and he had a sufficient daily allowance of food brought to him. He remained in prison for more than a month, and had quite recovered from his wounds, when he thought he had discovered means of escape:

‘This day appeared like a week to me, but when night at length came, I disengaged myself from my irons, and, with the aid of the bolt, wrenched away the large staples that held one end of the bar across the door, the hasps of which were easily drawn away, and it swung open of its own weight. I now walked into the jail yard, and found all quiet, with the exception of a few lights burning in the village windows. At first I moved slowly along the road; then quickening my pace, I ran along the highway till I was more than a mile from the jail; I here took to the woods, and travelled all night in a northerly direction. At day-break I hid myself in a cedar thicket until the evening without anything to eat. On the second

night I crossed the Potómac, at Hoe's ferry, in a small boat, and the night following crossed the Patuxent in a canoe, which I found chained by the shore.

'About one in the morning I reached the door of my wife's cabin, but it was five minutes before I could summon fortitude to knock at it. At length I rapped lightly, and was immediately asked, in the well known voice of my wife, 'Who is there?' I replied, 'Charles.' She then came to the door, and opening it slowly, said, 'Who is this that speaks so much like my husband?' I then rushed into the cabin and made myself known to her, but it was some time before I could convince her that I was really her husband, returned home from Georgia. The children were then called up, but they had forgotten me.'

Here we must close our extracts, and if we have not already given enough to induce our readers to procure the volumes and judge of its merits for themselves, we shall be willing to confess that we have executed our task but ill.

Art. VI.—1. *The Proceedings of the Free Trade Societies in Paris, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Lyons, Havre, etc.* France, 1846.

2. *Protests of the General Councils of the Lower Seine, of the North, and of the Moselle against Free Trade.* France, 1846.

3. *The Proceedings of the Anti-Free-Trade Society of France.* Paris, 1846.

4. *The Proceedings of the (prohibited) Working Men's Society upon the Subject of Free Trade.* Paris, 1846.

If a distinct conclusion cannot yet be drawn from the proceedings of the advocates of free trade in France, as to the extent of their influence upon the public at large, there can be no reasonable doubt of a considerable advance being already made towards a satisfactory opening of the subject in that country; and it is something worse than absurd to assert, with the 'Standard,' that it is a subject 'detested' by the French people. On the contrary, it is certain that the movement has spread fast and far, with much acceptance, since the Government last year submitted to a deliberative body in Paris the admission of foreign *iron* into France free of duty for ship-building. At present the movement comprehends all branches of trade; and the leaders of almost all the great political parties have declared their opinions to be at least favourable to the principle of free-

dom, although some of them strenuously oppose its immediate application to France. At the same time it must be admitted, that those who from various motives oppose free trade with England are powerful, whilst our advocates are not always judicious.

The declarations of the respective parties will convey a correct view of the present state of a question in France, the settlement of which, in conformity with our recent policy and with its legitimate consequences, is no less important to us than to the French people themselves. The French ministers seem to have been taken by surprise when they raised the point of admitting foreign iron for ship-building free of duty, at the very time that Sir Robert Peel declared his change of opinion. They shrunk back, therefore, so soon as they found themselves almost pledged to a similar change at an inconvenient season. But the eagerness with which their proposal was received, showed that the minds of many were favourable to the new ideas, and the times propitious for their general adoption. This has been well expressed by the President of the Marseilles Free Trade Society.

‘ It is the political state of all Europe that has really originated the present disposition of the most intelligent men to study deeply how far the doctrines of our French economist of the eighteenth century are applicable to this period of general peace. The reform of the English tariff has certainly hastened our work in France; but this would have produced little effect, if the times were not propitious to a change. Napoleon’s wars cut us off from the rest of the world. Those wars led to the prohibition of many foreign articles, and created many manufactures among us. At the peace, prohibition took the name of protection; and there was an understanding that in due time it should cease. The country consented to a sacrifice, in order to enable a comparatively few individuals to stand their ground in a new enterprize. This principle was soon abused; and the great landholders obtained protection also for their corn and their wool. This has been endured too long; and we are now called upon to sift the ground of the protective system. It must be gradually rescinded; and every branch of industry, every product of France, be placed upon the same equal and rational footing.

‘ To effect this purpose, we have formed the Marseilles Free Trade Society. In this we join those who maintain that to exchange the produce of different countries freely is a natural right, the enjoyment of which is indispensable to the happiness of society, and to that progress which is the best distinction of man. Marseilles could not remain neutral in this struggle. Besides the share we have in the general maritime interests of France, our special trade in the Mediterranean is exposed to peculiar difficulties, and demands a peculiar care. Incredible as it would have appeared not long ago, it is nevertheless to our cost but too true, that by an aggravation of severity utterly unparalleled in the history of tariffs, only last year the proprietors of the soil obtained a new protective duty of four times the present amount for the oil-producing seeds. When resisting this injustice, which must ruin our trade, the ministers told us,

not that reason, and argument, and the public interests, but that our adversaries were too strong for us. It was the same thing in 1832. The Government wished to introduce a more liberal and a more just policy than had been pursued by the Bourbons in 1819. The protectionists triumphed by their selfish votes in the Chambers. These facts show the necessity of united efforts to restore free trade to the country and to establish what is good for the vast majority of the people.

‘ We must sink slight differences to be strong in a common object. We are waging war against odious privileges; our weapons are to be peaceful; but the contest must be an earnest one, and it will demand a liberal supply of the great sinews of war—*money-subscriptions*. Old Marseilles was never called upon to make a liberal sacrifice in a better cause—the cause of free trade, which, by enriching all France, will begin by adding to her worth and splendour.’

The secretary introduced the statistics of the society in an able speech, in which one point was put in a very striking light.

‘ The strength of the protectionists, our opponents,’ said he, ‘ consists in the ignorance of the public and in their own compact combination. We must beat them by vigorous efforts to make the truth known and by union. Do you think, gentlemen, that the French people have the least idea why their goods, their clothes, the most indispensable necessities of life, what renders existence sweet, are less easily at their command, dearer, and of worse quality than in other countries? Do you think that our cultivators of the soil know why their productions cannot find markets, in spite of their perfection and of their abundance? and why their industry, if confined to the home supply, must stand still, or even decay? If they perceived the unquestionable fact, that the custom-house is the cause of their privations and difficulties, do you think they would not join us in demanding a reform? In that case, it is not to be believed that this strong position, supported by a clear view of the people’s rights, would fail to impress the ministers, and the chambers, and even the protectionists themselves, with the necessity of a change.’

‘ There are numerous articles loaded with duties, notwithstanding that those duties produce nothing to the public treasury, whilst they are costly in the management and most inconvenient to trade. Other articles are subject to duties which might be lessened with advantage to the revenue and beneficially to commerce. Other articles protected by duties are real monopolies, mischievous to all but a few favoured individuals. All these abuses fairly exposed, could not resist public indignation a single day.’

‘ Agitate such matters all over France, and let the whole country know why it is that our common wants are supplied with so much difficulty. Teach your countrymen how to construe the big custom-house books; or rather, ask them to look at the fatal interpretation of them in your deserted quays and empty warehouses. It will then be perceived that the sugar which we can afford to sell to foreigners at 36s., costs a Frenchman 68s.; that the coffee, worth only 36s. to foreigners, stands the Frenchman in 69s.; that so the oil costs us 69s., although our neighbours pay only 58s. for it. The same thing may be said of all the

necessaries of life. Corn to feed the hungry, wool to clothe the naked, medicines to relieve the sick, could all be brought home cheap in our ships; but our system of duties raises all their prices thirty, forty, and even one hundred per cent. Let all classes of consumers, the public functionaries, men of fixed incomes, the fundholders, lawyers, doctors, working men, once understand these facts, and they will join us in the common conviction, that the custom-house office is the common enemy. The merchant is only first paymaster; but it is only to be repaid by those consumers of the commodities which he imports. It is, therefore, they who are really the parties interested in establishing free trade, to change all this, by zealously proclaiming throughout the country its beneficent doctrines.'

The Central French Society is formed. Its leading members are peers of France, deputies, bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and professors of political economy. Its moderate views were declared with great distinctness by the chairman of a meeting of the 31st of October, at which its constitution was definitively settled.

'Absolute free trade,' said he, 'is our ultimate object. But we mean to seek it by degrees, not by sacrificing either the public revenue or any special objects of the state. It is unjust to impute to us a design to pursue our theories at the expence of individual interests, and still less at that of the working classes.'

'One point, indeed, we insist upon at once. We would forthwith abolish *prohibitions* of every sort. It is a barbarism which ought to disappear from our laws of trade, as *confiscations* have been struck out of our criminal laws. Prohibition is a principle of death: competition should be admitted in its place, as indispensable to the development of all the energies of society. But when we demand the free competition of our neighbours, we must provide ourselves upon equal terms with the raw produce from which manufactures are fabricated. We must, in the first place, have iron and coal cheap. It is the prudent application of the just principle of free trade in this way, that we seek.'

The Free Trade Society of Lyons, states that—

'Enlightened men in that city have long perceived how much high duties injured France, by preventing intercourse with foreign countries; and they have eagerly followed the struggle that has been going on to relieve society from this evil. They rejoice in the present prospect of relief, as the sick man revives at the sight of an able physician. The protective system, long established, has rested on the false opinion, that to create national wealth, a country ought to produce all that is consumed, and be independent. The result has been to make every body pay more than they might do for their necessaries. No country possesses what will satisfy all its wants. To think so, is an error to which the spirit of war alone could have given birth; and the last thirty years of peace have taught how to refute it. Men now begin to understand that the maintenance of this happy state of peace requires a basis of common interests,

which free trade alone is capable of creating. Public opinion must be appealed to for the adoption of this great principle. The great bulk of the French nation must be made to comprehend its value. To accomplish that, is to instruct a people. The task is a mighty one, but it is undertaken ; and the aid of the inhabitants of Lyons is asked to contribute to its success. Hitherto the partisans of protection have had the field to themselves : attacked, they will redouble their efforts, and yield only to our most determined and most single-minded exertions. We must be satisfied with a slow but steady progress ; and the equally slow acquiescence of the government in the force of reason and justice, will at least secure the change from any thing of rashness and violence.'

The working classes in Paris have expressed their view of the course proper for them on this occasion, but they have been refused the necessary license of the minister to form a society, in order to defend their own cause.

Their sympathies are more favourable to the free-traders, they say, than to the protectionists. But they perceive a danger of their rights being forgotten in the contest. When particular employments come to be extinguished, care ought to be taken to indemnify the labourers thrown out of work, as much as the manufacturing productions give way to the superior goods imported from abroad. They complain, too, that the free-traders treat them insultingly, by refusing publicity to their appeals. They also insist that the leading members of the free-trade society in Paris, are dangerous guides, requiring to be watched closely. They are jealous of the effects of machinery, in destroying the prospects of the labourer, for whom they demand a better provision in the race of improvement men are running. They deny that it is safe to act on the maxims of the economists, *leave us alone* : and they ask an audience for their arguments. Admitting the soundness of the principle of free-trade, they wish to discuss the further point of the duty of Government to prevent free-trade being fatal to the working classes, and how that interference is to be regulated.

The exceedingly unjust and impolitic conduct of the leading body of free-traders in Paris, towards the *Working Class* society on this occasion, has had the worst effect. They even oppose its formation, on the ground that *they* would protect the working class without its speaking for itself. Thus the advocates for free-trade are the opponents to free discussion. Preferring, with a blindness truly astonishing, their own little light, studiously set under the bushel, to the blaze of the noon-day sun, they find themselves literally in the dark. They have no hold upon the millions, and their books and papers are little read by the *public*. The proceeding is the more unwise, inasmuch as the political organs of the working class—for example,

the *Populaire*, and even its social advocates, the wilder, but clever *Fourrierists*—uniformly admit the principle of free trade to be good, although they demand that something better *than our nostrum* should come first. To refuse the common right of discussion to these men is an act of insanity. They publish whole libraries of books and papers; and they have reading rooms and lectures in every town of 10,000 inhabitants in France. In fact, the Paris free traders, by the economists, who received Mr. Cobden with due honour, have done the greatest possible injury to a cause which, by wiser management, would soon have been universally supported in France. But its triumph even blundering can only delay.

In Belgium, which may be treated almost as French, a free-trade association is formed, of which M. de Brouckere, formerly minister of finance, is president, and the respectable Count Arrivabene is vice-president. The principle of free trade was greatly respected by the government of Belgium until 1834. Since that year, a new policy has prevailed there, in consequence of a combination of the rich landed proprietors and the superior clergy; and the prices of all the necessaries of life have risen steadily higher and higher. The Belgian corn-laws have been suspended to meet the difficulties occasioned by the potato disease; but, after the 1st of December, 1846, they were to be in operation. The new association insists that, instead of such protection of particular interests being generally beneficial, it is in Belgium, of all countries, that the contrary course will be peculiarly useful. Its rich soil, its fine navigable waters, its roads, its admirable position, its great towns, and the industry of its people, only want a ready access to markets to prosper now as its inhabitants flourished in past ages.

But, says the association, Belgium must not look to such access to foreign markets, unless it first breaks down the barriers of the custom-house, which now shut out foreigners from its own. The very existence of Belgian prosperity depends upon the Belgians not being left behind in the new career now opening upon the world. It is admitted that some consideration must be had for the capital engaged in particular branches of trade, that will necessarily be abandoned in the coming change. Some indemnity must be granted in these cases; and this association proposes to examine how that may be best effected. Peace, it concludes, is the true cement of free trade; and the prosperity of Belgium eminently depends on peace. With both steadily established, Belgium, like all the small states of the world, will the more prosper; so that the object of this association is essentially patriotic.

One of the bitterest opponents to free trade is to be found in

the organ of a party strongly devoted to the French king's family, and which is also an equally bitter opponent to the British alliance in general. It returns unceasingly to its diatribes against our 'perfidy,' our 'avarice,' and our 'ambition;' sweeping into one common net-work of abusive rhetoric our insidious commercial designs, and our treacherous dealings, wherever France is in conflict with Arabs, Madagasses, or Tahitians. Yet even these our personal opponents admit, that in a proper state of things, trade ought to be free in every country. 'Across the channel,' say they,* 'we should be free traders; in France, we have no disposition to sacrifice the *WHOLE people* to our rivals.'

In the case of one eminent individual, M. de Lamartine, the distinguished writer and deputy, a want of knowledge of facts has exposed him to a singular inconsistency upon this subject. He has lately addressed a letter upon it to his constituents, which was received universally with the attention due to any production of his. Written at a moment when half of France was terrified at corn riots, and the firing of the farms, it denounced in the most indignant terms the wickedness and absurdity of such acts. It pointed out, very powerfully, that, to interrupt the free circulation of the produce of France from department to department, must defeat the purpose of the rioters, and tend to raise the price of corn. Nothing could be wiser, or more truly patriotic, than this portion of the address.

Instead, however, of pursuing his own argument to its legitimate end; and so proving, that the *wider* the free circulation, the better the guarantee against famine prices, and even against great fluctuations, he insists upon the urgent necessity of France securing to herself a supply of food, by taxing the nation in order to *encourage* the farmers to raise corn. But although M. de Lamartine's letter found a respectful echo from the Alps to the Ocean, its astonishing errors were exposed without mercy. One of them upon which he relied as an insuperable objection to free trade in corn, was thus disposed of.

He insisted that the farmers of France would abandon their ploughs, if not protected by the corn laws; and then in a bad harvest, the whole population *must* be starved, BECAUSE ALL THE MERCHANT SHIPS OF EUROPE IF EMPLOYED IN THE TRADE, COULD NOT BRING corn to France for fifteen to seventeen days consumption.'

A shrewd opponent was not frightened by this bold assertion. He took our tonnage at 2,700,000; the French tonnage at 600,000; the Russian, Swedish, and all the rest of Europe (by

* La Presse.

conjecture) at 1,200,000 ;—altogether 4,500,000. Then he took a ton of wheat at 1,500 lbs. ; so that the merchant tonnage of Europe can carry 6,750,000,000 lbs. He then shewed on the best authority, that the *annual* consumption of wheat in France is 5,700,000,000 lbs., and 240,000,000 in fifteen days. This last quantity could be imported in a tonnage of 160,000, and if 2,200,000 tons of United States shipping be added, wheat *could* be carried to France from abroad, not for fifteen days only, but for nineteen months. The ingenious calculator, M. Brunet, adds, that his figures although approximative, are safe; and wisely warns his countrymen not to make M. de Lamartine minister of commerce.

The vehemence with which the movement in favour of free trade is met by the protectionists, proves their sense of danger. The craft is obviously menaced; and if miserable questions of family ambition do not encourage bad passions, there seems little doubt which way public opinion in France will decide this great matter. Like the unhappy potato failure in Ireland, the elements are telling in favour of a wise popular decision, through the impulse of popular suffering. The short harvest is now exposing the millions in France to difficulties of a most perplexing character; so that in Paris and other great towns, much public money is provided to purchase tranquillity, by the sacrifice of the market price beyond a maximum, in favour of the poor; and in other parts of the country, ignorant rioters have weakly been submitted to by the transit of corn being stopped by authority.

The calamitous flooding of the Loire, and its tributary rivers, to an extent never before known, has raised one question of great interest to England in its bearing on free trade. It has long been believed by the best informed people, that the cutting down the wood in the mountains of France, has exposed the country to frequent and dangerous inundations. That of the Rhone last year made a strong impression, and before the late sudden inundation of the Loire, such paragraphs as this were common in the intelligent French newspapers.

‘ The men of the highest authority on this subject agree that it is an urgent necessity to cover our mountains again with forests. They have been rashly stripped. A century ago, France possessed thirty-four millions of acres of wood. She has now only fourteen millions. The consequences are deplorable. Fuel is wanting to our cottages, timber to our navy, and for domestic purposes. Nor is this all. Our rivers are now regularly in a state of flood; and then dry. Their ancient sources have disappeared; and the replanting of the regions from which they sprung, is now needed, to regulate the flow of their waters, and hinder the rain becoming a torrent. This measure would restore resources now lost to

France ; and furnish the labouring classes with work, and comforts to which they are strangers, and save our vallies from ruin. There is an heroic work to do in France. The government should at once set about delivering the soil from inundation. The minute subdivision of land prevents the proprietors attempting the gigantic works necessary for this. Besides planting the hills, canals must be made, rivers drawn off, lakes formed, dikes raised to a level with the flood ! Such are the means to avert calamity, and make a people prosper.'

This paragraph appeared in a Paris paper on the 14th of October, before the Loire became a sea for four hundred miles in the heart of France. Similar sentiments are now in every mouth ; and many great works are already begun to meet the dangers that eloquence cannot exaggerate. There is one means of securing a remedy against this evil, which does not seem yet to have struck our neighbours. It is a resource independent of restrictive laws upon the enjoyment of landed property, called for by some ; and it will promote other good objects essentially conducive to the welfare of France, and to the peace of the world. This is such a large extension in the importation of coal from Great Britain, as would follow upon the abolition of the present duty upon that article. Nor would that wise measure damage any one French interest. Even the coal owners of France would be benefited by it ; for the fact is unquestionable, *as is begun to be understood by practical men, that the mixture of the Newcastle coal with the French coal produces a better effect for all uses, than either article alone.* This one fact, well established, and applied on a proper scale, will remove all grounds of rivalry from the case, as it will promote a great consumption of the mixed coals, to the very considerable saving of the timber of France. A few figures from authentic sources will show this. The yearly consumption of all France is £74,000,000 in wood ; £40,000,000 in coals ; and the heat of eighteen shillings' worth of the wood is equal to the heat of ten shillings' worth of the coal. Consequently, any operation of trade which should lead to the *increased* use of coal, must benefit France exactly to the amount of the wood to be driven out of use for fuel. If the increased consumption of coals were limited to those extracted from French mines, the profit would be purely French. If the English coal, either mixed with the French, or alone, should be substituted for the wood, England would share the gain. The mass of the French people are remarkably economical in their firing, and a greater comfort could not be procured for them than the increase of good and cheap fuel. In this article they have been at one period victims to the ambition of the rulers of Europe, as they are now sacrificed to mistaken views of commercial policy.

How entirely the supply from us to France depends upon war and peace, and upon the amount of duty, is curious. Two centuries and a half ago, when English coal began to be used in Paris, the physicians reported officially, that it was not hurtful to health, but care was to be taken to prevent the inconvenience of smoke, nevertheless, the blacksmiths were once prohibited using it in Paris.

Afterwards, Louis xiv. encouraged the French mines by putting on a duty of about the present amount of four shillings per ton. In 1764, this was lowered one-third, which greatly increased the import; and in 1787, 120,000 tons, or more than one-third part of all the coal consumed in France came from Great Britain. From 1790 to 1814 the trade was stopped by the war; but in the latter year, out of a consumption of 750,000 tons in France, only 11,000 tons were British. The French duty was increased, and it was our policy to burden the export by a duty also. At length, ours was abolished, and the French lowered; and now the amount imported annually into France is 400,000 tons, or above one-twelfth part of their whole consumption. If the present duty of four shillings per ton were abolished, the supply of British coal would penetrate into numerous districts where it is now unknown; a proper part of the change would be, abolish our duty on French vessels in the coal trade.

The result could not fail to be good; and it would be felt at a moment of extreme need in France.

M. La Rochejaquelin has just proposed a *lottery* which will produce £400,000 for the sufferers from the flood. The Marquis admits that great moral objections may be made to this mode of relief, which, he says also, *has recently failed when tried in favour of other charitable purposes*. But he adds, that already public benevolence is growing cold on this calamitous occasion. The French are beginning to look to the government to supply such great needs; and this zealous patriot rejoices that *constitutional* ideas are so powerful, even with the inconvenience of their stopping the sources of private benevolence. The damage by the flood is £5,000,000, the subscriptions less than £60,000!

The relief, then, which the government can give in the form of wise *legislation* should have the warmest support of the excellent men with whom M. La Rochejaquelin is peculiarly connected; and if his proposal of a *lottery* has roused the sympathies of the parties the most opposed to him in politics; he would secure far more zealous support to a proposition like that of abolishing the duty on coals, which would give comfort to the cottage, and wealth to the manufactory, and increase

employment all over France. If the foregoing calculations be correct, the £400,000 which M. La Rochejaquelein asks for by an appeal to the gambling propensities of the whole civilized world,* may be easily replaced by millions upon millions to be furnished to his afflicted countrymen by a simple extension of trade, and by a new guarantee to peace.

This appeal to the avarice of *all Europe*, and of course pretty largely to England, is not happy at a moment when the party of M. La Rochejaquelein is taking an especial lead in taunting us with being influenced by the worst motives in our practice and advocacy of free trade. The following frantic French manufacturing attack is ostentatiously paraded in the papers of the legitimists, who were themselves the most eager promoters of monopoly of every sort during their possession of power, from 1815 to 1830.

At Elbœuf, says this report, a meeting of four hundred people was held on the 31st of October, to consider of measures calculated to stop the danger now threatening the manufacturers, producers, and labourers of France; and the motives of the English in their present efforts to preach free-trade doctrines everywhere, were eloquently exposed on this occasion. After long enjoying a great superiority in the markets of Europe, in consequence of our superior skill, we were on the point of ruin for want of cheap bread for our operatives.

‘Protection had enabled the French manufacturers to rival ours. Therefore we set about abolishing protection everywhere. The first battle was to be fought against the eight hundred aristocrats of England who hitherto had sacrificed all to their selfishness. They are beaten, and the League against them is now sending its emissaries all over the Continent, and especially over France, to destroy her means of triumphing over British monopoly. They will succeed, if the theorists of Paris, who never saw a spinning machine in their lives, but live upon fine speeches, are not exposed. Practical men see through the scheme, and hope to defeat their lies by an appeal to the truth and to reason. They are trying hard to persuade France that the world is at once to become one vast family, living happily by the *equal* exchange of its boundless wealth. But not so do the generous English free-traders understand the matter. They mean to lower duties only on the articles in which they do not fear the French production. English silks are still to be protected by a duty of 15 per cent.; some of their cottons by 10 per

* ‘Il est *nécessaire* que les passions humaines soient mises en jeu. . . . Qu’importe, lorsque les malheureux se trouvent secourus. . . . Il est possible de reveiller les instincts naturels de générosité par l’appât d’une grande loterie de bienfaisance. . . . Cet appel s’adressera non seulement aux départements qui ont souffert, mais à la France entière, et qui plus est, à l’Europe.’—*Letter of M. le Marquis de La Rochejaquelein to the Minister of the Interior, November 10, 1846.*

cent; and, on pretence of keeping up the revenue, they keep out our wine by a duty of 284 per cent. The English free-trade is at this moment a delusion to destroy the agriculture of France.'—*Gazette de France*, Nov. 8, 1846.

Nothing however can prevent this great subject becoming gradually popular in France—not even the mistakes of its advocates, nor the errors of its opponents—if we meet real objections fairly, and if experience justifies our new laws. Already trade with us is springing up in every part of France, beyond its usual limits; and the newspapers cannot help following an impulse which they are unable to stop. As means of diffusing free trade doctrines, they are of secondary value. The four leading Paris journals publish only 98,032 copies daily; the twenty next in vogue only 61,860 altogether; whilst the provincial papers are of small account. The majority of the journals published oppose free trade at present; and the considerable minority which favour it, admit that it must be established slowly and conditionally. Its most zealous partizans have not yet shewn much ability in their proceedings; but it is a cause essentially popular in France, as is proved by the government having *refused* to license the working men's Free Trade Society.

ART. VII.—*Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand; being an Artists Impressions of Countries and People at the Antipodes.* With numerous Illustrations. By George French Angas. In two Volumes, 12mo. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

It is a melancholy reflection, that every addition which is made to our knowledge of the human race, serves to deepen our conviction of its inherent tendencies to barbarism and wretchedness. It might have been hoped, apart from experience, that some exceptions would have been discovered; that some of our travellers, more fortunate than their compeers, would have brought back to the abodes of civilization, tidings of having discovered sections of the human family amongst whom intelligence, virtue, and happiness, were prevalent. Nothing of the kind, however, has occurred. It is one dark and unvarying tale which they tell. Everywhere, and amongst all races, ignorance, vice, and misery, are predominant. Intelligence is reduced to its lowest level, morals are awfully corrupt, and religion itself, instead of subserving its Divine and proper end, is found to be the embodiment of the worst passions which demoralise

and degrade our race. In many instances, the human being is reduced so low as to be distinguished from the brute only by his greater wretchedness, and mightier powers of mischief. Alienated from its proper use, his intellect is employed only for purposes of evil, and renders him, in consequence, the most destructive, as he proves the most relentless and sanguinary of the animal creation. The apparent exceptions which are occasionally announced in the narratives of credulous, ill-informed, or mendacious travellers, are speedily disproved by fuller and more accurate representations. Subsequent explorers dispel the illusion, proving to the satisfaction of every honest mind the truthfulness of the dark colouring in which the inspired oracle has depicted the human family. From whatever region intelligence comes, it bears the same testimony. It may vary in the depth of its shade, but it is uniformly dark. It may describe beings in various stages of demoralisation and barbarism, but all are far from righteousness, lost amidst the mazes of ignorance, superstition, and depravity. So uniform has this been, that we now calculate, with the utmost confidence, on finding the same qualities in every new tribe. The traveller who first penetrates into unknown regions, looks for, and seeks to guard against them, whilst those who follow in his footsteps, have more leisure and fitting opportunities for their accurate survey.

The volumes before us constitute no exception in this respect. They are the production of an intelligent and pains-taking traveller, who spent considerable time amongst the aborigines of Australia and New Zealand, under circumstances peculiarly favourable to an accurate observation of their habits and character. 'During my wanderings,' says Mr. Angas, 'on the outskirts of civilisation, and among savage tribes, who had never beheld a white man, I invariably noted down, on the instant, whatever facts and impressions seemed worth recording.' This is a good earnest of the accuracy of the sketches given, at the same time, that it has tended, if we mistake not, to diminish somewhat the interest of the work. The journal character which it bears, though highly advantageous in some respects, involves frequent repetitions of similar facts, and gives a dry and outline character to the narrative which will operate against it with general readers.

Our author's main inducement to visit the Antipodes was an ardent admiration of the grandeur and loveliness of nature in her wildest aspect. He carried with him the taste and the skill of an artist, and there is consequently a minuteness and a graphic character in his sketches which are rarely met with. His pencil and his pen mutually aid each other, and the result

of their joint workmanship, is to furnish a more truthful picture of savage life than is usually given in the pages of our most celebrated travellers. 'My aim,' he says, 'has been to describe faithfully impressions of savage life and scenes in countries only now emerging from a primitive state of barbarism. * * *

Having penetrated into the interior of Australia and New Zealand, and been on friendly terms with the natives, sharing the hospitality, and journeying in the company of the New Zealand chiefs, I may perhaps be entitled to the merit of originality on this score. But it is principally as a faithful describer of what struck the mind of an artist seeking to delineate the characteristic features of the countries and people, that I rest my claims to public attention.'

The tribes visited by Mr. Angas are far from equalling in attractive power those described by some popular writers. They bear no comparison, for instance, with the Indians of North America, and have little of the interest which is associated with the large confederations inhabiting the interior of Africa. This must be borne in mind by his readers, or they will be tempted to throw aside the volumes before they have learnt to estimate rightly their charm and value. It is as a truthful record of scenery bearing its own character of beauty, and of a people of whom little is yet really known, that we prize his work, and recommend it to the favour and early perusal of our readers.

Mr. Angas left England in September, (the day and year are not recorded), and arrived at Adelaide, South Australia, on the 31st of December. He did not remain long in the town, but speedily started for the lake country with two of the agents of the South Australian Company. Their object was to select fresh sheep and cattle runs for the company, and his, to examine the aspect and productions of the district. The preparations for their journey were very simple, and easily made. 'A light cart,' our author tells us, 'was sent forward with a tarpauling, to serve the purpose of a tent, and a supply of flour, tea, and other necessary provisions. Mounted upon our horses, each with a tether rope slung round its neck, we might have been seen very early one bright morning in January, crossing the plains to the eastward of the city of Adelaide.' Nothing very particular occurred in this journey, and the description given of the general features of the country does not raise in us much desire to visit it. Numerous birds, whose 'varied notes sounded cheerfully, after the inhospitable desert,' which had been passed, at length indicated the approach of the travellers to the great river of the colony.

‘ Suddenly, says Mr. Angas, ‘ we came in sight of the river : the noble Murray, half a dozen miles above its junction with the lake, was flowing gently beneath us ; its deep blue waters meandering through a vast extent of reeds, the vivid green of which was truly refreshing to the eye. Its course was so gentle as to be barely perceptible : deep, and broad, and smooth as a glassy mirror, it flowed tranquilly and majestically onwards in silent grandeur to the ocean. Rising from the snow-fed sources of the Australian Alps, its waters, for 1200 miles, vast districts of the interior, and then enters Lake Alexandrina, where it is rendered unapproachable from the sea, for vessels of any size, by its sandy and dangerous mouth.

‘ Gazing on this noble river for the first time—a river, till within the last few years, unknown to the civilized world—one cannot forget that little band of bold and adventurous men, who, headed by Capt. Sturt, were the first Europeans to explore this river. They cast themselves fearlessly upon its bosom, and were borne down for 1000 miles, through savage tribes and desert regions, until they traced its junction with the lake, and arrived at the shores of the southern ocean.’—vol. i. pp. 51, 52.

The police station, known as ‘ Mason’s hut,’ overlooks the banks of the river, and its inmate had orders from the governor to accompany Mr. Angas to the lakes and the Coorong. The neighbourhood of the station is the grand rendezvous of the Lower Murray natives, who, being treated with kindness, ‘ are generally peaceable and harmless.’

‘ Three or four native boys were sitting round one of their small fires, outside the hut, roasting a sheep’s foot in the embers, and besmearing their bodies with some of its fat. These little creatures, all in a state of nudity, fetch wood and water, go after the horses, and make themselves generally useful about the station. The men were out fishing in their canoes, and the women and girls being busily employed in gathering bulrush-root for supper, they did not arrive at their fires until after sunset. I crossed the river in one of their canoes, which are made merely of a sheet of bark from the blue gum-tree, warped up at the sides by the application of moisture and fire, and stopped at the ends with strong clay. They are paddled by means of a long spear, having a sharpened kangaroo-bone fixed at one end, for spearing fish. The spear is held in both hands, and the paddler wields it standing ; preserving the most delicate balance, which a breath of wind is sufficient to upset. During cold weather a fire is invariably carried in the canoe, raised on a small platform of clay, supported by wet weeds and mud ; and by these fires they frequently cook a portion of their fish whilst on the water. Two, or at the most, three individuals, can be conveyed in these frail shells of bark.’—vol. i. pp. 53, 54.

Accompanied by the police officer Mason, ‘ armed and

mounted,' our traveller fearlessly pursued his journey, and soon entered a district where the natives were very numerous. He frequently came upon their ovens or cooking fires, which resembled kilns, and were deserted by the women, who were terrified at his approach, and ran into the woods. The following is not without interest, as affording an insight into the character and habits of the people.

' Whilst encamped in a pine forest, we were approached by a droll-looking fellow : a tall, muscular native, perfectly naked, armed with a wirri and a spear, and having the hair of his beard, whiskers, and other parts of his body most carefully plucked out. From the crown of the head to the waist he was copiously plastered with red ochre and grease, which dripped from his long matted ringlets ; and his hair was ornamented with kangaroo teeth, fastened into it with clay, which hung down over his forehead. He had just passed through those ceremonies of his tribe which consist of initiatory rites into the state of manhood ; and he held in one hand a branch of *eucalyptus* : the green bough being symbolical of his situation, according to the ' rain-makers ' or wise old men. This stately fellow came up to us in the most gentlemanly manner possible, stating that he was ' berry good black fellow ; ' and as he had no card, he gave us his name, ' Tom Ugly.' Another young man, who had undergone similar rites, and rejoicing in the English appellation of ' Jack Larkins,' also made his appearance. Both of these gentlemen fetched in a supply of water, and then sat down to assist us with our meal.

' An elderly native, who called himself ' Mr. Mason,' ran up to us in great haste, greeting the corporal with all the demonstrations of the most cordial friendship. This old man had exchanged names with Mason, as a proof of his brotherly feeling,—a distinction amongst his tribe of which he was not a little proud. The name given in return was ' Mooloo,' by which title Mason was generally known amongst the surrounding tribes. ' Mr. Mason ' introduced us to his *lubra*, or wife, Charlberri, who was wrapped in a round grass mat, which supported her picaninny at her back ; the little creature was chewing the favourite bulrush-root, a large net of which was suspended from its mother's shoulders. Beside her stood her son, a fine little boy, about four years old, called Rimmelliperingery, also chewing a long piece of bulrush-root, and looking up at us intently with the largest, darkest, and most penetrating eyes I ever beheld ; had not their whites been deeply tinged with yellow, and the long lashes been matted together with a mucous discharge from the eye, they might have been called beautiful. Rimmelliperingery is the pride of his tribe, and wears the upper mandible of the black swan round his neck, which is regarded as a *gunwarrie*, or wizard charm.' —vol. i. pp. 58—60.

Mr. Angas, on his return, fell in with a superior tribe, whose

appearance and manner differed greatly from those already described. It is lamentable, however, to find, that their superiority was associated with yet darker and more revolting traits of character, than pertained to their inferior neighbours. The barbarity of their practices would seem to keep equal pace with their greater sagacity and more lofty bearing. In reading, however, his brief sketch, we cannot evade the conviction that some noble elements may yet be evolved by Christianity amongst this brutalized people. He says—

‘Returning to the Murray, we fell in with a small party of the natives from the Tattayarra country—a tribe unknown to Europeans, and dreaded by the natives upon the river, who describe them as cannibals. These people make periodical visits to the Murray, bringing with them various articles of barter, the production of their district in the interior beyond the desert. Their baskets are of exquisite workmanship. From their fine figures and superior physical appearance, I should be led to judge that they occupy a fertile country; only making excursions into the desert at certain seasons of the year in search of kangaroos, roots, or the sweet manna of the scrub. One of the men we saw was an individual of noble bearing: he trod the soil as though he were its possessor. There was no fear—no begging for flour or tobacco—no crouching to the white man: he stood before us in all the dignity of the savage—tall, erect, and strong. Tchadkai, a fine youth, was at his side, with his long black hair streaming in the wind, and his neck surrounded with ornaments of reeds strung upon the sinews of the kangaroo. This child of the desert looked at us with wonder. He put his wild-dog across his shoulder, and pointed with his spear towards the east, signifying that his home was there. The Tattayarras speak of a ‘great water’ to the eastward, and of bark canoes upon a lake, which is probably Lake Hindmarsh. As to their being cannibals occasionally, there appears to be but little doubt. According to the people of the Murray—who themselves kill boys for the sake of their fat, with which to bait their fish-hooks!—these natives devour their children in times of scarcity. One man was pointed out as having destroyed two children for that purpose; and none of them deny having recourse to so dreadful an alternative when pressed with hunger.—vol. i. pp. 72, 73.

In common with the inhabitants of other portions of New Holland, the natives of South Australia consist of various tribes, speaking different languages. A general resemblance prevails amongst the whole, but each tribe has its peculiar observances and habits. ‘The South Australian natives,’ says Mr. Angas, ‘are generally rather below the average stature of Europeans; the women are disproportionately small, and their limbs are not so well formed as those of the men. Although I have met with men who measured six feet in height, and others stout and

robust in the extreme, these are exceptions to the mass, who frequently exhibit limbs that are much attenuated, and forms extremely light and thin.'

As might have been expected, the tribes on the sea-coast, and those located near the Murray, are more athletic and better formed than such as inhabit the interior, where the means of subsistence are scanty and far from nutritious. The skin is so covered by dirt, ochre, and clay, as to render its colour scarcely discernible. It is, however, 'of a purplish copper tint, and in some individuals is no darker than that of the natives of the Figi islands.' The population is scanty, and their families are generally small. The condition of the women is deplorable, and forms a sure test of the degraded state of the community. In nothing is the triumph of Christianity more conspicuous than in the ameliorating influence it exerts over the condition of woman. So signal and striking is the revolution it effects, that the degree of its prevalence may uniformly be determined by the consideration in which the female portion of our race is held.

'One of the surest marks,' says Mr. Angas, 'of the low position of the Australian savage in the scale of the human species is the treatment of their women. The men walk along with a proud and majestic air; behind them, crouching like slaves, and bearing heavy burdens on their backs, with their little ones astride on their shoulders, come the despised and degraded women. They are the drudges in all heavy work; and after their lords have finished the repast which the women have prepared for them, these despised creatures contentedly sit at a distance, and gather up the bones and fragments, which the men throw to them across their shoulders, just as we should throw meat to a dog.'—vol. i. pp. 82, 83.

Polygamy is general, many of the men possessing four wives. 'A sister is exchanged for a daughter; and if a young man has several sisters, he is always sure of obtaining wives in return. Should the ladies object, or become obstreperous, they are mollified by a shower of very sharp blows on the head with a *wirri*.'

The natives evince considerable ingenuity in snaring the wild fowls, which, in the neighbourhood of the river and lakes, form a considerable portion of their subsistence.

'A windy day is chosen for snaring ducks, which are taken in this way:—One man, having a long slender rod, with a noose at the end, goes into the water and swims towards the ducks, his head being carefully covered with weeds, so that the fowl mistake it for something floating on the water: he then slips the noose over the head of one, drags it under water, breaks its neck, and fastens it to a girdle round his waist. Another and another are thus quietly despatched,

until his girdle is filled with the spoil. Upright sticks are placed in the water, at a short distance from the shore, in such situations as shags and cormorants are known to frequent, and whilst the birds roost upon these sticks the natives swim towards them, and snare them in the same manner as the ducks. So expert are these people in stealing upon their prey, that I have known them approach pelicans whilst swimming, dive underneath the water, and catch them in their arms as they rise, breaking their legs and wings to prevent escape. During dark nights they drive out the shags from the trees in which they are accustomed to roost, and climb into those where the frightened birds take shelter, catching them in their hands as they settle. In this sport they frequently receive severe bites from the shags upon their naked limbs.'—vol. i. pp. 90, 91.

Infanticide is very commonly practised, and their religious notions, we need scarcely say, are of the darkest and most superstitious order.

Having returned to Adelaide, our traveller subsequently accompanied the governor, Captain Grey, in an exploring journey along the south-east coast of the colony. This was in the spring of 1844; and the party, which was much more numerous than on his former expedition, was provided with every supply which the nature of the case permitted. It was on a sultry day in April that he and his three companions started for the place of rendezvous, 'all in *bush* costume, with tether ropes and pannikins' slung to their saddles. Their journey was pleasant, and the scenery sometimes 'inconceivably grand.' They visited some of the English settlements, and received 'good cheer and a hearty welcome.' Speaking of Lake Alexandrina, our author mentions a practice of the natives, which gives a fearful insight into their condition. Truly may we affirm the lapsed condition of a nature, the possessors of which are guilty of such atrocities as the following:—

'A case had recently occurred in which some of the Tattayarra tribes had come down to the lake and taken away several black children for the purpose of devouring them. It is not uncommon for the natives of this district to take out the fat from the kidneys of an individual of another tribe whilst he is living, should he happen to come amongst them! If they can catch him asleep, they generally avail themselves of the opportunity, and turning him over, cut out his fat; and the unfortunate victim lingers from two to eight days after this inhuman treatment. The fat thus procured they regard as a charm: they say it has the power of preserving them from spirits; and when their bodies are anointed with it, they imagine they can fight more courageously.—vol. i. pp. 122, 123.

Several parties of natives were met with, some of whom had never seen a white man before. Terror was the general sentiment

inspired, and great caution was required to prevent hostile collisions. The exploring party, however, was well qualified for its mission. The gentlemen composing it knew the native character, and adopted every means in their power to prevent a contest, which their fire-arms and superior sagacity would have rendered fatal to the natives. Their efforts were happily successful, though they were not equally proof against the subtlety of these children of the desert. An amusing instance of this is given in the following extract:

‘Leaving Rivoli Bay we fell in with two very droll natives, the only ones who had made bold to approach our camp; both were in a state of nudity. One of these fellows was a perfect supplejack; he danced and capered about as though he were filled with quicksilver. We mounted them on horses, from which they were continually tumbling off, and they travelled with us all day. When we encamped at our old resting-place, near Lake Hawden, they, by signs, requested permission to remain by our fires; which we allowed them to do, and gave them, for supper, the head and refuse of a sheep that was just killed and hung up to a tree near the tents. They showed great surprise on seeing our various utensils and articles of cookery. So modest and well-behaved did these artful gentlemen appear, that they would not touch the slightest article of food without first asking permission by signs; and they so far gained our confidence that one of them was adorned with a tin plate, suspended round his neck by a string, on which was inscribed, ‘Good native.’ In the dead of the night we were all roused by the unusual barking of the dogs; at first it was supposed the wild dogs were ‘rushing’ the sheep; but, as the tumult increased, the sergeant-major unwrapped his opossum rug, and looked around for his hat, to go and ascertain the cause of the disturbance. To his surprise, he found that his hat had vanished. The hat of his companion, who lay next him near the fire, was also nowhere to be found; and casting his eyes to the spot where the sheep hung suspended from the tree, he saw in a moment that our fond hopes for the morrow’s repast were blighted, for the sheep too had disappeared. The whole camp was roused, when it was ascertained that forks, spoons, and the contents of the governor’s canteen—pannikins, and other articles were likewise missing, and that our two remarkably docile natives had left us under cover of the night. A council of war was held: black Jimmy protested that it was useless to follow their tracks till the morning, and that from the nature of the country they had, doubtless, taken to the swamps, walking in the water, so that pursuit was in vain. We had been completely duped by these artful and clever fellows; who probably had a large party of their colleagues lying in ambush amidst the surrounding swamps, ready to assist in conveying away the stolen property. Retaliation was useless; and we contented ourselves by giving utterance to our imprecations, and commenting on the audacity and cunning of the rogues until daybreak.’—vol. i. pp. 174—176.

From South Australia Mr. Angas proceeded to New Zealand, and remained for a few days at Wellington, the principal settlement of the Company. The population of this town is about 3,000; and the state of society in it 'may be inferred,' we are told, 'from the not unusual circumstance of the most fashionable of these gentlemen, (the principal English residents,) being trundled home in wheelbarrows from a ball, at the late hour of ten in the morning, on two succeeding days.' A native 'pah,' or village, is on either side of the town, in the neighbourhood of one of which proofs are furnished of the presence and ameliorating influence of the Christian faith.

'Close to Pipitea is a *ware karakia*, or chapel, belonging to the Christian natives, which is built of *raupo* and *tohi-tohi* grass, according to the native fashion. A small bell was struck outside the building, and it was an interesting sight to watch the effect it had upon the dwellers of the pah: one by one they came out of their houses, or crossed the little stiles dividing one court-yard from another, and, wrapping their mats and blankets around them, slowly and silently wended their way to the place of worship. On entering, each individual squatted upon the ground, which was strewn with reeds, and, with their faces buried in their blankets, they appeared to be engaged in prayer; they then opened their Maori Testaments, and a native teacher commenced the sacred service. It would have been a lesson to some of our thoughtless and fashionable congregations, to witness the devout and serious aspect and demeanour of these tattooed men, who, without the assistance of a European, were performing Christian worship with decorous simplicity and reverential feeling.'—vol. i. pp. 235, 236.

In the other 'pah,' Te Aro, a party of natives had just arrived from Queen Charlotte's Sound. Many of them were chiefs of note, elaborately tattooed, and on entering the enclosure where their friends were assembled, they 'commenced their salutations by pressing noses with each other in succession, and then sat down in silence; the women setting up a *tangi*, or 'crying of welcome.' A brief account is given of the lamentable massacre of the English at the Wairau valley in April 1843, from which it clearly appears that other causes, than the ferocity of the natives, contributed to that fearful catastrophe. Our readers will remember the sensation which was produced when intelligence of this event reached us. It came, of course, from the English residents, and was coloured by their fears and resentment. Few therefore hesitated to ascribe it to the perfidy and barbarism of the natives; but subsequent enquiries have elicited extenuating circumstances, which serve greatly to modify our judgment. Mr. Angas's opinion, formed in the colony, from a comparison of English and native reports, is calm, clear, and satisfactory.

‘ The English were undoubtedly wrong in erecting buildings upon lands to which they had no established claim—upon land, the sale of which was disputed, and respecting which the commissioner, Mr. Spain, had not yet given his decision. They were also wrong in apprehending Rauparaha, who had committed no crime, and endeavouring to seize him by main force. But the natives, by putting to death in cold blood the prisoners who had surrendered themselves into their hands, were guilty of a crime that their barbarous system of warfare scarcely allows. It was an act of savage revenge, and was prompted by one individual. Indeed, I have heard it stated, by those who were connected with this sanguinary affair, that Rangihaeata, with his own hand, massacred all those who were taken prisoners, in order to revenge the death of his favourite wife, who was one of the daughters of Rauparaha, and was shot whilst sitting at the fire.’—vol. i. p. 261.

The following sketch of Nene, one of the New Zealand chiefs, reveals qualities which need only the friendly influence of Christianity, to constitute a character of the highest order. Happily he does not stand alone, and it promises well for the aborigines, that there are others like Nene scattered throughout the colony. Our author says,—

‘ During my stay in Auckland, Pomare, the chief from the Bay of Islands, and Nene, the chief of Hokianga, arrived in the town. Pomare, who was accompanied by his fighting general, had pitched his tent close to the entrance-gate of Government House ; and both himself and Nene lunched with his excellency Captain Fitzroy on the following day. These two distinguished chiefs sat to me for their portraits, in their full native costume, wearing the *topuni*, or war-mat of dog’s skin. Pomare, in keeping with his usual turbulent and offensive manners, was restless, and spoke very abusively of the queen, while Nene, who is all amiability and good humour, after stepping into the garden to gather a flower, with which he decorated his hair before the glass, stood with the utmost composure and politeness. After the sittings were over the chiefs drank wine with me, when Pomare again exhibited one of his leading characteristics, by emptying the decanters. Since my interview with Nene he has become one of the leading actors in the late war ; and during the whole period of the rebellion, he has remained the firm friend and ally of the British troops ; affording an example of nobleness of character seldom to be met with.

‘ Nene, or—as he is now more generally known by his baptized name—Thomas Walker (*Tamati Waka*), is the principal chief of the Ngatihao tribe ; which, in common with many others, is comprised in the great assemblage of tribes usually called Ngapuis. The residence of this celebrated man is near the Wesleyan Mission station, on the banks of the river Hokianga, where he fully established his character as the friend and protector of Europeans, long before the regular colonization of the country. In common with most of his countrymen, Nene was, in his younger days, celebrated for his expertness in acts of petty pilfering ; and he himself will now laugh heartily, if reminded of his

youthful tricks. On one occasion, when on a visit to one of the missionaries at Waimate, a fine gander attracted his attention, and he secretly ordered it to be seized, and prepared for his dinner in a native oven; but, to prevent detection, the bird was cooked in its feathers. However, it was soon missed, and a rigorous inquiry instituted by its owner, but without success; until certain savoury steams arising from Nene's camp excited suspicion. To tax him with the theft, however, would have been contrary to all the rules of New Zealand etiquette; and the mystery of its disappearance was not unravelled until the morning after he had taken his departure, when the ill-fated gander was found concealed among the bushes, it having been found too tough for even a New Zealander's powers of mastication.

'Some years after this, a chief of East Cape killed a relation of Nene's; and, according to the customary law in New Zealand of 'blood for blood,' Nene went in a vessel, accompanied by only one attendant, to seek revenge. Landing near the spot where the chief resided, Nene entered his pah, called the murderer by name, and, after accusing him of the crime, deliberately levelled his gun and shot him dead at his feet, and then coolly walked away. Though in the midst of his enemies, none dared to touch the avenger: all were paralysed at his sudden appearance and determined bravery.

'But Nene is no longer the thoughtless, mischievous New Zealander; for many years he has been playing a nobler part in the great drama of life; and his conduct has deservedly gained for him a lasting reputation. Some traits may be mentioned to his honour. About the year 1839, the body of a European was discovered on the banks of one of the tributary streams of Hokianga, under circumstances which led to the suspicion that he had been murdered by a native called Kete, one of Nene's slaves. A large meeting was convened on the subject, and, the guilt of Kete being established, Nene condemned him to die; the murderer was accordingly taken to a small island in the river called Motiti, and there shot! So rigid were Nene's ideas of justice!

'When Captain Hobson arrived, and assembled the chiefs at Waitangi, in order to obtain their acquiescence in the sovereignty of the queen over the islands of New Zealand, the governor was received with doubt, and his proposals were at first rejected; but when Nene and his friends made their appearance, the aspect of affairs was changed: Nene, by his eloquence, and by the wisdom of his counsel, turned the current of feeling, and the dissentients were silenced. In short, Nene stood recognised as the prime agent in effecting the treaty of Waitangi. On another occasion his intervention was of great service to the British authorities. After the flag-staff at the Bay was cut down by Heki, Governor Fitzroy proceeded to the disaffected district with a considerable body of military, thinking by a show of force to overawe the rebellious natives. A large concourse of chiefs was gathered together, and many speeches were made; but amongst them all the words of Nene were conspicuous for their energy. 'If,' said he, 'another flag-staff is cut down, I shall take up the quarrel:' and nobly has he redeemed his pledge. During the whole course of the rebellion, up to the present period, he has steadily adhered to his purpose, and has on numerous occasions rendered the

most essential assistance to the military. He fought in several engagements with the rebels, and each time has proved himself as superior in courage and conduct in the field as he is in wisdom and sagacity in the council. The settlers in the northern parts of New Zealand are under the greatest obligations to this chief. But for him and his people, many a hearth, at present the scene of peace and happiness, would have been desecrated and defiled with blood—many a family, now occupying their ancient homes, would have been driven away from their abodes, exposed to misery and privation. Those settlers who were living near the disaffected districts, but remote from the influence and out of the reach of the protecting arm of Nene, have been driven as houseless wanderers to seek safety in the town of Auckland; and such would most probably have been the universal fate of the out-settlers, but for the courage and loyalty of this brave and noble chief.'—vol. i. pp. 297—301.

The New Zealanders are a different race from the inhabitants of Australia. Their native traditions point to the eastward as the region whence they came, and several strong analogies subsist between their architectural ornaments and those of the Mexicans.

• Their heads are good and well formed, and frequently approach in shape those of the most intellectual nations of Europe: both animal and intellectual faculties are strongly developed, and the facial angle is large. Their teeth are regular, and remain good to a late period of life. In many individuals the nose is aquiline and well shaped, in others it is flatter, more resembling those of the people of Luzon or Pelew. The mouth is rather larger than with us, and the lips, especially the upper one, are more fully developed. The countenances of some of the chiefs indicate a great degree of mind, and are totally divested of any thing approaching the expression of a savage; while the nobleness of their appearance and bearing proclaims at once their superiority over most of the uncivilized races of man. It is only in moments of excitement and passion that their countenances are lighted up with savage ferocity: at other times they display a combination of dignity and mildness which is sure to win the confidence of the stranger.'—vol. i. pp. 310.

Infanticide is common amongst them, though the introduction of Christianity, and their intercourse with Europeans, have already done much to abolish the horrid custom. 'It formerly prevailed,' says Mr. Angas, 'to a fearful extent: children were generally destroyed on the second or third day after birth; but if it happened that the infant was suffered to live longer than three days, it was rarely killed: the mother having in that time become attached to her offspring. Weakly or deformed children, however, were in all cases put to death, being considered unfit for flight in war. One woman, at Matamata, confessed to having put to death six of her children in succession, 'that she might be strong to run away from the fight!' And another woman, now living with Mrs. Morgan, destroyed all her children

up to the period of her embracing Christianity: she would not even look at them, for fear she should love them.'

The women occupy a much higher position than in Australia, and a disposition to adopt European habits and modes of subsistence is very perceptible. The native weapons are, to a considerable extent, thrown aside; English dress is assumed, and various of our articles of food are substituted for those formerly consumed. The immediate effect of these changes is frequently injurious; but the general tendency of the revolution which is going on, cannot but be beneficial.

The mode of travelling in New Zealand is vastly different from that of Australia. The dense and extensive mountain forests, with the frequent precipices, swamps, and rivers, preclude the use of horses, and the traveller is consequently compelled to proceed on foot. Mr. Angas, however, was not discouraged, and the reception with which he met in his solitary journeyings, raises our estimate of the native character. He travelled as an artist, and was probably indebted to the vanity of the New Zealanders, for the kindness he received.

'Early in the spring of 1844,' he says, 'I set out on a journey of upwards of eight hundred miles, on foot, to explore various portions of the interior of the Northern Island; and in the course of my progress I became acquainted with many tribes, settled on the shores of inland lakes and amidst sequestered valleys, whose character, and existence even, are but little known to dwellers on the coast. At setting out, and for the first portion of my journey, up the Waikato river and along the western coast, I was accompanied by my friend Forsaith, one of the protectors of Aborigines; who was on his way overland to Taranaki, or New Plymouth, the British settlement at the foot of Mount Egmont. But when penetrating to the Interior, and visiting the districts of Mokau and the Taupo lakes, I was accompanied only by natives; and during the whole period of my sojourn with the New Zealanders, I invariably experienced both hospitality and protection. My mission amongst them was one of peace: I did not covet their land; and my coming from Europe for the purpose of representing their chiefs and their country was considered by them as a compliment. The chiefs readily acceded to my requests, and facilitated the purpose of my journey; and I was everywhere known by the title of '*Te pakeha no te Kene Ingerangi*,' or 'The stranger from the Queen of England:' loudly and proudly did my native guides herald my approach to a *kainga maori* with this appellation.'—vol. ii. p. 2.

The ameliorating influences of Christianity are frequently noticed by our traveller, in terms honourable to himself, and strikingly illustrative of the blessings which follow in its train. It is everywhere the harbinger of peace. It finds a desert, and creates a paradise. Under its genial influence the wilderness and the

solitary place become glad, the desert rejoices and blossoms as the rose. And this is its invariable effect, whether amongst the former slaves of our colonies—the wild bushmen of Africa—the natives of the Polynesian group—or the New Zealand savages, who regale themselves on human flesh. Outstripping the progress of civilization and commerce, it prepares the way for both, and has wrung reluctant testimony from eye-witnesses of all characters and grades. The following brief sketch of one of the Church Missionary stations, pictures an oasis in the midst of a great moral desert:—

‘ It was several hours after sunset before we reached the church missionary station of Otawhao, where I was most hospitably received by the Rev. J. Morgan and his excellent wife. Nothing could exceed the kindness I experienced whilst staying under their roof; and during the few days I passed at Otawhao my natives recruited their strength, resting with their friends at one of the neighbouring pahs.

‘ The mission premises of Otawhao are very comfortable, and there is an appearance of peace and happiness amidst the native population around, that speaks well for the worthy missionary’s labours. Whilst attending to their spiritual interests, Mr. Morgan has not neglected the temporal amelioration of those about him: the sick are cared and provided for, and medicine is administered to those that need it; whilst Mrs. Morgan, who is called ‘mother,’ both by young and old, is unceasing in her kindness and attention to the women and children: her aid and advice are continually sought for.

‘ A steady course of persevering industry for a series of years has enabled Mr. Morgan to have around him all the little comforts of life; so that, after undergoing toils and dangers of the most fearful description, and living for a long period at the mercy of two belligerent and cannibal tribes, he is now enabled to dwell at peace, enjoying the fruits of his labours, and witnessing the beneficent effects of Christianity amongst a people who, only eight years ago, held their banquets of human flesh at the door of the missionary’s hut, and shook the severed and bloody heads and limbs of their enemies in the very face of his terrified wife!’—vol. ii. p. 140.

A narrative of a convert at this station must close our extracts. It illustrates at once the savage nature of New Zealand life, and the power of religious truth to reclaim from vice and barbarity. Let scoffers allege what they please, the disciples of Christianity may well be content to point to such cases as those of Horomona Marahau.

‘ One of the most interesting individuals at the mission station of Otawhao is Horomona Marahau, or ‘Blind Solomon,’ who has for some years acted very efficiently as a native catechist and teacher in connexion with the Church Missionary Society. The account of the early life and exploits of this once celebrated warrior, and his subsequent change to Christianity, as narrated to me from his own lips and translated by Mr.

Morgan, affords a fair example of the troubled life of many of the New Zealand chiefs. From a boy, Horomona accompanied his father on all his fighting expeditions. At the taking of a pah at Waingarua, he saw great numbers captured as slaves ; he then went to Hanga, where many were slain and eaten ; and at the taking of the great pah at Maungataritari forty men were killed, besides women and children, and all eaten. At a second fight at Maungataritari, whither Horomona accompanied his father, sixty men were killed and eaten. After this, an attack was made by the Nga ti Raukawa tribe upon the pah in which Horomona resided ; the assailants retreated, and were pursued by Horomona and his party, but the Nga ti Raukawas rallied again, turned back upon their pursuers, and slew upwards of one hundred of them, Horomona himself narrowly escaping. At Kawhia fight, sixty were killed and eaten. At Mokau, Horomona's party were beaten off and two hundred of them killed : here the chief met with another hair-breadth escape. Returning to Mokau, Horomona succeeded in taking the pah, when two hundred were killed and eaten, and numbers of women and children taken as slaves. During the engagement Horomona took the principal chief prisoner, but finding that on a former occasion his own brother had been saved by this chief, Horomona, as an act of gratitude, led his captive to the mountains, to enable him to get clear of his enemies, and then let him go. The next expedition of Horomona was to Poverty Bay, where two hundred men were killed and eaten, or taken as slaves. He then went to Kapiti, and from thence to Wanganui ; the inhabitants of both pahas flying at his approach. After this, Taranaki became the seat of war, great numbers being continually killed on both sides, and cannibal feasts held almost daily. At Waitara, Horomona and his tribe were attacked by Rauparah's party, and ten of their number killed ; they then fled to Poukirangiora, where they were surrounded by Rauparaha and his followers, and remained besieged for several months. When at length their supplies of food were completely exhausted, they contrived to send out a spy by night, who passed through the enemy's encampment, and reached the mountains in safety ; travelling along the forest ranges until he reached the Waikato district, where he gave information of the condition of the besieged. Te Whero Whero and Waharo of Matamata, the father of Tarapipipi the present chief of that place, went to their rescue with a large party ; they were, however, all beaten off by Rauparaha, and twenty of their number killed ; but the Waikatos again rallied, renewed the attack, rescued their friends, beat back Rauparaha, and returned home in triumph. After this, the Nga Puis from the Bay of Islands, headed by the famous E Hongi (Shongi), who had just then returned from England with fire-arms and gunpowder, came down upon them like a host, and made an attack upon the great Waikato pah called Makute-tuke ; the Waikatos had only native weapons with which to beat off their enemies, and with so unequal an advantage the Nga Puis took the pah in a few minutes. Horomona and Te Whero Whero were amongst the captured inmates. At this dreadful carnage two thousand were slain ; feasts were held upon the dead bodies on the spot where they lay, and all manner of savage and dreadful rites were held in unrestrained licentiousness to commemorate this great victory of the Nga Puis. The

bones of the two thousand still lie whitening on the plains, and the ovens remain in which the flesh of the slaughtered was cooked for their horrible banquets. So numerous were the slaves taken during this attack, that the Nga Puis killed many of them on their road to the Bay of Islands, merely to get them out of the way. The escape of Horomona from the general slaughter was almost miraculous: he fled to the mountains, and after the retreat of their northern enemies, his tribe once more collected together and marched to Poverty Bay, where the pah was taken by them, and six hundred were killed, and eaten after the fight was over. Not long subsequent to the attack on the inhabitants of Poverty Bay, Horomona became blind at Otawhao, where he first met with the missionaries; at Matamata he heard the Rev. H. Williams preach, and at length became a convert to Christianity. For the last four years Horomona has been a native teacher under the Rev. J. Morgan; and may be seen every Sabbath-day with his class, instructing them in the truths of the scriptures with an earnestness and energy truly admirable. He is now about to start on a journey of ninety miles to preach Christianity to a tribe that have not yet received it. The memory of Horomona is quite wonderful: he knows the whole of the church service by heart, and repeats hymns and many long chapters verbatim: at a late examination in the catechism, Horomona was the only individual who knew every word correctly.—vol. ii. p. 146—149.

Mr. Angas's volumes are enriched with numerous illustrations, and are eminently worthy of the confidence of their readers. They bear the impress of truth—are the production of an observant and intelligent mind—and will do more to familiarize our countrymen with the scenery and natives of the colonies described, than any other work with which we are acquainted.

ART. VII.—*Celebrated Crimes*. By Alexander Dumas. Chapman and Hall. London: 1843.

2. *Narratives of Remarkable Criminal Trials*. Translated from the German of Anselm Ritter Von Feuerbach. By Lady Duff Gordon. London: John Murray. 1846.

WE are weary of the talk about this enlightened age—this advanced stage of civilization—the marvels of the middle of the nineteenth century, &c., &c. In what does the progress of the age consist? What are the merits of our times, compared with former times? What new lessons have we learned from the experience of our forefathers? How much of their wisdom have we overlooked to our own hurt? Of course the laudation of our

age is pleasant, and the wisdom of our ancestors a joke which may be always kept standing in type. However, there is mischief in this talk. It is a way of lauding progress which impedes advancement.

Talk about the wonderful progress of the age, confirms comfortable people in their dislike of confronting the crying evils of the needy and the outcast, with a view to the application of remedies. Few seek, consequently, the blessing attached to considering the poor. Few aspire to the crown of glory won by reclaiming the outcast. Nothing considerable can now be done, but by acting on the convictions of the ruling classes in this country—the persons who derive their opinions and purposes from the press. We wish to disturb the complacency of this class, by asking them to look Crime in the face. We would remove the beautiful colours of rhetoric which cover the horrors of the age, and silence the eulogies on our intelligence and advancement, by pointing to the dark facts which shew the Progress of Crime.

Our theme is a disagreeable one we are well aware, and ungenial to the comfortable libraries and tasteful drawing-rooms of the people who chiefly read the reviews and magazines. But our apology is, we seek the mitigation of a gigantic evil by the only possible means—by influencing the opinions, convictions, and decisions of our readers. We know how successful is the literature of smooth things. But we seek a success higher than to please. We are well aware how the sensitiveness of refined minds recoils from the consideration of the criminal aspects of human nature. It is deemed virtuous, by many, to avoid the subject even in thought. The study of crime, with a view to extirpate it, may be confounded with the prurient curiosity which gloats on details of crime, and haunts the death scenes of criminals.

Beneficent results have already come, and more are coming, from the labours of the press, in forcing on the attention of the gentle classes the distresses of the poor. A darker region than the home of poverty may yield to investigation more beneficent ameliorations. We wish to direct the light of Christian benevolence into the chambers of crime—to change and remove them. Good has come of making gentlemen realize the fever-fraught squalor of low neighbourhoods—the pestiferous atmosphere of the courts and yards—

‘ Where flags the noontide air,
And as we pass
We fear to breathe the putrifying mass.’

Many gentlemen see no poor persons except pampered lacquies,

yet the mitigations of misery depend on their opinions. Never, perhaps, in a lifetime, do the patent-leather boots of a gentleman of the West-end creak on the stair of a house, in the foetid cellars and crowded rooms of which, without clean water, and amidst foul air and moral and material filth, the poor waste their lives. By bringing these facts home to the feelings of men, whose lives are spent amidst smooth and soft comforts, as if they were jewels preserved in cotton, plans have been commenced to remove the evils. Men whose mornings are a lounge over books, newspapers, and letters, in breakfast-rooms and clubs—their afternoons a ride or drive in a gay equestrian and chariotted scene in the parks—their evenings, probably, an intoxication of music at the opera, where a *prima donna* thrills them with rapture, and all sympathy with suffering vanishes as the slowly rising curtain displays the sandalled feet and ribboned ankles of the nymphs of the ballet—the gentlemen of society, whose intelligence, station, and wealth, enable them to decide what principles are to be adopted, and what measures carried out, are the pupils of the press, yet scholars morbidly averse to the study of such painful themes as misery and crime. But they have been made to attend to poverty of late, by the press, in a way never done before. Roused by daily pictures in the newspapers of houseless wretches shivering, not sleeping, through winter nights, under the arches of dry bridges, on the benches of the parks, or under the trees, three winters ago a number of gentlemen simultaneously determined that houselessness should not necessarily exist in London, and the evil has been put down. The sanitary condition of all our towns will be improved decidedly. Drainage, baths, ventilation, are things advancing to satisfactory results. We wish to lead this powerful and practical intelligence of the age, to deal with a thing more fearful than poverty, and more deadly than any pestilence that ever walked in darkness. Convinced that the causes and nature of crime must be studied and analysed ere this Gigantic Horror can be mitigated and diminished, we sincerely wish to force it upon the attention of the reading, and because intelligent, the influential classes. For a short hour we would let the shrieks of crime pierce through the music which fills their drawing-rooms. For a moment, and for a good end, we would hang up on their walls the ghastly pictures of the demoniac aspect of Man.

That the necessity for this inquiry may be felt more effectually, we must disturb a little more the complacency with which pretty periods are rounded respecting the present state of civilization. Of course it is easy to check the eulogist of the present age, when enumerating evils of past times, which he fancies do not now exist, with an enumeration of evils of the

day which did not exist in the past. But what ought to have weight, is the fact, that data do not really exist for forming a correct conclusion with respect either to the present or the ancient times.

Society advances as the highest moral, economical, scientific, and spiritual ideas are inwrought into the arrangements, habits, manners, laws, and institutions of men. Tried by this test, the advancement of society is undeniable, multiform, and splendid : yet we are too apt to over-estimate it. We look only at the trophies : we forget evils still unconquered,—the new monsters which have sprung up. Two or three brief centuries ago, and all the nations of Europe still groaned under innumerable civil feuds and local and clannish broils. As the bards tell us, they reddened the green fields with the blood of neighbours and brothers, and made the mountains hills of weeping. But never before our time, we believe, did any bard exclaim :

“ O God ! that bread should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap ! ”

We can travel at the rate of a mile in a minute ; but never perhaps, at any period of history, did the lanes and cellars of our cities contain such large assemblages of miserable people. What a Norman castle would be before modern gunnery, is the feudal power of the aristocracy now-a-days in the presence of public opinion. Yet never was the property of this island in so few hands. Readers of books and periodicals were never so numerous as in the present day. Perhaps there never has been, since the heydays of the Greek and the Judæan civilizations, for two thousand years, less of a demand for profound thought and high art. Comfortable families are more numerous perhaps than ever ; and probably there never was so many people whose average incomes for shelter and subsistence was estimated, in reference to money, at less than one penny per head per day. The feudal lord and clan chief of old, had a power often of life and death ; but he had not the power of sweeping away whole townships from off the lands won and held by the swords and blood of their forefathers. Manufactured goods were never so cheap ; and never before were the makers of them growing up stunted and short-lived from sire to son. It may well be doubted if even a place in the system of representative government would make every man as important in the community by his vote, as his forefathers were made by their swords when the state of society gave to every man the importance of the soldier, in addition to the importance of the labourer, mechanic, or operative. It is commonly supposed, that if there was greater individual superiority of character in ancient times, there is

more general worth and intelligence in the present day. Nobody knows ;—for the data which decide the question do not exist, but individual greatness we may submit has never in any well-known period been a solitary superiority. The most distinguished men are always only the best specimens of remarkable families, the flowers of brilliant races, the finest products of illustrious periods. It would be as absurd to deny the progress of society, as it is mischievous to inspire the public with complacency in it. Every child who has received a shock of electricity knows scientific facts, of which Harvey, and Bacon, and Newton were ignorant. There is a fallacy in the rhetoric, however, which on such specialties of information represents the child as belonging therefore to a profound, and these philosophers to superficial generations.

For the sake of a most important, but painful subject, we have wished to disturb the complacency with which many regard the present stage of civilization. We object to pictures of our condition which omit the progress of crime. Last session Sir Robert Peel said in his place in parliament—‘From the first record in 1805, down to 1842, when the commitments attained the maximum hitherto recorded, the increase in crime progressed from year to year, until it had extended to above six hundred per cent.’ Another calculation estimates the increase at two hundred and sixty-one per cent. in the last ten years. The statistical calculations which have traced a decrease of crime to a greater leniency in punishing it, have, we fear, been found to be fallacious. Substantially the last statistical approximation to the fact of the increase of crime, displays a progress rapid and fearful, of two hundred and sixty-one per cent. in the last ten, and six hundred per cent. in the last thirty-seven years.

Of course, somewhat of this apparent increase is to be ascribed to the greater vigilance with which crimes have been detected, and criminals punished. How much ought to be deducted on this account, no one can tell. To warrant the earnest attention which we intreat towards the subject of crime, it will suffice if it is conceded that there is no evidence of a diminution of crime simultaneously with the advance of comforts and the diffusion of information in the last forty years. We greatly fear it would be erroneous to suppose, that the crimes of this day are less atrocious than those of the mediæval or the ancient times. Readers of the newspapers cannot receive this persuasion. In the case of a Northamptonshire clergyman, residing recently in Eaton Square, London, they have seen wickedness with many of the marks of the nineteenth century about it, yet scarcely, if at all, surpassed by the dark horrors of the Italian stories of the Cenci and the Borgias. Poisoners have only a short time ago

figured in some English villages and towns;—one old man, who had invested himself with a power of inflicting death for years, and pursued his dark mystery steadily and silently, like a fabled Fate;—several women who had destroyed their relatives—brothers—a father—a mother—for obstructing their career of sensual gratification; poisoners have, in short, been revealed in the midst of ‘moral and enlightened England,’ in the present day, comparable to the Chevalier Gaudin de Sainte Croix, and the Marchioness de Brinvilliers. Infanticide is nearly as much a characteristic of certain classes in this country, as it used to be of the savages of New Zealand. In some towns infanticide is a regular trade. Among the savages it was a practice in time of war. Distress and shame have established it as a trade amidst the demoralized populations of our large towns. Never surely was female infancy so systematically ruined. Crimes are every now and then occurring, at which the describing pen shudders, as it writes. The breezes sweep freshly over Hyde Park as the sun shines on rows of palaces, on the water of the Serpentine, on the foliage of the trees, and on hundreds of equipages in the drives. Yet was this Hyde Park only the other day the scene of a system of monstrous iniquity against the solitary evening traveller, compared to which the crimes of the highwaymen, who were hung at Tyburn, were innocent—a system of monstrous iniquity, in which London advanced and refined upon the wickedness of Sodom and Gomorrah. From Primrose Hill the eyes feast on a sublime scene, southwards and eastwards and westwards beyond the park, of domes, spires, and mansions, hidden by wreathing smoke, displayed by sunbeams; and northwards, beyond the railway tunnel, there are green fields, divided by trees and hedge-rows, where, in this very show place of English civilization, Hocker assassinated Delarue, in circumstances of horror which ought not to be even named in any language, living or dead.

It was in the beginning of 1845, in England, and when contemplating English crimes, of recent occurrence, especially the deeds of Hocker the schoolmaster, and Tawell, the pretended philanthropist, who poisoned his mistress, that a thoughtful journalist was compelled to write thus:—‘Man is the most appalling thing in nature. The vices, sins, crimes of man, when looked at just as they are, tower up and glare forth more terribly than any thing poets have imagined in Pandemonium. A man stands before you in the garb of a grey-headed Quaker, or of a young shabby-genteel London snob. They are men—touch them, they are flesh and bone—hear them, they have the voices of Englishmen. They are men. But view them in relation to crime, and the men are gone, and your spiritual vision sees demons in their stead.’

Nearly all our published literature and philosophy on crime

relates to the punishment of it. On its nature and its causes, apparently as yet almost nothing has been said or thought. Punishment has been almost the only thing studied, as a prevention of crime. Most strange is it, though true, that in the middle of the nineteenth century of Christianity, the Great Horror of our nature has been looked at only in reference to punishment. Diseases of the body have long been observed and classified, while the more dreadful diseases of the conscience have received no scientific attention. There is no attempt made to produce a Nosology of the moral nature. The Science of Crime has yet to be created. We wish to supply this want. To descend into the cavernous heart of man, and analyse his darkest secrets—ascertain the laws of his wildest bursts of passion and wrath—note the growth of his crimes—describe the circumstances in which they arise—why they display themselves as they do, and then by these inquiries prepare the way for devising a more efficient system of prevention than now exists, have been the objects of the studies of many years, yielding results which may be worth printing, if only as materials and incentives for another and a more successful investigator.

What is crime?—is likely to be a more fruitful inquiry than—how to punish crime?—if for no other reason, then, certainly for this one, that it is a neglected view of the subject. We may fail in shedding any new and valuable light on the dark and bewildered theme, and yet our failure be an aid to a future success. The carcass in the ditch may be a stepping stone to the future victor. We shall return to the investigation. Our present remarks are only introductory, and if they serve to draw attention to the fearful topic, their object will be attained.

- ART. IX.—1. *Letters to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, First Lord of the Treasury, on State Education; with an Appendix, containing Correspondence with Wm. Ewart, Esq., M P., a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Vaughan, and replies to the Westminster and British Quarterly Reviews, by Edward Baines, Jun.* London: Simpkin and Co.
2. *Popular Education in England, reprinted from No. VIII. of the British Quarterly Review, with Reply to the Letter of Mr. Edward Baines, Jun., on that article, by Robert Vaughan, D.D.* London: Jackson and Walford.
3. *Equity without Compromise; or Hints for the Construction of a Just System of National Education; (Third Edition), with Remarks on Dr. Hook's Pamphlet, and the Letters of Edward Baines, Jun., Esq. to Lord John Russell. By Edward Swaine.* London: Snow.
4. *Statistics of Educational Provision in West Kent, reported as the Results of the Enquiries of the West Kent Educational Association, March to September, 1846.* (Printed for Private Circulation.)
5. *The Patriot, December 14th and 17th.*

THE present state of the education question, strikingly illustrates the tendency of mankind to seek the correction of one evil by the substitution of another. Practical errors are connived at, until they attain a magnitude which threatens some immediate and palpable mischief, when an outcry is raised which alarms the timid, and precipitates the judgment of all. Calm and reflecting men who are accustomed to look below the surface, and are intent on discovering disease rather than symptoms, may long have been apprised of the existence of the evil in question, and have wondered that others should be unconcerned so about its operation. They note its growth, trace out its influence, and by partial experiment learn something of the remedies to which it yields. Regretting the feebleness of their agency, they yet fulfil their vocation by the enunciation of important principles which ultimately serve to moderate, if they cannot wholly control, the alarm and precipitation of the public mind. Combining the practical with the abstract, a knowledge of the appliances required, with the evils to be corrected, they are as advocates, at the bar of public opinion, moving for an arrest of judgment, in order that a fuller and more searching inquiry may be instituted. Not so, however, with the majority of men. They are intent on what is imminent and pressing, and are consequently indifferent to whatever is latent and of slow growth. The tares spring up while they sleep, and it is only on discovering that the field is covered with an unproductive and noxious crop, that they feel the necessity for action, or bestir themselves to clear the soil. A little labour would

have sufficed to keep down the weeds at first, but vast toil is needed when the wheat is choked by them. Magnitude, and, as resulting from this, an apprehension of immediate danger, are necessary to overcome the *vis inertiae* of society. Men, or at least Englishmen, require to feel that there is evil at their door, an enemy which threatens their immediate disturbance, ere they seriously address themselves to the labour of reform.

From this defect it frequently follows that the knowledge possessed bears no proportion to the solicitude felt,—that the exertions made are prompted by fear rather than wisdom, and are directed to the removal of the immediate, present, evil, and not to the correction of the deeper disease out of which it has grown. Many of the remedial schemes which have been proposed are therefore amongst the most signal proofs of human folly. Like the expedients of the quack, they heal a wound, or remove an unsightly scar, at the expense of the general health. The patient is pronounced sound at the very moment when his disease assumes the most fatal form. Driven from the surface, it fastens on some vital organ, to the detriment, if not to the destruction of, life.

Just so it has happened with popular education. Not many years since the instruction of the people was denounced by the aristocracy and clergy generally, and was regarded with mistrust by a large section of the middle class. They did not commonly venture to put their views in a positive form. They shrank, save in a few instances, from panegyrising ignorance, but they were eloquent in descanting on the evils of popular instruction. It would unfit the lower orders for their station, indispose them to show proper respect to their superiors, tempt them to canvass matters beyond their cognizance, and break up the good order and framework of society. It might serve the purpose of the demagogue, by enabling the many to test, by their erroneous standard, the merits of the few; but woe be to the nation, when its people are able to read and think for themselves. The horse and the ass are useful while ignorant of their strength, and so the masses of a community may subserve the interests of their superior so long, and only so long, as they are kept in a similar state of degradation. Much information, it was alleged, could not be obtained, and what so obvious as that,—

‘A little knowledge is a dangerous thing.’

Such was the language perpetually uttered, a few years since, at the meetings of our squirearchy and clergy. It was popular amongst them at their diuners and country meetings. Justices of the peace talked it at their sessions, the clergy preached it at their visitations, their pamphleteers and newspaper organs

broached it as their special mission, and even in parliament the less sagacious of their advocates ventured to utter the folly and the untruth. And there was much in all this, viewing the matter from the position of the parties in question. Judged by their standard, it was right, and we have been amongst the worst of heretics. If the perfection of society be what they deemed, if the many are created only to serve the purposes of the few, if, with another name, and under different forms, the spirit of feudalism is to be maintained in the serfdom of the masses, then the limitation of knowledge is a duty, and he who extends its domain increases the perplexity of the rich, while he adds a hundred-fold to the miseries of the poorer. But if, as we verily believe, human society be based on a purer and more divine philanthropy, if the greatest happiness of the greatest number be its legitimate and noble aim, if man, *as man*, apart from all adventitious circumstances, bear the image of his Maker, and be formed for his study and his worship, if the poor, as well as the rich, the peasant equally with the noble, be invited to imitate his Creator, and be cheered with the prospect of everlasting fellowship with 'the spirits of just men made perfect,' then the theory of the parties in question is an atrocious wrong to human nature, a libel on the workmanship of God, and the worst form which a selfish infidelity has ever assumed.

Happily there were other men who thought and acted differently. Few at first in number, discountenanced by the influential classes, persecuted by the clergy, sneered at by the wits, and regarded with disfavour, if not laughed at in contempt, by many liberal politicians, they betook themselves to the unostentatious and self-denying task of Sunday-school instruction. All honour be to Robert Raikes, the father of a new and potent agency. When his heart, touched with pity for the ignorant outcasts whom he saw in the streets of Gloucester, prompted the noble enterprise of their instruction, he little thought of what would be the result. He must have been a man of large faith, but even his brightest hopes failed to picture what has been realised. The experiment however was made; it proved successful; and philanthropy, encouraged in its holy mission, proceeded to improve its machinery and extend its operations. The systems of Lancaster and Bell followed. Public attention was increasingly engaged. The subject was propelled forward, and vast organizations, differing in forms but combining in their result, contributed to diffuse the elements of popular instruction. So long as there was hope of success, the clergy, as a body, opposed the movement. There were always honourable exceptions, but their number until recently was very small. As a class, the clergy were, everywhere, and at all times, the unscrupulous opponents of the instruction of the

people. To the means employed in carrying on their hostility we need scarcely advert. Hundreds of villages and small towns have a tale to tell, over which charity would draw a veil, and towards which we should not venture even a passing reference, if the existing state of a great question did not render it imperative. We cannot understand the question at issue, or do justice to the men who have carried it forward, or to the machinery employed by them, without it. It has been in the face of powerful opposition that the education of the people has been advanced; and that opposition has proceeded from the very parties who now claim to be intrusted with it. So long as the issue was doubtful, they were unscrupulous opponents; but now that it is determined, they seek to take the instruction of the people out of the hands of its early friends. The honour of deciding this question belongs mainly to dissenters, and we are compelled therefore to regard the tardy zeal of the church as a mere party-passion. To keep the people in ignorance was deemed the best thing, and so long as there was hope of this, no pains were spared to compass it. But when this was found to be impossible, then the next best thing was resorted to, and the church proclaimed herself the authorised educator of the nation. Failing in their first movement, the clergy sought to recover their position by emulating the zeal which they had discountenanced and libelled. So far the church.

In the meantime, there were other spectators of what was going on. Henry Brougham—a man once honoured amongst us, and still to be remembered with gratitude for his services to popular education—devoted to the subject his inexhaustible energy and talents. Others were associated with him, perhaps of purer zeal, though of less splendid name. They saw the evil to be corrected, and, with a one-sidedness which betokened their ignorance of human nature, advocated the spread of knowledge as the only, and the all-sufficient, remedy. Their zeal was a passion, noble, yet only partially enlightened; aiming at a great result, by means which, however important or beneficial, were utterly inadequate to its production. They were politicians, and they acted as such; earthy, and their measures were of the earth. Again and again, the patronage of the state was invoked; but the force of prejudice was yet too strong, and even their unworthy concessions failed to obtain its favour. Throughout their labours—and we stint not the admiration which they merit—their attention was too exclusively fixed on the evil to be corrected. They lived without the religious world. It may be, they despised it. One thing is certain,—they knew little of what it was doing, and were therefore unprepared to confide in its power to accomplish what remained to be done.

And yet it is certain there were vast achievements going on, and that these were, for the most part, referable to the agency of Christian men. The energy of religious principle put itself forth in a thousand directions—penetrating with light the darkest recesses—scattering the seeds of knowledge over the most sterile soil—quickenings intellect—eliciting inquiry, and preparing the way for yet vaster and more splendid efforts than philanthropy had ever prompted, or Christian zeal, in our own land, at least, had achieved. We are far from suggesting that all was done which might have been accomplished, or which the nature of the case required. Far from it. We have a painful conviction of the contrary. But it was as unphilosophical as it was unfair, to lose sight of what was going on. The efforts that were being made constituted part of the case on which judgment was invoked, and might, if properly considered, have served to convince them, that there was a machinery, already in operation, at once simple, inexpensive, and efficient, which required only their hearty co-operation in order to contend successfully with the evil they denounced. One thing, at least, is certain—had their knowledge embraced all the facts pertaining to their case, they would have pronounced less dogmatically than they have done on the failure of past expedients, and have paused before they committed themselves to another and most questionable mode of operation.

At length a crisis has arrived. Men of all parties are agreed that the people must be educated. The prime minister has announced the doctrine, and the party in opposition are prepared to support it. For once, the Edinburgh, the Quarterly, and the Westminster, see eye to eye. Differing on details they are one in the substance of their views, and their daily and weekly organs have agreed to a similar truce. So far well. We rejoice in the fact. It is indicative of progress. It is an omen of good which, duly improved, will help us to realise the brightest visions of the past. We must not, however, be deceived, nor suffer ourselves to be thrown off our guard. This is the real testing time, and the state of parties which we now witness constitutes the severest trial of our wisdom and fidelity. Much is gained in the admission that has been made. It constitutes an advanced position, an era, an epoch, in the educational history of our country. It remains, however, to be seen whether we are equal to its improvement. The next step is infinitely important. We await it with intense solicitude; not, we admit, without apprehension, but with a prevalent feeling of hope. Christian philanthropists have been labouring for half a century, with growing zeal and augmenting resources, and it is now to be seen whether their past

exertions shall be blighted, and their zeal be checked, by the intervention of governmental agency, with its rude, expensive, and more than questionable, machinery. Our statesmen at length see that the education of the people is a matter worth attention. In these days of reform, when the direct supports of power are wrested from them, they are eager to raise up others, more suited to the temper of the age, and better adapted, therefore, to arrest the progress of the popular will. The children of this world are wise in their generation. Education they know is potent. The training of the child determines the character of the man, and what so friendly to their purpose, what so conducive to the maintenance of their state, as to place the young intellect of the nation under the surveillance of instructors chosen and paid by government? This, therefore, has been resolved on by our statesmen. It is their avowed and cherished policy. Whigs, Tories, and Radicals, are agreed on it. It is to be an open question—a neutral territory on which combatants of all classes may disport themselves. If allowed to be carried out it will constitute a new, and in our judgment a most disastrous, epoch, in the educational history of the country. What has been done by voluntary effort, will, in such case, be over-ruled for evil; and the elastic and diffusive element hitherto at work, will have to give way to the formal, rigid, and stereotyped procedure of state machinery. Happily we have a popular power, and an age growingly enlightened, and we are, therefore, far from despairing. Let time be gained, and we fear not the result. We have strong faith in the soundness of the public judgment, if our people be not taken unaware. If the decision be precipitated we may fail: but let us have time to circulate the facts of the case, and our politicians will be constrained to keep themselves within their proper sphere.

This object has been greatly facilitated by the publication of Mr. Baines's admirable letters, and the controversy to which they have led. On some accounts we are indisposed to notice this controversy, and should probably have done so, only partially, had not Dr. Vaughan issued his reply as a distinct and substantive publication. As an article in the *British Quarterly*, we should have felt, on grounds which our readers will appreciate, indisposed to notice it; but as a separate publication, forming part of one of the most momentous discussions of the day, we have no alternative, unless we failed in our duty as journalists, and exposed ourselves to the charge of treating the author with disrespect. Dr. Vaughan has done good service in various departments of useful literature, and none are more ready than ourselves to do him full justice on this account. If,

therefore, we are compelled on the present occasion to take exception to his labours, it is because we regard his knowledge as imperfect, his reasoning unsound, his principles defective, and the tendency of his efforts injurious in the last degree,—unconsciously, on his part, we fully admit,—to the cause of education, to our civil liberties, and to our religious faith. Mr. Baines and Dr. Vaughan belong to the same section of dissenters. They alike repudiate the extreme views which some others are alleged to entertain, and have stood equally aloof from an organization much misunderstood, and not slightly misrepresented, amongst us. Each of them enjoys a large measure of respect amongst his fellow dissenters, and the intimacies of private friendship are understood to have cemented their public agreement. To ourselves, these circumstances give additional interest to the discussion, as they form the best guarantee against unworthy personalities, and will serve to ensure the largest attention being given to the matter in debate. Had one of ourselves been in Mr. Baines's stead, our reasonings and our statistics would have failed to secure a tithe of the notice which will be given to his. We rejoice, therefore, in his position, though we can readily appreciate the regret which he expresses in his letter to the Editor of the Patriot of the 9th December.

‘It has given me pain,’ he says, ‘to have in this question Dr. Vaughan for an opponent—a personal friend, an honoured minister, an able writer, and, in purely religious matters, a Voluntary. But I take you to witness that he has throughout been the assailant. He followed my second letter to Lord John Russell with his first to the ‘Morning Chronicle,’ in reply. As soon as my statistical case appeared, he attacked it in a letter full of egregious errors, yet treating my case as ‘a mere card-castle,’ which ‘needs but be blown upon, and it is gone.’ When my Letters were complete, he answered them by the elaborate article in the ‘British Quarterly.’ And to my comments on the review he has now published another ‘Reply.’ I should have preferred to meet a different opponent. But not having had the choice, I could not honourably decline the controversy. It would be affectation in me to pretend, that on this politico-statistical question I am conscious of inferiority to Dr. Vaughan, however I might have felt on any other question. I am in the line of my profession, in the line of my previous researches, and I hope in the line of duty. I cannot retreat without discredit. Nor will I.’—*Patriot*, Dec. 14.

Mr. Baines's ‘Letters’ arose from the publication of Dr. Hook's pamphlet, which was noticed at considerable length in our journal for September last. What we then said will sufficiently indicate our views on the general question, and we are glad that our judgment was recorded before the publication of Dr. Vaughan's present critique. We need not now repeat ourselves, or go over, at any considerable length, the ground we then took.

We shall confine our remarks to the aspect of the controversy presented in the pamphlets before us, and more particularly to the contending statements and reasonings of the two principal combatants. There are three points especially to which we are desirous of directing attention. I. The provision already made for popular education. II. The quality of the education imparted. And, III. The best method of supplying the admitted deficiency. On each of these points Mr. Baines and Dr. Vaughan are at variance, and it will be our endeavour to elicit from their conflicting statements, the real facts of the case.

First, then, we ask, what is the accommodation now existing for the education of the people? And here we fully admit the extensive prevalence of a most unfavourable impression. Few men have paid attention to the matter. The statistics of education are not complete, nor are they in a lucid or very accessible form. Moreover, the investigation of statistics is a dry and unattractive occupation, while the records of crime are obtruded on public notice by the newspaper press, and the evils of ignorance are daily seen and felt. These considerations go far to account for the defective information which is possessed, and may at least avail so far, as to prevent the existing impression from being received in evidence. Mr. Baines fully admits the existence of such an impression; but he contests its accuracy, and shews cause why it should be discredited. The evidence which he adduces is simple, straight-forward, and as direct as the nature of the case admits; and, as much depends on this point, we must allow him to speak at some length for himself. He says,—

‘The only Parliamentary Returns of Education in England and Wales that pretend or approach to completeness, are those obtained in 1833, on the motion of the late lamented Earl of Kerry. But these returns were confessedly far from complete; and Mr. G. R. Porter states that—

‘It was the feeling that justice was not done in those returns to efforts made by the friends of education among the manufacturers of Lancashire, that incited the Statistical Society of Manchester to set on foot the extensive series of inquiries, which, with their results, they subsequently gave to the public.

‘The *omissions* in the parliamentary returns, as stated in the reports of the Statistical Society of Manchester. were:—

	Scholars.
In the townships of Manchester, Chorlton, and Hulme	10,347
In the borough of Bury	861
In the borough of Liverpool	15,500
or about <i>one-third</i> of the numbers ascertained by the Society.’—Porter’s ‘Progress of the Nation,’ vol. iii. p. 271-2.	

‘The Returns of 1833, then, are to be regarded as incomplete, and containing serious omissions. We must bear this in mind. Those returns give the following results:—

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, IN 1833.

Scholars in Infant Schools	-	-	-	-	89,005
„ in Daily Schools	-	-	-	-	1,187,942

Total in Infant and Daily Schools	-	-	-	-	1,276,947
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Scholars in Sunday Schools	-	-	-	-	1,548,890
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Thus, thirteen years back, we have official evidence of 1,276,947 children being in the Day Schools of England and Wales; but those numbers were confessedly below the truth,—in some important towns, to the extent of one-third.

‘What has been done since the year 1833? For this Dr. Hook shall be my authority. Disparaging the return published by the Treasurer of the National Society (Archdeacon Sinclair) as not entitled to confidence, he makes his own moderated estimate, in part from official documents. He says—

‘It is not difficult to estimate the number of school-buildings which have been erected with the aid of grants from the government. The parliamentary grants from 1833 to 1839 were £20,000 a year; from 1839 to 1842, inclusive, they were £30,000; in 1843 and 1844, they were £40,000; and in 1845, they were £75,000; or from 1833 to 1846, the whole amount of money granted by the government in aid of the building of schools was £395,000.

‘The grants to individual schools appear from the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education to be £120 on the average for each school building, if that average be extended over the whole period. The number of school buildings erected, or in the course of erection, in England and Wales, with aid from the parliamentary grant since 1833, is therefore 3,291, if the whole grants be applied to this object, but on this subject the Minutes do not contain information. These schools would probably supply accommodation for 493,650 children, according to the average ratio of the number of children to the grants of money observed in the Minutes. During the same period a certain number of schools has been annually built without aid from government. The latter schools are often private property, and may therefore at any time be resumed for private uses unconnected with education.

‘If we suppose (and this would be a liberal estimate) that 100 such private schools have been annually erected without parliamentary aid since 1833, then 1,300 elementary schools (the results of unaided private benevolence) must be added to 3,291 schools built with public aid; and *the proportionate number of scholars ACCOMMODATED SINCE 1833 may perhaps be raised to 600,000 or 650,000.* But this latter estimate must be regarded merely as an approximation to the truth.’—pp. 8, 9.

‘According to Dr. Hook’s cautious and moderate calculation, then, schools have been provided between 1833 and 1846, for 600,000 or 650,000 scholars.

Let us take the *smaller* number, and add it to Lord Kerry’s *incomplete* returns.

Day Scholars in England and Wales in 1833	-	-	-	-	1,276,947
Schools provided since 1833 for	-	-	-	-	600,000

Total	-	-	-	-	1,876,947.
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—pp. 32, 33.

The number stated in Lord Kerry's report, it must be borne in mind, shews an actual *attendance*, in 1833, of upwards of a million and a quarter, and is proved, by various authorities, to have understated, rather than otherwise, the fact.* Here, then, is a strong case, based on an official document, and on the moderate calculation of an opponent. The witnesses brought into court are unexceptionable—the arts of cross-examination are eschewed—they are allowed to speak for themselves—and their evidence is taken in its simple and obvious meaning. Let us now see how Dr. Vaughan rebuts their testimony. In his letter to the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, of the 25th August, he joins issue with Mr. Baines on the accuracy of the returns on which that gentleman relied, maintaining that the proportion alleged to subsist between the school accommodation needed, and that actually supplied, was discredited by its glaring improbability. The report of the Earl of Kerry is contumeliously rejected, and that, too, it will be observed, 'after careful examination.' To this report Dr. Vaughan refers in the following terms:—

'But these figures given by Mr. Baines as to the extent of our existing school accommodation—are they indeed correct? I am sorry to state that, *after careful examination*, I have found them anything but trustworthy. One step in his calculation is, that the Earl of Kerry's report in 1833 gives nearly 1,300,000 children as actually attending day-schools at that time. Now the whole population from five to ten, or from seven to twelve years of age, is not calculated even now at more than about 1,900,000, and at that time, according to Mr. Baines's own estimate, could not have been more than 1,600,000. Beyond this, if anything be certain from the reports of inspectors and general testimony, it is this, that the numbers of children actually attending our day-schools have not been more, and are not now more, on the average, than to occupy something above half, certainly less than two-thirds, of the accommodation provided for them. But this alleged actual attendance of 1,300,000 children at school, out of the 1,600,000 judged proper to be there, would be proof that there was school room existing at that time for not less than two millions of children existing in 1833! So far did our school zealots overbuild themselves in 1833, that they provided as much school room as would have sufficed for the advanced population of 1846; and

* We give the title of Lord Kerry's report, that our readers may be informed of the particulars it contains:—

“Summary of Returns, made pursuant to an Address to His Majesty, of the House of Commons, dated 24th May, 1833, relating to the Number of Schools in each town, parish, chapelry, or extra-parochial place in England and Wales; stating the description of the schools, viz., whether infant, daily, or Sunday-schools; and the number of scholars taught therein respectively, in each county of England and Wales; showing also the sources whence schools are supported; the number established by dissenters; the increase in the number of schools and scholars, that has occurred since 1818; and the number of schools to which lending libraries are attached.”

the school accommodation for another 600,000 children which has been since provided, is of course only so much new surplusage, as if the principle to be acted upon were to keep the supply of schools something like a generation in advance of the necessity for them! Grant Mr. Baines his premises, and he is not only entitled to the conclusion of which he boasts so much, but to a conclusion wonderfully more triumphant.—*Patriot*, Sept. 3.

This is strong language, betokening it must be acknowledged sufficient confidence on the part of the writer, yet open as we shall presently see, to grave objection. In keeping with it, the parliamentary document relied on by Mr. Baines, is styled an 'ill-fated report';—an '*ignis fatuus*;' the number of schools reported in it, is said to have been proved to be '*monstrously erroneous*,' and the case established by it to be, 'a mere card-castle, which needs but to be blown upon, and it is gone.' Mr. Baines is twitted, not certainly in the best possible good taste, with elastic credulity, in having surrendered himself to such an authority, and gravely admonished for not having followed out 'his reasoning to its legitimate result,' which we are informed would have been 'to demonstrate at once the utter worthlessness,' of his premises. We must confess to a feeling of keen disappointment at what follows. From so fierce an onslaught, we supposed that strong forces were in reserve, which would at once, and with ease, determine the contest. Nothing of the kind however appears. A more meagre array we never witnessed. The evidence adduced utterly and absolutely fails to meet the case. It does not even touch the point in dispute. Admitting the credibility of Dr. Vaughan's witnesses, and giving the largest possible interpretation to their words, every syllable which Mr. Baines has written may yet be true. The case absolutely breaks down on its own showing;—but we prefer to let Mr. Baines expose its failure. His reply is calm, lucid, and triumphant. He felt his strength,—how could he do otherwise. But there is no flourish of trumpets, no foolish shout of victory. He first establishes, by the testimony of Lord Brougham, and the returns of the Manchester Statistical Society, the credibility of the Report of 1833, and then proceeds,—

'Now against these authorities and facts what have you to bring? First, you attempt to make Lord Kerry's returns appear incredible, by representing (in the passage quoted above) that if there were so many scholars (1,276,947), there must have been so much *more* school-accommodation (namely, for 2,000,000 scholars); and because *this* imaginary amount looks a great quantity, you set down the returns as incredible! Why, Sir, whatever amount of school-room may fairly be supposed to have been in the schools beyond the number of scholars found there, (be it much or little), we ought not to be startled by it. The only ques-

tion is, were the returns of *scholars* correct? If so, your calculations of school-room are perfectly irrelevant, and justify no conclusion whatever, except only to strengthen my case, by showing a greater quantity of school accommodation than I had contended for. Now, I have shown by irrefragable evidence, that the returns of scholars were actually below the truth. * * * *

‘ 5. And now, having seen the objections you had to make, founded on your own supposed detection of improbabilities, let us ask what case you yourself set up in opposition to mine? My readers will hardly believe me when I say, that you offer no estimate, no guess, not even the remotest, as to the amount of the means of education in England, except the foregoing sweeping assertion, that ‘something like the other *half* of the community is in a state of manifest destitution!’ You produce no documents, no authorities of any description, except only the following:—

‘ ‘ *Two clergymen inspectors* (you say) have made the following report of the numbers taught in day schools in parts of Lancashire. The following figures denote the numbers taught in schools *connected with the Church of England*:—Oldham 1 in 150 of the whole population, Manchester 1 in 63½, Rochdale 1 in 169, Bolton 1 in 91, Blackburn 1 in 56½, Wigan 1 in 44. The next statement is intended to describe the numbers in *public* schools generally:—Wigan 1 in 34, Blackburn 1 in 38, Bolton 1 in 55, Manchester 1 in 54.* I do not see why we should distrust the accuracy of the first of these reports, seeing that it is made by a clergyman, and is so little to the credit of his own church. In the second, I doubt not there is considerable oversight; the numbers taught in public day schools not connected with the Church of England must be greatly more than is admitted in the difference between some of these figures. But we must suppose large oversight indeed, before we reach the estimate of Mr. Baines, which gives 1 in 9 as the actual attendance at our day schools.’ ’

‘ And this is all—yes, actually every shred—of the evidence you set up, to destroy the evidence of the Government returns, my own returns, and the careful surveys of the Manchester Statistical Society! The estimates of two *clergymen inspectors*—not as to the amount of education—that would have been to the purpose,—but the first, as to the number of scholars ‘*connected with the Church of England*,’ and the second, as to the number of scholars ‘in *public* schools,’ of course *totally omitting all private schools*! What *can* these figures prove to the purpose? You do not mean to say that all schools are to be left out of calculation which are not ‘connected with the church of England!’ Nor can you mean to say that all private schools are to be excluded from our consideration, and nothing but ‘*public* schools’ taken into account! But if these things are not meant, the figures you quote are perfectly valueless.

‘ I appeal to every statist in England, I appeal to every man of common sense, whether the mere fact of quoting these figures in such a case is not enough to put you out of court. For of course the figures must be intended to leave *some* impression on the mind. And what impression can it be? Here are estimates, varying from 1 scholar in 34, to 1

* Minutes of the Committee of Council for 1844, pp. 272, 522.

in 169, of the population. Must not these figures leave the impression of a fearful destitution of the means of education? And you quote them as applying to a population, where it is proved by documents of unquestionable accuracy, that the actual number of day scholars is as 1 in 10 of the population? The very town of Manchester, in which you live, appears in one of the above reports as having only 1 *scholar in every 63½ inhabitants*, and in the other as having only 1 *scholar in every 54 inhabitants*: and yet *ten years since* it was proved, on a very careful census, to have 1 *scholar in every 10 inhabitants*!

‘I assert, then, that you have not touched a single figure of all my estimates. You have rather shown, by your total failure, that those estimates are sound and reasonable.’—pp. 148, 149.

A more complete or triumphant reply could not have been desired. It settled the question as between Mr. Baines’s statistics and those of Dr. Vaughan, establishing the authority of the one, and the evasive and unsatisfactory character of the other. It precluded the possibility of rejoinder save on new ground, and in the case of ordinary controversialists, it would have closed the discussion. We should have been glad had it done so in the present instance. This, however, has not happened. Dr. Vaughan’s views have undergone, in the course of the debate, a material alteration. A change has come o’er the spirit of his dream. Lord Kerry’s report, which, ‘after careful examination,’ he had denounced, in no measured terms, is taken to his confidence, and made the basis, throughout a long and elaborate article, of numerous calculations. ‘Will it be believed,’ asks Mr. Baines, ‘that in the article in the *British Quarterly*,’ Dr. Vaughan has so entirely changed his opinion concerning Lord Kerry’s returns, as to found all his calculations upon them?’ There is something startling in this—something by which we were at first perplexed, and for which we were at a loss to account. Believing that the returns had been discarded, ‘after careful examination,’ we were not prepared for so instantaneous and thorough a revolution. In ordinary cases we should have resolved the matter into the mere exigency of debate,—the reaching after evidence in support of a foregone conclusion, to which honest, though not noble or high-minded controversialists, may be led. But in the present instance, it is due to Dr. Vaughan to allow him to explain himself. His solution of the mystery is given at the commencement of his reply, and is as follows:

‘I. Mr. Baines expresses his surprise that having spoken disparagingly of the school returns of 1833, I should now rely on those returns as an authority. My explanation is easy. Mr. Baines, in his fourth Letter to Lord John Russell, professed to derive certain premises from those returns, which, on being carried out, led to conclusions manifestly and extravagantly erroneous. But I have since found that the publication does not warrant the premises which Mr. Baines thought himself

entitled to assume from it, and my altered judgment with regard to the volumes containing those returns, is the result of studying them for myself, in place of confiding in the accuracy of Mr. Baines's representations concerning them.'—p. 3.

Adopting, then, Lord Kerry's report, as an authority, and excluding from his calculation the number (89,005) returned, as in attendance at infant schools, Dr. Vaughan proceeds to draw the following conclusion, the italics and capitals being his own:—

' In these proper day schools, then, it appears, the scholars in 1833 were in round numbers 1,200,000. Now, the population of England and Wales at that time is given as 14,400,000. The proportion of that population of the ages between four and fourteen years would be one-fourth of the whole—that is, would be 3,600,000. Of this number 1,200,000 is one-third. The result is, that of the children in England and Wales, in 1833, between the ages of four and fourteen, only one in three was found attending a day school. Statists are agreed in regarding the persons between the ages of four and fourteen, or between five and fifteen, as being nearly one-fourth of a whole population; and they are nearly as well agreed in regarding that interval as the space which, in a healthy condition of society, should be given to education. The ground on which this space is abridged—abridged to the extent of one-half in some calculations; and the degree in which the children who are not found receiving daily instruction at one time, may be reckoned as not receiving such instruction at any time—these are questions which we shall have to examine presently. But just now, we shall confine our attention to the portion of the population between four and fourteen, and to the question—In what extent were this portion of the population found either in Day Schools or in Sunday Schools. Taking this Report of Lord Kerry as our guide, we see our conclusion—*the proportion of day scholars between these ages is as ONE-THIRD, and the proportion not receiving any DAILY instruction is as TWO-THIRDS.*—pp. 25, 26.

This conclusion is sought to be strengthened by the reports of the Manchester Statistical Society, and the testimony of the Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel: and the general result is stated to be, that, of the 3,600,000, children which, it is assumed, ought to have been under instruction, '*something* LESS THAN A THIRD *were found in* DAY schools, *considerably* LESS THAN A THIRD IN SUNDAY schools ONLY, and nearly ONE MILLION AND A HALF IN NO SCHOOL WHATEVER.'

This conclusion is repeated under various forms, and with all the distinction and emphasis of italics and capitals. 'It is about every third person,' we are told, 'who would be found in the condition of a person unable to read; while to be barely able to read, would be the highest attainment of a large proportion beyond that number.' (p. 37.) Nay, so strongly is Dr. Vaughan impressed with this fact, that he puts it in the broadest

and most palpable form, in a passage modified in the reprint, but still sufficiently inaccurate to sustain his theory. 'Here, then,' he remarks, on bringing one branch of his inquiry to a close, 'are England and Wales, with their SIXTEEN MILLIONS of people, with *between six and seven millions unable to write their names*; and with *not less than five millions unable to read their mother tongue*.' (p. 43.)

Now, throughout these passages there is a radical error, from which all their seeming force is derived. Dr. Vaughan maintains—or, rather, did maintain—the school term to be ten years; while Mr. Baines argues, that an average of five years is as long as the economical condition of this country admits. The general opinion amongst statisticians has been favourable to the ten-year theory; but it has been matter of conjecture, not of observation;—what was desirable, and, in a healthy state of society, what might be looked for, rather than what was realized in the educational statistics of the land. On the settlement of this point the whole matter, as a question of statistics, turns; and we must, therefore, advert to it. Dr. Vaughan, it will be observed, speaks of the *proportion* of children in school attendance, and founds on that proportion most unfavourable statements as to the mental condition of the people. Is, then, his proportion correct? Is the principle on which it is calculated a sound one? If it be, his conclusion is inevitable; and the sooner we attempt a change in the educational arrangements of the country the better. But if, on the other hand, he has adopted an erroneous standard—if, misled by former inquirers, he calculates the school term at double its real duration, then we may take a more favourable view of the state of things, and caution our friend not to let the fears created by his error disturb his tranquillity, or obscure the clearness of his vision. According to the census of 1841, the population of England and Wales was 15,911,757; and from the 'Age Abstract' of the same census, the number of children from 5 to 15—the alleged school age—was 3,624,595, or 1 in every $4\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole population. The following extract from Mr. Baines's fourth letter, will at once explain and satisfactorily vindicate the term he has adopted.

'If, therefore, *every* boy and girl in the country went to school at five years old, and remained there till he or she was fifteen, that is, *ten full years*, the number of children in the day schools would be exactly this, namely, 3,624,595. I need hardly say that no such duration of schooling as ten years does or can exist in this country among the working classes, or even among a great part of the middle classes, either in the agricultural or the manufacturing districts. However desirable it might be to give so full an education, it is in the social circumstances of the country altogether impracticable. Parents amongst the working classes

having considerable families, so far from being able to afford to keep all their children at school for ten years, are generally compelled to put them to work as early as situations can be found for them, in order to assist in supporting the family. One of the girls is often kept at home to help in taking care of the younger children. In the rural districts, the parents could not afford the deduction from their scanty wages of the school-pence for several children. Further, we must make allowances, among the children of all classes, for the sickly, and for those educated at home. And a very considerable deduction must be made on account of the children of the extremely poor, of the mendicants, and of those who dwell in the abodes of vice and wretchedness alluded to in my last.' * * * *

'We may assume that the children of the upper classes for the most part attend school for ten years. Those of the middle classes probably attend for six or eight years. But the children of the working classes do not generally attend day school for more than two or three years. In striking an average we must remember, that those who attend the shorter period are by far the larger class. We must also, as before mentioned, make allowances for the sickly, the children educated at home, and the children of the most destitute poor.

'Taking all these circumstances into account, I believe that it would be a *very high average* to assume, that *all* the children in the country (including both poor and rich, sick and well) attended day school for *five years* each. I believe *four years*, or even less than that, would be nearer the truth at present. But if we take *five years* as the average, it would allow for as great a number of children as I think at liberty to attend day schools in this country, even under an improved state of things.

'Assuming, then, *five years* as the average period of schooling, there ought to be just half the amount of day school accommodation that would be required if all the children in the country attended ten years. We must therefore divide the number of children between 5 and 15 years old by 2; and the result is 1,812,292, as the number of children whom we may reasonably expect to have in the day schools of England and Wales, and for whom, consequently, schools should be provided.'—pp. 29, 31.

This principle gives an average of rather more than one in nine out of the whole population, which admits of comparison, by no means unfavourable with the educational returns of other countries. From the best information which can be obtained, the proportion of children in the day-schools of America is 1 to 7·6; in France, 1 to 11; in Prussia, including, probably, the secular Sunday scholars, 1 to 6; in Holland, 1 to 8; in Bavaria, 1 to 8; and in Austria, 1 to 10.

The statistics of West Kent afford a striking confirmation of Mr. Baines's view, and are the more valuable from their having been obtained by a perfectly independent series of inquiries. The district to which they pertain is a purely agricultural one, with a population, by the census of 1841, of 336,179; the number between the ages of five and fifteen being 77,616, which

is less than one quarter, but more than one-fifth of the whole. The population has subsequently increased to 356,916; and out of this number there were found to be in course of attendance in public schools, 25,785 children, and in private schools 15,462. The proportion in the former case is as one in fourteen of the population, and in the latter as one in twenty-four; presenting a total, throughout the district, of one in nine. Respecting the term of school instruction, the information obtained bears out the shorter period for which Mr. Baines contends, and merits the serious attention of all who are concerned to ascertain the facts of this case.

‘It is obvious that the sum of those between the ages of 5 and 15, who are capable of receiving instruction, is different from the sum of those, who, at any given time are actually receiving it. The age during which children are in course of education does indeed vary from 5 to 15, but very few children continue ten years at school. It has been affirmed that four-fifths of the families of West Kent are without a domestic servant;* and it is certain that a very small proportion of them are in such circumstances as render it probable that the education of their children will be continued for ten years. The answers given to inquiries throughout the district of West Kent during the collection of these statistics, assign four years as the probable period that children remain in the public schools. If four-fifths of the children in West Kent receive a four years’ education, and the one-fifth in more opulent circumstances are ten years under instruction, then the mean duration of the period of instruction will be five years and a fifth, and the proportion of population at any given time under instruction will be exactly twelve per cent., or 1 in 8.’—p. 3.

To the gentlemen who have instituted these inquiries, we tender our best thanks, and point out their example for the imitation of others. Their investigations have been conducted in the best possible spirit, and with every precaution against error. The results are now printed in a lucid and intelligible form, with a request that corrections may be supplied ‘in case of omission or error.’ The value of such documents cannot well be overrated, or any better service be rendered to the cause of popular education than the adoption of a similar plan in other districts.

But to return to Dr. Vaughan. In his reply to Mr. Baines, prefixed to the reprint of his critique, he distinctly admits, ‘that five years is as long an average as we should calculate upon, (p. 13); yet, strange to say, he persists in maintaining that this admission does not affect the correctness of his conclusion, or that any great difference exists between Mr. Baines and himself, when he states that ‘every *third* person in the then total of

* Knight’s Journey Book of Kent, quoted from the Census of 1831.

our population would be found in the condition of a person not able to read,' (p. 13)? The import of this phraseology is more distinctly pointed out in his letter to the editor of the 'Patriot' of the 15th December, in which, referring to the attendance on Sunday-schools, he says, 'It is true the British Quarterly speaks of one-third of the population as receiving Sunday-school instruction *only* at a *given time*; but the British Quarterly has never said, that because you find one-third of the children of the country at any one time as Sunday-scholars only, that these children must be reckoned as never having been, or as never being, any thing else than Sunday-scholars?' This may be true;—as a mere matter of words it is true. Nevertheless the impression is produced, and we defy any unbiassed reader to close Dr. Vaughan's critique with any other conviction. If it were not his intention, in various passages, to produce the impression that 'more than a third' of the population, between the ages of five and fifteen, are absolutely ignorant of the first elements of school knowledge; then his language, to say the least, has been singularly infelicitous, and may be quoted as amongst the best specimens in our language, of words adapted to produce an impression different from their proper meaning, and contrary to the design of the author. We accept his disclaimer, because fully assured of his truthfulness, but, in doing so, we are compelled to say, that his reasoning and statements on this point, like many modern poems, require a large body of notes in order to be understood. Phraseology more suited to mislead we have never met with. Referring to his language, Mr. Baines mildly remarks:—

'Now, 99 out of every 100 readers would understand this to mean that 'greatly more than a third of the whole' population were *left without any education*. It does not actually say so. It says that this large proportion are '*not found in ANY school whatever*,'—meaning that they are not found there 'at any one time!' But I appeal to my readers whether Dr. Vaughan's mode of putting it, combined with his previous statements and calculations, does not leave that impression.'—p. 155.

But it is time that we close this part of the discussion. We have purposely abstained from noticing various minor points, as they could not be referred to without a strong opinion being expressed unfavourable to the accuracy and logic of Dr. Vaughan. It was enough to keep the general question in view, and to deal with the statistics pertaining to it. This we have endeavoured to do, indicating of course our own opinion, yet not failing we trust in honourable courtesy towards an author, from whom, on the subject of this debate, we so widely differ. Throughout the discussion Mr. Baines appears to great advantage. His infor-

mation and gentlemanly demeanour are equally conspicuous. He is evidently at home in the matter under dispute—is at once familiar with its details, honest in the application of its facts, and skilled, without being subtle, in the rules pertinent to its investigations. There is, moreover, a fresh and healthful tone throughout his productions, which, combined with its clear, manly, and English style, renders it one of the most attractive volumes an intelligent man can read. The following summary taken from his letter of the 9th December may appropriately terminate this part of our labours. It presents in brief the facts of the case, and we commend it to the confidence of our readers.

‘ This important point,’ the period of education, ‘ being settled, we next inquire what number of children this will give us. From the census of 1841 we find, that the whole number of children between five and fifteen years of age was then 3,624,595. This, therefore, is the number of children we might expect to find in schools, in that year, if all the children remained at school ten years. But if the average term of schooling was only half that period, or five years, we could only expect to find half the number of children at school. Now half of 3,624,595 is 1,812,297, which number would be the proper number of scholars in 1841. For the five years since 1841, I added 25,000 a year (which exceeds the actual increase of the children of school age, and whom we could expect to find at school,) or 125,000 in the whole.

The result was this—

Day-school Accommodation required, in 1841, supposing every child in England and Wales to attend school on the average five years	1,812,297
Add for the five years to 1846	125,000
Total	1,937,297

Such was the amount of school accommodation required, estimated on principles to which Dr. Vaughan has given his assent.

The next question was, what amount of school accommodation actually exists? The only returns pretending to completeness or official authority are those obtained in the year 1833, under a Parliamentary Committee appointed on the motion of the late Earl of Kerry. Those returns have been proved to be considerably below the truth,—in the important boroughs of Manchester, Salford, Liverpool, and Bury, to the amount of one-third. They gave the following results :—

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, IN 1833.	
Scholars in Infant-schools	89,005
“ in Daily Schools	1,187,942
Total in Infant and Daily-schools	1,276,947

Such was the number of scholars in actual attendance, according to these inadequate Returns, in 1833. Of course the amount of school accommodation must have been much greater.

Subsequent to 1833 we have no returns of school attendance for England and Wales. But we are able to form some estimate of the addition made to school accommodation. Dr. Hook, taking the Parliamentary grants and the evidence of the Minutes of Council for his guide, estimated that the number of scholars accommodated in public schools, from 1833 to 1845, was 600,000 or 650,000. I believe the higher of these numbers to be below the mark ; and moreover it takes no account of the increase that must have taken place in these thirteen years in the private schools for the middle and upper classes. But I added the lower of Dr. Hook's numbers to Lord Kerry's incomplete returns, and the result was as follows :—

Day-scholars in England and Wales in 1833	1,276,947
Public schools provided since 1833 for	600,000
	<hr/>
Total	1,876,947

Here, be it observed, the returns of 1833 were of actual attendance, and of course the accommodation must have been much greater. But I agreed only to consider it as if the aggregate amount was accommodation, and I drew out the following as the reply to the important question with which I had set out :—

	Scholars.
Day-schools required for	1,937,292
“ existing for	1,876,947
	<hr/>
Deficiency	60,345

Such was the broad and simple case which I laid before Lord John Russell and the country, as the nearest approach that could be made, from existing documents, to the actual position of things.'—*Patriot*, Dec. 14th.

II. We have come now to the *quality* of the education imparted, on which it is not necessary that we should enlarge at any considerable length. While differing as to the degree of deficiency existing, both Mr. Baines and Dr. Vaughan admit the necessity of improvement. This has been steadily proceeding for some years past, and the symptoms of healthful progress are now more visible than at any former period. Greater attention is paid to the training of masters both for the British and Foreign, and for the National, schools ; and the range of education is being enlarged, and its character raised. This is precisely what might have been looked for, and the improvement already effected is proof of the capability of the present system to adapt itself to a yet higher training of the popular mind. The British and Foreign Schools were from the first honestly intent on the instruction of the people, and have therefore readily availed themselves of the improved methods which the experience of foreign institutions has suggested. The case was somewhat different, we apprehend, with the National Schools ; but even these have been compelled to yield to the tendency of

the age, and have, in consequence, been carried much farther than was originally designed. Limited by the necessity out of which they arose, there was no generous zeal in their labours. They communicated only so much as was absolutely needful to promote their party object. They administered with a niggardly hand to the popular requirements, and accomplished therefore the semblance rather than the reality of education. But the same constraint which called them into being has necessitated their improvement, and the purer zeal engendered in the course of their operations is now happily influential in their councils. The degree of advancement varies of course in different parts of the country, but the fact of its existence shows the tendency of the system, and proves an inherent elasticity to which no governmental agency can lay claim. Whatever deficiencies, therefore, exist—and we admit them to be serious—are in the course of correction, and will be supplied, not perhaps so instantaneously, but in our judgment, more surely, with less admixture of evil, and with far more ultimate benefit, by the free play and unforced operation of the voluntary principle, than by any system of state bounties, or more elaborate government apparatus. From a review then of the past, we feel warranted to conclude, that if Mr. Baines has substantially made out his case respecting the extent of school accommodation—and our opinion on this point does not admit of doubt—no necessity for the interference of government exists, on the plea of the defective character of the education imparted. ‘Whatever apparent case,’ he remarks, ‘might have been made out for government interference if there had been a vast deficiency in the number of schools, I cannot conceive it possible that any minister should propose to take the education of the people into the hands of the state on the mere ground of the *quality* of the education now given.’ This conclusion will appear the more inevitable, if the division of scholars returned in Lord Kerry’s Report be regarded. These were classified as follows :—

INFANT AND DAILY SCHOOLS IN 1833.

	Schools.	Scholars.
Supported by Endowment . . .	4,106 . .	153,764
„ Subscription . . .	2,829 . .	178,517
„ Subscription and Payments from Scholars . . .	2,895 . .	212,217
„ Payments from Scholars	29,141 . .	732,449
Totals .	38,971	1,276,947

The first of these classes, including all the great public seminaries and grammar-schools, may be omitted from our present inquiry ; the second and the third consist mainly of the National

and British schools, and have already been shewn to be in a course of progressive improvement; while the fourth comprises all the boarding and day schools, which are dependent entirely on the payment of scholars. That many of the private day-schools for the working population are miserably defective, we readily admit; but there are two considerations which must be borne in mind before this fact can be pleaded in justification of government interference. 1st. Such schools are rapidly dying out, through the preference given to the superior and cheaper schools now established; and, 2nd, those of them which survive this competition, do so, by the admission of improvements which are fatal to the argument advanced. In either case, the objection is removed, and not the shadow of a plea is found for the interference of government officials and machinery. As in religion, so we say in education, let the demand be left to regulate the supply; supplemented only by the generous, free, and enlightened efforts of those who know the value, and are ready to labour for the diffusion, of education.

III. After what has been said, we need scarcely detain our readers on the third point of inquiry. It has already been answered, by anticipation, in our review of Dr. Hook's pamphlet, and in remarks made in the course of the present article. In the former paper, we entered our protest against government interference with education, as a departure from its legitimate functions—fraught with serious peril to our civil liberty, and to the integrity and diffusion of our religious faith; and in what we have now advanced, our confidence in the voluntary principle to meet the educational requirements of the country has been distinctly indicated. On this point we are at variance, not only with Dr. Vaughan, but also with Mr. Swaine, whose pamphlet we have read with the attention which is due to the candour, intelligence, love of truth, and generous zeal for liberty, which it evinces. We regret to differ from such a writer, and are admonished by it of the consistency of opposite views on the question in debate, with an equally sincere and earnest advocacy of religious voluntarism. Mr. Swaine's pamphlet is a perfect specimen of gentlemanly and courteous controversy. Its spirit is most admirable; and, though its reasoning fails to convince us, the publication has raised our estimate both of the temper and talents of the author. We had intended to give an outline of his plan, but our limits are already exceeded, and we must therefore reluctantly refrain from doing so. It is, as our readers will anticipate, much less objectionable than the scheme of Dr. Hook; and provides, so far, probably, as is practicable, against the evils incident to government interference. If such interference be ultimately resolved on, we hope the 'Hints' before

us will have the attention they merit. Though prevented from giving the analysis we designed, it is due to Mr. Swaine that we lay before our readers his statement of the principles on which his plan is constructed. They are as follow :—

‘ 1. Of equity to all persons, without compromise by any who want no more than that all should fare alike, and all justly.

‘ 2. Of combining the energy, unity, and amplitude of operation (attainable only through a central power) with the security against abuse (attainable only through municipal control).

‘ 3. Of giving instruction that shall capacitate for subsequent acquirement, and, so far as it goes, increase intelligence, without combining with it moral, intellectual, or civil slavery.

‘ 4. Of rendering popular instruction a matter of common interest, so as to engage the public vigilance against abuses or neglect.

‘ 5. Of securing against the maintenance of what should be obsolete, and the neglect of new and improved methods of instruction,

‘ 6. Of raising the position of school teachers in public estimation, by accrediting and rewarding the efficient and well-conducted while in office, and providing for them in decay.’—p. 22.

We cannot do better, in closing this part of our subject, than avail ourselves of one of the many passages scattered throughout his ‘Letters,’ in which Mr. Baines avows his generous confidence in the power of the people to educate themselves. We have rarely met with specimens of writing more to our mind. Amidst the hackneyed compositions of the day, it is refreshing to meet with an author whose lucid and nervous style, devoid of meretricious ornament yet full of chastened beauty, constitutes an appropriate vehicle for the more noble sentiments which a divine philosophy propounds. We say it with all soberness, that however dry statistical inquiries may be, and however perplexed the course of his debate from the repetition of rejoinders, we have derived more pleasure from the perusal of his volume—to say nothing of information—than from any other work which has recently issued from the press. Let those who doubt our statement read such passages as the following :—

‘ The facts which have been adduced, my Lord, seem to me to justify great and interesting conclusions. Here you have evidence of the grand fact, all-important in the present controversy, that means of education do actually exist in this country, very nearly, if not quite, adequate to the wants of the people. It is proved, that that educational machinery is all, with the insignificant exception of the grants since 1833, the product of the voluntary and independent action of the people. It is proved, that during the present century there has been an astonishing extension and improvement in the means of general education; and that the religious education of the humbler classes in Sunday schools has within little more than that

period been originated, and carried to an extent which the boldest imagination could never have conceived. It is proved, that the great impulse to education was given by private individuals, and carried on by societies, for many years before government paid the slightest attention to the subject; and that government interference only began when the public were advancing with giant strides to the full supply of their own wants. It is proved, that the voluntary and independent action of the people in the cause of education, morals, and religion, is transcendantly more powerful than would be required to perfect the means of education in England.

‘These points being established, there does not remain the shadow of a ground for demanding any further interference on the part of the government, still less for any general scheme of state education.

‘But, my lord, there are other and still broader conclusions which a statesman might draw from the facts that have been established. Those facts seem to me to throw a flood of light on the principles of government. They show the unspeakable advantages of freedom. They show that it is greatly wise for government to keep within its own province. They show that a free people are not only fully competent to provide for themselves all the means of religious and educational training, but that they can do it far better than any government could do it for them. They show that freedom is the source of power, of virtue, of industry, of enterprise, and of benevolence. They show that a nation thrown upon its own energies and resources grows stronger, wiser, and more prosperous than nations nursed by paternal despotism. They show, therefore, by irresistible inference, that one of the greatest evils which can be inflicted on a people, is to relieve them from the discharge of those duties which Nature and Christianity impose upon them. Relieve men of their *duties*, and you rob them of their *virtues*.’

One remark more, and we will close. The educational question involves, to a considerable extent, the same general principles as those of religion. Let government interference be admitted in the one case, and it will be tenfold difficult to withstand it in the other. Our opponents feel this, and are urged onward by it in their educational schemes. Admit the right and the necessity of government interference with mind, and the whole province of man’s inner self will be claimed as the legitimate subject of human legislation. The arguments advanced on behalf of the one, will, with slight modification, equally avail on behalf of the other. They constitute the thin point of the wedge, and our only safety is in refusing its insertion. Here is the real contest. Here, therefore, our stand should be taken. That this identity of principle is not universally seen, should awaken no surprise. The question has been but recently mooted. It is comparatively new to us. It has not assumed, in any palpable form, a practical shape, and the past concessions

which have been made, have resulted from inattention and thoughtlessness. Now, however, the case is different. Public attention is invoked ; public sanction is called for ; and thousands of minds, formerly heedless of the matter, are, in consequence, intent upon it. We have no fear of the result, so far as the ultimate judgment of our people is concerned. Right views are obviously making way, and Mr. Baines's labours will greatly contribute to their diffusion. Dr. Vaughan disclaims the connexion, and we doubt not his honesty, but he would have done well to abstain from some slighting allusions to his opponent's reasoning on this point. The educational question, to say the least, lies on the very borders of the religious, and we should have been glad to see his sagacity directed to a clear and dispassionate investigation of their alleged identity. In the absence of this, we commend to attention the following extract from Mr. Baines's letter to the 'Patriot' of the ninth of December :

'My own profound conviction,' he says, 'is, that the fate of the voluntary principle is involved in the fate of this education question ; —that if the voluntary principle should be decided to be incompetent to the education of the people, it will be argued, and with truth, to be still more incompetent to their religious instruction ; and that if the nation should, at this advanced era, find it needful to entrust to government the great duty of training the young, or of superintending that work and providing the pecuniary means, it will amount to an acknowledgment that religious establishments have been, and are still, right and indispensable. The school and the pulpit are not indeed the same, but they are the right arm and the left of our moral and religious training : the former begins what the latter carries on : they are and ought to be mutually assistant to each other : the same heart's blood should beat through them : the same energy should nerve them : and they should be alike unshackled, to work out their high and sacred purposes. I admit that the pulpit is exclusively dedicated to religious instruction, whilst the school is not so ; and I am aware that it is proposed to exclude religion from the school, in order to take it out of the same category with the pulpit. In my humble judgment, it would be alike wrong and dangerous thus to separate religious from secular instruction. But if I thought just the reverse on that point, I should still consider the voluntary principle compromised by the government support of education. Every Voluntary should remember, that, although he himself regards it as unscriptural for governments to support religion, and looks upon this as of itself a decisive objection to establishments, all churchmen and not a few dissenters think otherwise : they think it on the contrary, a religious duty on the part of a government to support religion, by paying its teachers. The only question between voluntaries and establishmentarians, then, is not that of scripture authority ; another and most important question, is that of the power and adaptation of the system

to attain the end. The friends of establishments not only regard our scruples as groundless, but our machinery as altogether inefficient. They say that the voluntary principle is incompetent for the religious instruction of a whole people. If we give up this point, they will regard the controversy as closed, because they are already convinced of the abstract propriety of government interference. Now, to prove the voluntary principle altogether inefficient for the education of the people, would go very far indeed towards proving that it was inefficient for their religious instruction. It would discredit the liberality, the charity, the sense of duty, the religious principle, and the intelligence, no less than the pecuniary ability, of the nation.

‘ When, therefore, I find Dr. Vaughan labouring so hard to represent the educational state of the country in its very worst aspect—far worse, I am confident, than the reality—and arguing that it is not possible for the people, by voluntary effort, to educate themselves, I take alarm, because I am sure that all his materials and all his arguments will be greedily gathered up by the friends of church establishments, as well as of educational establishments, to be used by them against the voluntary principle—whilst, on the other hand, the friends of the voluntary principle will, by his representations, be disheartened, and induced to relax the faith with which they had grasped their standard and wielded their weapons.’*—*Patriot*, Dec. 14th.

Here we close for the present, in perfect good feeling with all the combatants, though with an entire and earnest agreement with Mr. Baines. We have purposely abstained from some of the matters mooted in the discussion, not because we deem them unimportant, or are unprepared to avow our views, but because we are desirous of restricting attention to the points discussed. We shall probably return to the subject again; and, in the meantime, strongly urge our readers to make themselves acquainted with the details and reasonings of Mr. Baines’s volume.

* We have heard it reported, and the rumour is in extensive circulation, that the editors of the *Patriot* have been required, by the managing committee of that paper, to treat the reception of government grants for education as an open question. The *leaders*, it is alleged, are commanded to be neutral. Is this so? We ask the question with no unfriendly feeling, but from a deep sense of the important service which the editors have hitherto rendered in this matter. If such instructions have been given, the proprietors owe a duty to themselves, and to truth, which they will not, we hope, be slow to discharge.

Brief Notices.

Florentine History from the Earliest Authentic Records to the Accession of Ferdinand the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany. By Henry Edward Napier, Captain, R. N., F.R. S. Vols. i. and ii. London: Moxon.

THIS history is to be completed in six volumes, the first two of which contain upwards of thirteen hundred pages of letter-press. From these our readers may form an estimate of the elaborate nature of the work, which promises to be a valuable addition to our historic literature. It is fortunate that the history of a place itself so deserving of record, and intimately connected as it was with the annals of Italy itself, should have been undertaken by a writer so capable of doing it justice as Captain Napier. To the accomplishment of his task he brings an intimate acquaintance with the country and condition of the people he describes; and extensive knowledge of the sources from which his materials are to be supplied—a mind patient of investigation when discrepancies arise in the statements of earlier writers—an impartial judgment, and a faculty of description rarely equalled. The general plan of the work is excellent, and the reference at the bottom of each page to the authorities relied on, affords an opportunity for further examination to those readers who may be desirous of so doing. We hope, however, in the succeeding volumes to find more attention paid to the punctuation, which in those already published is miserably incorrect. It would be impossible to give any outline of this history in the present notice; this is the less necessary, as we shall at a future period return to it at greater length. Our present object is merely to express approval of a work of great value to the historical student, and which reflects the highest credit upon the gallant author.

A Compendium of Ecclesiastical History. By Dr. John C. L. Gieseler, Consistorial Counsellor and Ordinary Professor of Theology in Göttingen. Fourth Edition, revised and amended. Translated from the German by Samuel Davidson, L.L.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Ecclesiastical History in the Lancashire Independent College. Vol. I., being the fourth volume of Clark's Foreign Theological Library. Edinburgh: F. and F. Clark.

MR. CLARK has nobly redeemed the pledge contained in his prospectus issued some months ago—having published, within the year, four goodly volumes of elegant appearance and excellent materials. His enterprise, so auspiciously begun, will, we trust, meet with that liberal patronage and success, which it so amply merits from the lovers and promoters of sacred literature. Gieseler's church history, now before us, will, when

finished, be an invaluable storehouse of reference to the anxious and inquiring student, or antiquarian. It is not one of those superficial books which satisfies and delights the ordinary or indolent reader, and therefore it can never be a popular work. It presents the early and original sources of ecclesiastical history, in a lucid and masterly arrangement, while it briefly touches on the information which they convey; so that, along with the writer's own remarks, which indicate a cautious and impartial judgment, we have faithful citation and catalogues of the original authorities, on whose evidence the statements in the text have been made. Gieseler performs, with true German diligence and patience, the task of an independent explorer, and, from the wide induction he has formed and classified, he leaves the reader in a great measure to create his own judgment. The materials are abundantly, promptly, and skilfully laid to his hand. He has only given us a *text-book*, but he has put us in possession of such facts and documents, as prepare us to form the commentary for ourselves. The name of the translator will vouch for the general correctness of the version. What other guarantee can we ask, or do we need? Dr. Davidson has translated from the fourth edition; the only other English translation professes to be from the third, and is, moreover, a slovenly version, full of gross inaccuracies. The most important quality in an English translation of such a book as Gieseler's, containing chiefly facts, dates, and authorities, is correctness; and to ensure such accuracy of rendering, has been Professor Davidson's 'simple aim.' We think that he has succeeded; though in some paragraphs elegance has been needlessly sacrificed to fidelity, when both might have been secured. We shall return to a fuller discussion of the merits of this laborious production of Teutonic scholarship and research, when its English representative, under the excellent and promising care of Dr. Davidson, is completed.

A History of Inventions, Discoveries, and Origins. By John Beckmann, Professor of Economy in the University of Göttingen. Translated from the German by William Johnston. Fourth Edition. Carefully revised and enlarged by William Francis, Ph.D., F.L.S.; and J. W. Griffith, M.D., F.L.S. Volume II. London: Henry G. Bohn.

We noticed the first volume of this work in our number for last August, and are glad to announce its completion. It is full of most valuable and interesting information on a vast variety of topics, and cannot fail to be highly prized by a numerous class of readers. Our modern Encyclopædias are too bulky and expensive to suit the convenience of many intelligent men, who are nevertheless desirous to possess themselves of the information they furnish. To such this work will be eminently acceptable, as on the topics included—and they are many—it furnishes all which can be desired. The value of the work is considerably enhanced by a preliminary chapter on *The Steam Engine, and the Discoveries of James Watt*, together with a large body of supplementary notes bringing down the history of the various matters treated of to the present day. In supplying these the editors have shewn good judgment, and an extensive

range of reading and research. We know not a better service which can be rendered to the young, than to call off their attention from the light and frivolous publications of the day, to such sterling works as the present. By storing the mind with the information contained in these volumes, an effectual check will be imposed on mental vagrancy, an inexhaustible source of healthful recreation will be secured, and the tone of general character be materially improved.

Wit and Humour, Selected from the English Poets ; with an Illustrative Essay and Critical Comments. By Leigh Hunt. London : Smith, Elder, and Co.

THIS is a companion volume to 'Imagination and Fancy,' published by the same author ; and with a more entertaining one we have not met for some time. Good temper and a merry mood are manifest in every part, and not only are manifest, but are infectious to the reader. In the ease and enjoyment evidently felt by the author, *he* sympathises ; he keeps up with the joviality of the writer by whom he is constantly amused, and with whom he is on better terms each succeeding page. Mr. Hunt has thoroughly entered into the spirit of his work ; and proofs that he is not only conversant with his subject, but that he delights in it, are everywhere present. The introductory essay on Wit and Humour, in which many admirable specimens of each in prose and verse are given, is as valuable for its information, as it is charming in its style. It discusses with great acuteness, and in a most interesting manner, the nature and properties of wit and humour ; and the principal forms of each are given. These are classified under fourteen heads, and in reading them it should be remembered, that they are mentioned as the *forms* in which these qualities appear, and not as of necessity either the one or the other in themselves. The extracts, which, as the title indicates, exclude all prose compositions, are taken from Chaucer, Shakspeare, Ben. Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Randolph, Suckling, Marvel, Butler, Dryden, Phillips, Pope, Swift, Green, Goldsmith, and Wolcot ; and a short but admirable criticism of each author is prefixed to the selections from his works. This volume is calculated to please as well as to instruct, and there can be no doubt of its obtaining, as it deserves, an extensive sale.

The Naturalist's Poetical Companion, with Notes. Selected by the Rev. Edward Wilson, M.A., F.L.S. ; with Illustrations by W. H. Prior. Second Edition. Leeds : James and Knight. London : Hamilton Adams and Co.

IN this book the author has collected from writers, more or less known, nearly four hundred Poems, addressed to, or descriptive of, various objects of animate and inanimate Nature, the perusal of which it is hoped may create a desire for that study in some who have never given attention to it, and increase the earnestness of those in

whom such a desire already exists. Laudable, however, as this object is, we doubt whether the author must expect to do more than present a very agreeable book to those readers whose tastes are similar to his own, and who will be glad to see their favourite subject presented in so attractive a manner. The poems of which it is composed have been selected with care and judgment; many of them are very beautiful, and the concise and instructive notes, add considerably to its value. The illustrations are good and the volume tastefully got up. It is to be regretted that many of the pieces differ so widely in the capacity required for their enjoyment. Some are suitable for the nursery only, whilst others could not be understood by any but adults. Should another edition be called for, we suggest to the author that certain alterations in his Preface might be made with advantage.

Rough Notes taken during some rapid Journeys across the Pampas and among the Andes. By Sir Francis B. Head, Bart. Fourth Edition, London : John Murray.

AN association having been formed for the purpose of working the gold and silver mines of the Provinces of Rio de la Plata, the author was commissioned to inspect the mines in that district on behalf of the projectors. Hence these journeys. Having landed at Buenos Ayres, he proceeded with his companions, seven in number, across the Pampas—a vast plain on the east of the Cordillera, nine hundred miles in breadth—to San Luis, and thence to Uspallata, a distance of about a thousand miles from Buenos Ayres. To this town he returned alone, performing the distance in eight days, and, finding on his arrival letters which rendered a journey to Chili necessary, recrossed the Pampas, and, joining his party at Mendoza, went over the Andes to Santiago. He proceeded thence in different directions about twelve hundred miles, and having examined various mines, returned by the same route to England. Sir Francis gives no account of any of these mines, lest the interest of private individuals might be prejudiced, but our readers cannot fail to be gratified with the narration of his journey, the fatigue, danger, and incidents of which were of no ordinary character. These, however, were all borne with the utmost fortitude and good temper, and the description of them is graphic in the extreme.

This book has all the interest of a novel. There is a total absence of all pretence, and the ‘*Rough Notes*’ taken to relieve the author’s mind from the oppression of his engagements, form a book which will delight and add to the knowledge of a large number of readers.

Traditions of the Covenanters ; or, Gleanings amongst the Mountains. By the Rev. Robert Simpson. Edinburgh : John Johnstone.

WITH all their faults, the covenanters were brave men, in the best and noblest sense ; and those with whom it is fashionable to denounce them, would be greatly improved by a large admixture of some of their

qualities. The present volume is a record of their sufferings and heroic fortitude, which cannot be read without awakening sympathy and admiration. Would that we had many such men now, mollified and enlightened by the advancing spirit of the day. 'It was not,' says Mr. Simpson, in his preface, 'the design of the writer to compose *tales* founded on the incidents, but simply to present the tradition in its native simplicity and truth. It would be an easy matter to invest these anecdotes with imaginative interest; but then this would destroy their character as traditional realities. It is the design of this collection to preserve the memory of some of those good men in the inferior ranks of society, whose worth and whose sufferings have not hitherto been recorded. Their names, though those of plain, unlettered men, do not deserve to perish; and their posterity may, by contemplating the virtues of their ancestors, be stimulated to emulate their godliness.

1. *The Paragraph Bible. The Holy Bible according to the authorized version. Arranged in paragraphs and parallelisms, with an entirely new selection of copious references to parallel and illustrative Passages, Prefaces to the several Books, and numerous Notes. Genesis to Esther.*

2. *Monthly Series. Ancient Jerusalem.* Religious Tract Society.

THE former of these publications is designed to accomplish what has long been exceedingly desirable. Every attentive reader of the English Bible must have felt that the existing division of its contents is in many cases most arbitrary and injudicious—breaking in upon the continuity of the narrative—and frequently impairing the force and obscuring the meaning of its reasonings and appeals. *The Paragraph Bible* is designed to reform these errors, and the manner of its execution merits unqualified approval. Numerous parallel and illustrative references are also given, together with brief prefaces to the several books. Maps are supplied, and short notes are occasionally interspersed. The work is to consist of three parts, published at sixteen pence each, and will be found very useful to those who have not access to other and more costly works.

Ancient Jerusalem, belongs to the monthly series of the Tract Society, and will be read with considerable interest by all who are concerned to possess accurate and full information on the topography and history of the capital of Judea. The low price of the series, places it within the reach of all classes of readers.

The Evidence of Christianity in the Nineteenth Century; or, Results of an Inquiry as to the Divine Origin of the Scriptures. By the Rev. W. Brown, A.M., Tobermore. 12mo. pp. 173. Edinburgh: John Johnstone. 1846.

THE estimable author of this little work has devoted much time and study to the recent discussions among German theological writers respecting the evidences of Christianity. Familiar, as he is, with

the state of the question in Germany, he rightly thinks that there is no book in the English language exhibiting an account of such daring investigations on the one hand and able defences on the other. He has therefore undertaken to present, in small compass, the impregnable basis on which the truth of the New Testament rests, after all the attacks of mythic and rationalistic writers. The volume contains the following chapters: On Revelation: the Divine Author of Christianity: On Prophecy: On Miracles: Internal Evidence of Christianity.

The greater portion of these chapters consists of translations made from recent German writers, interspersed with the author's own remarks and reflections. We commend the work to our readers as a compendium which will introduce them to writers who have treated more copiously of the important topics here noticed. The chapters, we think, ought to have been more extended, so as to give *processes* equally with *results*. The volume makes its appearance very seasonably at the present time, and is calculated to be of much service to the incipient inquiries of the New Testament student.

In some places there is considerable obscurity, and in others an awkward construction of sentences, which ought to be removed in a second edition.

Political Dictionary, forming a work of universal reference both constitutional and legal; and embracing the terms of civil administration, of political economy, and social relations, and of all the more important statistical departments of finance and commerce. In two volumes. Volume II. London: Chas. Knight and Co.

WE are glad to announce the completion of this work, which is one of the most useful books of reference that has appeared for some years past. The topics included in it are many, and of considerable importance; and the occasions which will arise for referring to its pages will be of almost daily occurrence. The limitation of the work to two volumes has necessarily excluded some topics of minor interest. 'It may, however'—and the language of the editor is simple truth—'be stated, that this is the only work of the kind in the English language: that it contains a large amount of information on most political subjects which cannot be found in any other book adapted for general use; and that, though it does not profess to be a law dictionary, nor to be free from the errors which are unavoidable in any work of the kind, it contains both more and more exact legal information than is given in some works which are entitled law dictionaries.'

We more than demur to some of the opinions expressed, yet we strongly advise every man who would qualify himself for an intelligent appreciation of his rights, or discharge of his duties, to possess himself of a copy of so valuable a companion.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

The Pulpit and the People; or, an Inquiry into the Cause of the present failure of Christian Agency. By Peter Rylands, author of the Mission of the Church, &c.

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The true end of Education, and the means adapted to it, in a series of familiar letters to a Lady entering on the duties of her profession as private governess. By Margaret Thornley.

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The Suttee. A Poem. With notes.

Sermons preached in the Tabernacle, and Tottenham Court Chapel, London. By John Campbell, D.D., and Rev. Joseph W. Richardson.

The Pictorial Bible. Part 3rd.

Popular Education in England. Reprinted from No. 8. of the British Quarterly Review. With a reply to the Letter of Mr. Edward Baines, jun., on that article. By Robert Vaughan, D.D.

Florentine History. From the earliest authentic records to the accession of Ferdinand III., Grand Duke of Tuscany. By Henry Edward Napier, Capt. R. N. 6 vols. Vol. 2nd.

Analysis of the Latin Tongue. Intended for the use of schools. By the late Rev. Thos. Cooke, master of the endowed school of Middleton. New edition, enlarged and revised by Rev. C. H. Clifford, A.B.

Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay. Edited by her Niece. Vol. 7th. 1813—1840.

The Pictorial Gallery of Arts. Part 23.

Equity without Compromise; or, Hints for the Construction of a Just System of National Education. 3rd edition. With remarks on Dr. Hook's pamphlet, and the letters of Edward Baines, Jun., Esq., to Lord John Russell. By Edward Swaine, Member of the Congregational Board of Education.

The Doctor, &c. Vol. 6th.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR FEBRUARY, 1847.

ART. I.—*The Pre-Adamite Earth. Contributions to Theological Science.*
By John Harris, D.D. London: Ward & Co.

Dr. HARRIS enjoys a high reputation as a popular writer and as an elegant, attractive, and impressive preacher. In this volume he presents himself as a deep thinker, and a close and comprehensive reasoner, on questions demanding large capacity, extensive reading, and a highly disciplined judgment. That he has given proofs of possessing these qualities must be obvious to every reader. Independently of the themes to which he has here devoted his attention, we cannot but regard the work before us, viewed only as a literary composition, with a high degree of admiration, whether we consider the compass of the writer's design, the arrangement of his several parts, the severe strength of his reasonings, the acuteness of his perceptions, the well-sifted variety of his information, or the general perspicuity and occasional brilliancy of his style. The indications of patient and continuous thought are as manifest as the evidences of industrious reading; and the results of minute examination of particular questions in every department of physical science, are not less satisfactory than the power of metaphysical generalization.

We might mention one or two minor matters, in which the work, as a literary composition, might be improved. The general structure of the paragraphs has an appearance which, to our taste, is somewhat too elaborate and uniform, as though the writer's ear were filled with a certain rhythmical sound, by which every sentence is measured. We are far from objecting to this as a blemish; on the contrary, we admire it, as belong-

ing to a high order of the beautiful in language; but in disquisitions which are purely scientific, we expect less artifice, and more tranquil coolness of expression. There are some exquisite passages, that would gain the writer's end more entirely, if there were less straining after fulness of rhetorical effect, reminding us of the crowded audience of a church, or of a lecturing theatre, rather than of the solitary reader, in the calmness of his own chamber. It belongs to the same department of criticism to observe, that the frequent reiteration of the same thought, though necessitated by the plan which the writer has laid down for himself, creates a sense of weariness, and tempts the reader to skip over what appears to him to be merely a repetition of what he has read before. According to the plan on which the work is constructed, some reiterations, as we have admitted, are unavoidable; but it is questionable whether such a plan is the best for a work which, however profound and learned, is manifestly intended to be popular, as we hope it will be in an eminent degree. We offer this remark in the full recollection, that it must have been with a view to the impression of the truths unfolded, on the general mind, that these repetitions have been adopted, and that a large proportion of readers may benefit by the very circumstance on which our criticism has been made.

Assuming that the volume is addressed to ordinary readers, we may further suggest that technical terms and formulæ—those, at any rate, which are least familiar—should have been uniformly explained, as, in a few instances, they are. It would also be an advantage if the references to authorities were, in all cases, distinct and complete, and if the reader were directed, under each branch of physical science, to standard writers, for the fuller elucidation of the principles, experiments, and facts, made use of for the illustration of the author's arguments.

Leaving this lower ground, to which we shall not return, we proceed to such examination as our limits will allow of the work, as containing 'Contributions to theological science.' And here let us not lose the opportunity of offering our congratulations to the writer on the wisdom of his choice. None but the most incurably narrow-minded of the disciples of revelation, can demur to the purpose of throwing all the light which the inquiries of observing minds have elicited on the fundamental principles of all religion. If it be an admitted truth, that all the works of God *must* bear upon them the appropriate marks of the same Divine Originator, it cannot be otherwise than a service to religion, to shew these marks as perfectly as the existing state of knowledge among us renders possible. And how could this be better done than by exhibiting, as this

author does, the harmony between our primary convictions of what it is reasonable to expect, in the proceedings of the Being whom we adore as God, and the actual finding of the most cautious and experienced of the investigators of his works? And if the argument of design is satisfactory in the first premise, surely the more we approach to exactitude and completeness in the second premise, the wider and the firmer must be the conclusion at which we arrive: that is to say, the greater the number and the variety of objects examined, and the more searching and accurate the processes by which, in examining them, we bring out the proofs of design, the more intelligent, and the more satisfactory is our conviction, that the whole created universe is what the Scripture says it is,—a witness for God to all his reasoning creatures.

It is most refreshing, alike to our reason and to our religious sentiments, to observe how the theological argument has always expanded with the progress of human science, so that the general impression produced by the most vague contemplation of the works of God, instead of being nullified or dissipated, acquires a clearer outline, sinks deeper into the thoughts, and connects itself more distinctly, by the surest laws of mental suggestion, with the meditations of faith, and with the habits of devotion. In the earlier writings which enriched the Christian church, the doctrine of the Divine unity—as opposed to the poetical mythologies of the ancients—was like the breathing of a new intellectual life to the world, and men began to see in every flower, and in every moving thing, the tokens of the ever present ONE. In the subtle disquisitions of the Grecian philosophy, as applied to Christianity, we see the building up of a refined intellectualism; and in the institutions, and corresponding doctrines, of the Roman church, we see the slow rising up of a huge scheme of central human government; and most of the religious systems of even Protestant churches, have been inevitably tinged with the spirit of one, or other, or both, of these systems. It was the *questioning* of the philosophizing spirit in the modern European mind, during its first applications of the Inductive Principle expounded by Bacon, that brought theologians to examine well the foundations of their entire creed. When Nature was declared to be an eternal necessity, and men were daring enough to avow their disbelief in God, and, consequently, in revelation and in religion, the metaphysician dived into the depths of abstract reasoning to demonstrate that God *must be*, and the more practical divine wandered heedfully through the fields of nature to gather proofs that He *is*. Every systematic attempt to expound theology contained more or less of both kinds of arguments on this

fundamental truth. Separate treatises of the highest ability came forth from the retirements of the studious. Lectures were founded by the pious and the wealthy, which gave birth to works that will be read as long as the English language exists, and admired wherever they are read. At this day, he has a great treat in reserve, who has not studied the early chapters of Howe's 'Living Temple.' The profound learning, and calm power of dignified reasoning, in that great treatise, are such as to exercise the highest intellect, and to charm the thoughtful reader into admiration, as well as to fix his convictions of truth on the soundest principles.

It is well known that the mind's conception of God is a gradual and slow acquirement, whether we consider the progress of individuals, or, what is the same thing in another aspect, the progress of nations and of ages. In the earliest times, and among nations imperfectly endowed with knowledge, as in children, the Deity is conceived of chiefly through the imagination, by the aid of simple analogies. The older Theists reasoned themselves into the conviction of an intelligent First Cause, and they excelled in weaving a system of belief out of the rudimental and inevitable convictions of the universal human mind. What the mind acknowledges to be inevitably true, according to its own subjective laws of thinking, is shown to be objectively true, in the facts of perceived existence, and in the laws of that existence. It is this latter method of proving the existence of an infinite and eternal Creator, that has expanded with the growth of science: for, by that growth, more objects have been brought under examination; severer and more exact inquiries have been instituted; a wider and more varied range of laws has been elicited; and every department of science has brought its own independent and precious contribution to the great argument.

Of late years a new field for scientific observations, *and for theological conclusions*, has been opened by the discoveries of geologists. Besides enlarging our acquaintance with the structure of the earth on which we dwell, these discoveries have afforded most interesting illustrations of many of the laws of nature previously known; and in the palæontology, or races of extinct creatures of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, which they have brought to light, and classified, they have shown to the eye—what metaphysicians have demonstrated theoretically to the reason—that this earth at least—with its inhabitants—is not the production of a succession which has no beginning, inasmuch as the *end* of some species of beings, and the *beginning* of other species of beings, can be distinctly traced in the natural history of rocks. The pre-

judices against geological discoveries, or rather against the chronological *inferences* drawn from those discoveries, have gradually worn away; and, we believe, among persons well informed as to the undeniable facts on which this science builds, there is now no hesitation in acknowledging the *principle* of long periods of duration for this earth, before the creation of man upon its surface. In this respect we see a proof analogous to that which had been going on, and is going on still, in connection with the discoveries of astronomy, both in relation to the vastness of space, as penetrated by improved instruments, and the long tracts of time required for the light of the remoter stars to reach our planet. It is not against the Divine authority of Scripture that these discoveries raise objection, but against the *human* authority of explanations of Scripture made in ignorance, and perpetuated by tradition.

The object of Dr. Harris's treatise is to lay down certain primary truths, which agree with the essential constitution of the human mind, and which are pre-supposed and *founded on* in the revelation of Divine truth; to deduce from these primary truths the general principles, which must, according to our modes of thinking, be unfolded in the work of creation; and then to illustrate these general principles in the physical laws of the creation, and in the natural history of the earth, *antecedently to the creation of the human race*. All this is but a part of a comprehensive scheme:

'The present volume is intended to be the first of a short series of treatises—each complete in itself—in which the principles or laws hereafter deduced and applied to the successive stages of the pre-Adamite earth, will be seen in their historic development as applied to individual man; to the family; to the nation; to the Son of God as 'the second Adam, the Lord from heaven;' to the church which he has founded; to the revelation which he has completed; and to the future prospects of humanity.'—*Preface*.

The hypothesis with which the author sets out in his inquiries consists of 'principles derived from the domain of revealed theology,' using these deductive principles, not for demonstration, but for suggestion; and drawing his proofs not from the theory, but from things, as we find them existing around us—his great object being to shew 'that there is a theology in nature which is ultimately one with the theology of the Bible—that there are principles of varied but universal application.' He represents the Infinite Mind as manifesting itself in accordance with the constitution of the finite mind, by unfolding principles through facts, and embodying general truths in particular laws.

The first primary truth regards God, as being himself the reason of all his manifestations, and the end of the same mani-

festations. The second truth is,—that the manifestation of the Divine All-sufficiency is the last end of creation. The third truth is,—that the manifestation of the Divine All-sufficiency is, by means of a FUNDAMENTAL RELATION, a medium, or system of mediation, which medium—preceding the first act of creation—is the *λογος* of Christianity, which constitutes the *reason* of every thing in the process of the manifestation of God to his creatures. The fourth truth concerns the obligation under which the Mediator, as such, comes, to do whatever may be necessary for attaining the great object. The fifth truth relates to the rights of the Mediator, to *do* all that may be necessary, and to the enjoyments which result from the doing of it, so that he finds his own end as Mediator, in manifesting the great end of the creation. From these primary truths—which are truths of revelation—the author deduces twenty general principles, or laws.

To many readers, it is probable these laws may appear needlessly multiplied, and that some of them are not obviously necessary; and indeed it seems to us that they might have been enumerated with sufficient distinctness and completeness in a smaller number of propositions. But as the power of expansion and illustration is an excellence more prominent in this author's lucid writings than that of condensed thought and terse expression, it is but fair to leave him to do his work in his own way. It ought to be remarked, that each of these propositions is accompanied by explanations and supported by arguments.

It would be interesting to know that some man had *thought all that is here expressed previously to any knowledge of the facts*. It is certainly in the power of an ordinary mind, accustomed to calculation and reflection, to perceive the congruity of some of these positions with the most simple and natural thoughts; and having thoroughly mastered and digested the first, we do not see what difficulty there could be in giving an enlightened and considerate assent to nearly all the rest; for, to what, in substance, do they amount but to this: that, as God is the first cause and the last end of all things, everything is a manifestation of him, in its degree, and in harmony with everything else? The mind feels that if anything is supposed to exist, which is *not* God, it must come *from* God, and CAN come from God only for a reason which was in God, and for a purpose worthy of God. An atom would prove that there is a God, who has power to create. That atom related to other atoms, would exhibit a Divine law or mode of action. In proportion to the number of atoms, the complexity of their combinations, and the variety of their relations, would be the proofs of the wisdom of God, and the intimations of a plan or scheme. An organized being, to which inorganic matter is *subordinate*, proves that there is a God

of order, and gives a deeper insight into the plan of his creation, as involving, at least, one end. A sentient being, to which both inorganic and organized are subservient, proves that the wise Creator and God of order is happy in himself, and that his goodness is shewn by securing, according to definite limits and modes of action, the well-being of his creatures. Now if there were no man upon the earth, it is difficult (without having recourse to higher intelligences) to conceive in what way, to whom, and for what purposes, these varied proofs of creating power, wisdom, and goodness, have been given; and to many minds the question may still be natural,—‘Is it not highly improbable that such a varied and advanced system of creation should have included this earth and filled it, as we are told, with numerous and successive tribes of creatures, among whom there was not one who could read the lesson, or even *think* of the great manifestation of divinity?’—Dr. Harris has shewn, in this book, that such a state of things cannot be reasonably looked on as improbable; further, he has brought a large amount of well attested and thoroughly sifted evidence to shew, that such a state of things *has really existed*; and it is a leading object of this book to exhibit the agreeableness of such a state of things with all our reasonings respecting God from the deepest principles of our own nature, as well as with all we *know* of God from a comparison of the several ranges of his works, or from the truths concerning him, which are either expressly revealed or clearly implied in holy Scripture.

Occupying an imaginary position on the eve of the material creation, and assuming that there is an eternal Being capable of manifesting himself in creation, we must also assume what is meant by space and time, to which every object of human thought must be related. We cannot conceive of a simpler or an earlier manifestation of God than the exhibition of his power in causing that which was not—to be. Let us see, then, what is, irrespectively of man, on the planet Earth. We have much pleasure in directing our readers to the graphic description in which Dr. Harris embodies the broad facts which geology has brought to light.

From these facts it is argued that ‘the days and years of geology are ages and cycles of ages;’ that the fortuitous course of atoms is an impossibility—certainly not a fact; that the earth has not existed from eternity; that the *nebular* theory of Laplace throws no light on the origination of matter; that matter is an effect, whose cause is God; and that all the laws which, in addition to this first law, have been laid down as abstract propositions, receive their exemplification in what we now behold of the ‘Pre-Adamite Earth.’

In pursuing his object, the writer could not but feel himself called upon to pronounce a judgment on that hypothesis of continuous development by law, which is opposed to the doctrine of successive acts of creation, especially as the attention of the scientific to this question has been lately revived by a well known publication. Of that publication—we mean the ‘*Vestiges*’—a fifth edition has appeared, in which the author’s views on particular points are somewhat modified; and he has drawn out some of his principles, as well as noticed several objections, in a supplemental volume, entitled ‘*Explanations*.’ The question is curious in itself, and of some importance. We shall therefore endeavour to show briefly what the question is, and how it has been determined, before we take up the views propounded by Dr. Harris in relation to it. The question, it must be remembered, is purely scientific; and however determined, it leaves the metaphysical and theological arguments connected with it where they were; and as a scientific question, it must be admitted to be one of considerable subtlety, involving the necessity of close attention to every department both of vegetable and animal physiology, including a comparison of extinct with existing races, and requiring a strictly inductive process of reasoning from the entire collection of facts.

The question is not whether the plants and animals which have existed, and now exist, display proofs of any laws of *reproduction*; nor is it, whether there has been a system of progressive developments, on the whole; nor is it, whether one condition of inorganic matter, one series of plants, and one series of animals, has, in any manner or degree, prepared the conditions favourable or necessary to the existence of higher series; but the question is this: Does any condition of inorganic matter contain within it the *principles* of organized being? does any species of plants contain in itself the *germ* of any other species of plants? does any plant contain the *rudiment* of animal life? does any species of animal contain that *element* which, under given conditions, will produce an animal of a higher and more perfect organization? In brief, is it the law of creation that higher forms shall be invariably evolved from lower forms of existence?

Now, as to all existing races of creatures, we believe we are entitled to say, that there are no well ascertained facts from which such a conclusion could be drawn, or in order to account for which such a hypothesis can be required.

Wherever we find organization, we find an *organized* preparation for its production; and the only relevant law of nature with which we are acquainted, or for which we find occasion, in the beginning of individual organic life, is the well-known law,

that like produces like. Even in the obscure regions of fungi, of *entozoa* (creatures living in other creatures) among the animalculæ, and of polypi, there is previous organization of some kind in the very conditions in which these forms of life are found; so far as observation has gone, the traces of natural propagation, analagous to more familiar experience, have been detected; and even in cases which must be acknowledged as inexplicable on this principle, it is surely more philosophical to abide by the general law than to hypothecate a new one for the occasion.* Moreover, the facts which might appear to approach most nearly to the exhibition of this hypothetical law are found, on examination, to be utterly at variance with the theory of a progressive advancement from lower to higher species. We can refer only to the facts, well known to scientific enquirers, that what are called *hybrids*, whether in the vegetable or animal kingdom, are irregularities; that they are often occasioned by artificial and violent means; that they are always limited to varieties of the same species, or species almost imperceptibly differing from each other; and that they *never*, so far as we know, produce either a superior species, or even any equal or inferior species, which is *permanent* as a new and distinct species.

If this hypothetical law of progressive development finds no certain type in existing species, how do we find matters in the evidence afforded by the fossil remains of extinct species? On the hypothesis, the facts would stand thus: In the earlier unstratified formations we should find the globular or cellular elements of vegetable organization; in the lower strata we should find only the simpler forms of vegetable life, such as confervæ, fuci, algæ, and mosses; then, as we come up to the more recent geological formations, we should find a regularly ascending series of vegetable types—of polypi, corals and animalculæ, shellfish, insects, spiders, till we reach fishes, reptiles, birds, mammalia, and lastly, the human race. Even if the series exhibited by geology had been on this rising scale, we do not see what *grounds* there would have been for supposing that a law of production existed in former periods of time, which is contrary to the analogy of the law of reproduction as it has existed within the period of human observation: because, on every principle of sober scientific induction, this want of analogy would have been a fatal objection to the hypothesis of a progressive development of *higher species from lower*.

But what *are* the facts, as brought to light by the discoveries

* Some profound suggestions on this subject, altogether subversive of the theory of development, will be found in the concluding chapters of Macculloch's *Proofs and Illustrations*.

of geology? On the testimony, not of speculators, but of men who have seen and carefully investigated the facts, we may succinctly affirm, that, in the older strata, are found the *higher* forms of crustacea (animals coated like crabs, lobsters, etc.), while the vegetable tribes, which *must* have existed, have generally, but not universally, disappeared; that the oldest fossil fish, of which there is any knowledge, and which is found in what is called the Silurian system, 'belongs to the *highest* tribe of that division of the vertebrata;' that in the old red sandstone are found fossil fishes in the *highest* division of the class to which they belong; that in the coal-fields of the carboniferous system are the remains of some of the *highest* forms of vegetable life, together with those of insects and birds, and of fishes, belonging to families now living; that in the Magnesian limestone formation are fossils of reptiles belonging, not to fish-lizards, but to *higher* orders of that class; that in the new red sandstone, the old forms of organic life seem to have been destroyed by the *oxide of iron* mingled in the formation; that in the *oolitic* system are the remains of insects and of cone-bearing trees—'fresh-water shells, plants, birds, and land-reptiles;' that in the green-sand system are found forms analogous to the oolites below, and to the chalk above; that in the chalk are entirely *new* types of organic life; that in the tertiary system we find an approximation towards the types of existing plants and animals, arranged by Mr. Lyall into three subdivisions, according to the proportions, in each, of extinct and of living species; that in the diluvial system we find a confused mixture of bones of mammalia with land-shells, and fresh-water shells, and remains of older rocks, drifted in icebergs, or carried by floods and glaciers to vast distances from their original localities; and that, in the *present* surface of the earth, we find, below the drifted soil, recent shells, stumps of trees, and skeletons of numerous animals which have perished from various natural causes. From a comprehensive survey of palæontological discoveries, several results have followed which are opposed to *this hypothesis of progressive development*. For, first of all, there is the general fact, that no species of either vegetables or animals have been discovered which exhibit any signs of being in a state of transition between one species and another. Secondly. The extinction of one species is usually marked *before* the *earliest* appearance of another. Thirdly. The changed condition of the earth, as to climate, the preponderance of land, or water, and similar circumstances, appears to have taken place *after* the extinction of one species, and *before* the appearance of another. Fourthly. There is no evidence that the entire surface of the earth has been at one time under water for a period long enough

to account for the appearance of marine, fluvatile, and lacustrine remains, in those portions which are now dry land ; and, consequently, that what may appear in one locality to be a new species, may be, and can often be proved to be, one which, in another locality, has been found before. Fifthly. The conditions of climate, temperature, and other variable circumstances, though necessary to the existence of a species, are not its *producing* cause ; neither can the antecedency of one species to another be the cause of that other, in the sense in which individual plants or animals are the causes of other plants or animals of *the same species*. The conclusion, therefore, to which the most eminent naturalists of modern times have come, is, that progressive development of species is *not* the law of the creation, as it is expressed in the facts observed by scientific inquirers.

To this conclusion from natural history we are tempted to add one or two general reasonings. If creation *at all* be admitted, what rational objection can there be to a periodical, or even a persistent, manifestation of the same power ? The notion that such a manifestation is unnecessary, proceeds upon a begging of the question ; for it has not been shown that new families, orders, genera, species, have been produced in any other way than that in which the first atom of a nebula must be acknowledged to have been produced. And the notion that the repeated acts of creating power would be unworthy of the Creator, is but an imperfect form of the ancient Manichæism which deemed the creation of matter to be unworthy of its imaginary deity. Besides this, we may say, that we have never seen any sufficient proof that the *life* of any plant, or of any animal, is accounted for by any theory of nature which excludes the direct Creating Power, to which the universe, and all the laws by which he governs it, must be ascribed, if we are to avoid absurdities in our modes of reasoning. If, as we hold, it has not been proved, that the germs of all organized beings were created with, or in, the first being, or the first pair ; or that there is a vital power in any organization to vitalize another organization ; we are disposed to regard it as sound logic and sober philosophy, to ascribe all life *directly* to the Living Cause which produced the first living creature. The fact that this life is given in connection with physical, chemical, and physiological conditions, and that the mode of giving life is capable of being represented by such a phrase as ‘a general law,’ can be no reason for rejecting the simple view of vital causation, to any mind that has taken the pains to *think* of what is meant by life, and of what is meant by general laws.

The following passages exhibit the views of Dr. Harris on this interesting question :—

‘ We entertain the belief, then, of the pervading agency of the Divine Being throughout the material universe, not in exclusion of, but in addition to, the doctrine of primary appointment; for he does that which he decrees. We believe this, because there are no valid objections to be urged against the view which do not lie equally against the theory of development by natural law; because the idea of an entirely self-sustaining universe is destitute of all true analogy; because we cannot conceive of a self-sustained universe, any more than we can of a self-originated creation—dependence is its characteristic in relation to time, as much so as in its relation to space; and because (if the question is to be argued on the ground of what may be most honourable to the Divine perfections) we deem the view which represents the material universe as *directly dependent* on the Divine agency, more exalting to God than that which views the universe as released from such dependence; not to say that the reasoning which ‘compliments’ Him out of the material universe not unfrequently ends in excluding him from the throne of His moral government.

‘ Other reasons in corroboration of this view will come to light as we proceed. For the present, it may suffice to suggest to the believer in Divine revelation, first, that the opposite view, if it does not necessarily deny the existence of the Divine attributes, denies, at least, their objective exercise—representing the Omniscient as if he saw nothing, the Omnipresent as if he were universally absent, and the Omnipotent as doing nothing. And, secondly, it seems impossible to harmonize such an abandonment of the universe to natural laws, with the testimony of Scripture and the evidence of geology to successive creations.

‘ II. If to this it is replied that the Divine Being is not supposed to detach himself entirely from the universe, that he is yet regarded as being ‘virtually present in the natural world by a providential inspection and superintendence’ of it, we can only add, that this seems to fall very little, if anything, short of the ever-present and pervading agency which we advocate. At least, the arguments which would establish such a relation of the Deity to the material universe, as amounts to a *virtual presence* with it, a constant *inspection* and *actual superintendence* of it, and the *necessity* for such an agency, would go far to establish the sustaining and pervading nature of that agency. And this apparently near approach to the admission of such an agency, in the very act of denying it—a not unfrequent thing—only shows the difficulty of saying how much more or less relatively we affirm in a proposition of our own, unless we know precisely how much is denied in the contrary position of another.’—pp. 127—129.

Having shown that transmutation of species is contradicted by facts, he remarks—not without shrewdness—in reply to the suggestion ‘that the evidence wanting to-day, may come into existence a thousand ages hence,’—‘if we are to wait for the

phenomena, we had rather wait also for the hypothesis which proposes to explain them !'

It is a generally received notion that man is distinguished by reason, and other animals, inferior to man, by instinct. The definition of reason would probably be various—either fixing on some one faculty of man, his active memory, his imagination, his understanding, his free agency according to motives perceived by his understanding, his power of abstraction, or generalization,—or his ability to reason, or his conscience, and moral sentiments, or his aptitude for religion ; or, taking the whole of these varied states of the one mind, including the entire mind in the definition.

In like manner the definition of instinct would be various. Some would say they mean by instinct, *that* in the animal, which prompts and enables it to do that which, when done by man, is ascribed to reason ; while others would say, we mean by instinct, merely a blind propensity to a particular act.—Suppose, instead of making abstract definitions, we were to collect all the facts we know respecting man, and, by an induction of these facts, arrive at the principles or laws of his agency : this would give us an exactly scientific philosophy of the agency of man. Then suppose, instead of assuming anything respecting the agency of lower animals, that some one class, and then some other class of animals, till we reached the lowest class, were observed cautiously in all its acts and *habits* of acting ; this would give an exactly scientific philosophy of the agency of all other animals. With these, but *not without these*, we might construct a comparative philosophy of all animals, all mental agency, and might exhibit the resemblances, and the differences, between one race and another. We shall be glad to be informed by whom any inquiry of this sober and cautious character has been published, in any language or in any age.

According to the view we take of the state of exact knowledge in every one of these many departments, we must honestly say, that all the reasoning on the subject we have either heard or read, is too imperfect to warrant, as scientific, the current opinions on this deeply-interesting, but almost boundless, question.

The facts from which conclusions might be drawn, with respect to man, are of daily occurrence, and universal ; and in viewing them we have the advantage of our personal consciousness, together with the irresistible conviction, which would seem to be a fundamental law of human thought, that the consciousness of all men is similar to that which every man knows to be his own.

With regard to the inferior animals, the case is somewhat—

indeed greatly—different. The philosophers of mind have, for the most part, overlooked them; partly because the students of this philosophy have often been men of generalizing tendencies; and partly, because they have considered man as their exclusive department. Naturalists have bestowed their attention, not exclusively indeed, but chiefly, on the physical structure, condition, distribution, classification, and external relations of the several orders of animals. Much of what would be advantageous, if not necessary, for understanding the actions and the sentient habitudes of whole families of animals, lies beyond the reach of human observation, so that it is only in instances rare *to us*—and for that reason concluded to be rare in themselves—that close observation has been made, and the result of such observation registered. The love of the marvellous, the love, sometimes, of paradox, and sometimes the predominance of motives which are no more allied to science than they are to religion, have induced not a few writers to get up startling tales of animal sagacity, of which some are allowed to amuse and no more; and others are disbelieved—possibly disproved. Yet there is much that is known respecting the habits of some animals of every order—those habits, we mean, which come under consideration in the question to which we are adverting. With our knowledge of these habits, we might make a fair approach to truth, *if* we could be sufficiently on our guard against the opposite tendencies, which, like many other opposing tendencies, originate in a mistake held in common by both parties.

The central mistake, common to the retainers of oppugnant prejudices on this subject, is—that *mind is in its essence immortal*,—a notion which, true or not, has never been demonstrated in theory, and *cannot* be proved in fact. Even if this essential immortality of mind, as mind, had been demonstrated in theory, and proved by facts, it by no means follows, logically, that our conviction of this one supposed truth should pre-judge another truth, which must, in like manner, be proved, either theoretically or in fact, by its own separate and independent evidence. Granting, merely for the sake of our present argument, that mind involves immortality, we are not in a condition to say,—therefore animals inferior to man have no mind; the proper course is, to examine the facts which are known relative to any class of animals, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they have mind or not; and if we are satisfied that they have mind; then, on this assumed theory, their immortality follows. But we recur to our position—that this theory is not proved, that it has no influence, ought to have none, on the reasonings by which we reach our conclusions on this subject.

Ridding ourselves, then, of this bias, we might determine what we mean by mind ;—whether mind exhibits itself according to one invariable law, or according to more laws than one ; how far the exhibitions of mind in various animals are analogous to each other—especially how far they are analogous to some certain exhibitions of mind in man, and different from certain other exhibitions of mind in man.

It would be impracticable, within our present limits, to show the detail of reasonings by which we have reached our own conclusions ; but we may state, in a few words, what those conclusions are.

First. We reject as altogether unphilosophical, and opposed by all the analogies of science, the notion that *mind* is the result of organization.

Secondly :—We judge that all the actions of all animals, in which there are traces of a *designed* effect, are proofs of mind aiming at that effect.

Thirdly :—That where the effect, and the act aiming at it, are uniform in a species, in all the individuals of the species, before experience, and without instruction, we ascribe it to *instinct*, which instinct may be defined to be—the act of the Creator, using the animal, so far, as his instrument in accomplishing a purpose, which purpose has relation to a farther end, of which the instinct of the animal takes no cognizance.

Fourthly :—That these instinctive actions are, to a certain extent, common to man with every other class of sentient beings.

Fifthly :—That *some* actions of animals do not belong to the class of instinctive actions, but are the results of quick perception, ready memory, association of ideas, and voluntary determination, which are improvable, and are most highly developed under the influence of man.

Sixthly :—That there is a broad *generic* difference between mind, as it is in the lower animals, and mind as it is in man : which difference is manifest in the progress of the human race—in the faculty and the results of speech,—in the power to register facts for future use,—in the processes of abstract reasoning,—in the delicate varieties of voluntary agency,—in the indications of conscious responsibility to an unseen judge,—and, in the sentiments and habitudes which constitute religion.

Our general conclusion is—that, on the whole, it is convenient to express the actions of lower animals by one term—*instinct* ; and to express the actions, voluntary actions of men by another term—*reason* ; at the same time bearing in mind, that many human actions are instinctive, and that many actions of inferior animals are guided by that which, if not

reason, which it certainly is not, *in the highest signification of the term*, approximates very nearly to it. The views entertained on this subject by Dr. Harris, are beautifully unfolded in a series of characteristic passages with which we regret that we are unable to enrich our pages.

Having gone through all the forms of inorganic nature, and of vegetable, animal, and sentient life, which are proved to have existed on the earth before the creation of man, and having, in each successive department, gathered illustrations of all the laws laid down in the beginning of the volume, the author introduces man in a passage (pp. 337—339) which we would gladly extract if our limits permitted.

We may now request our readers to look on this volume as introducing *a series of treatises*, intended to carry out the illustrations of the same general laws into the history of man—his relations—and his prospects. Judging from the manner in which this first part has been executed, we indulge the hope of welcoming those which are to follow, as highly valuable contributions to theological science.

How far does the present volume, regarded by itself, justify our expectations? Hitherto we have looked at it as a literary composition, and as a skilful arrangement of the results of reading and thought in several walks of natural science. Now, looking at it *theologically*, it cannot fail to commend itself to every well qualified reader, as an advance on what has been generally thought to belong to the province of natural theology. So far as our acquaintance with writers in this department goes, they have employed the argument *a priori*, to demonstrate the Being of God, and some of the attributes which are essential to such a Being; and they have used the argument *a posteriori* for the same purpose. Again and again it has been shewn that all reasoning must be grounded in principles which are involved in the very constitution of the human mind; that these principles, known without reasoning, must be true; that such true principles cannot be contradicted by a revelation from God, *who is alike the author of both*; and whatever difficulty there may be in sometimes tracing the harmony of the teachings of revelation with our primary and indestructible convictions, such harmony must, in reality, exist.

In the scheme which Dr. Harris proposes to himself, he carries the proof of this harmony beyond the limits within which natural theology has hitherto been confined. Beyond the fact that there is a God, and the truth that God is a being essentially possessing certain perfect and infinite attributes, such as power, wisdom, goodness, he finds among our original principles of thought and in logical deductions from these principles, the **END**

for which these attributes are made manifest, and the *laws* according to which it is necessary to the human mind to conceive of those manifestations as progressively and continuously unfolded.

Having settled these laws, his object is to show, that they have actually guided all the manifestations of God which have been given to us. Whether he has succeeded or not, we must surely regard the undertaking as one that justifies itself, and one which cannot be pursued, either by the writer or by his reader, without the highest order of intellectual,—we may add, of spiritual exercise. It brings the noblest capacities of our nature into close communion with their Creator, enlightening, refining, expanding, and exalting every sentiment of devotion.

The *groundwork* only of this undertaking is yet before us, and we will not, as we need not, anticipate the applications of the same principles which are reserved for future volumes. After the most critical consideration we have been able to give to the contents of this volume, we do not hesitate to avow our cautiously formed belief, that, so far, the author has made good his principal points; that his mode of laying them down has convinced our reason; and that his copious and beautiful illustrations of the successive laws of the *Divine manifestation* have yielded us inexpressible delight. We hope that life, and leisure, and health, may be vouchsafed to him, for accomplishing a scheme so well conceived, and, in part, so skilfully executed; for the filling up of which a large amount of reading and reflection is indispensable; but which, when completed, as the commencement warrants us to expect, it will be an honour for our age to have produced, and for our language to have embodied.

It is matter of congratulation that, in this practical country, and amid the turmoil of this busy age, the powers of gifted minds are directed to themes apparently so remote from every day concerns, yet so intimately connected with the spirit and the aims which ought to regulate all our businesses. While this volume will secure a measure of attention from the readers of the same author's earlier and popular writings, and from the more select circles, comprising students of the higher theology, there are two classes of persons to whom we take the opportunity of recommending it especially.

We recommend it to those among the scientific who have not, hitherto, been in the habit of connecting their pursuits with religion, from a notion that there is no rational connection between the two, beyond the very obvious one which regards the author of external nature as the author of the human mind. Such readers will find, in this book, that the connexion goes much farther, and that chemistry, astronomy,

natural history, botany, vegetable and animal physiology, have uses and bearings of high and sacred import.

Well considered, all the objects with which science is conversant are the teachers of theological, not less than of physical, truth—to *those who are willing to learn*; and it is a fair question—whether science has reached its limits when it stops short of any of the lessons brought within its reach.

We recommend this book, also, to such religious persons as have been accustomed to believe that sacred truths are revealed in the Bible—and no where else. We need not say, that we share with them, and fully sympathize with them, in reverence for that inspired book. But, do we show our reverence for that book, if we refuse attention to subjects to which the book itself refers us, to principles in our own minds which prove that book to be Divine, to facts which are the workings of the Author of that book, to laws which unfold his character, his plans, and the progressive steps of his glorious and majestic government?

Let the lovers of physical truth become more devout, let devout men become more intelligent and comprehensive in their views, and both science and religion will be gainers. In the mind of God, all truth is one. In proportion as we perceive the harmonies of truth, and act according to the truth thus harmonized, we are drawing near to the Infinite Perfection, and preparing for a world which is full of light, goodness, and enjoyment. To aspire after that world, and to be as fully prepared for it as all the advantages of science and religion may enable us, is the state of mind to which this author manifestly aims at elevating all his readers. In this holy ambition, it is our heart's desire that he may be crowned with all the success for which he hopes. How glorious will it be, in that world to see, *at one glance*, what on earth it has taken so many ages to unfold—THE MANIFESTATION OF GOD TO MAN!

Art. II.—*The Fawn of Sertorius*. 2 vols. Longman and Co. London: 1846.

It is not long since we had occasion to call our readers' notice to a pleasing tale of fiction founded on Greek History. Scarcely had 'Pericles,' or a 'Tale of Athens,' passed off from our imagination, when we were greeted by a new attempt, similar in purpose and spirit, based upon the grander fortunes and more terrible struggles of Rome. The author of this new and secret history of Sertorius (as he is pleased to call it,) has certainly displayed excellent judgment in the choice of his hero; who, more completely than could have been hoped, fulfils the conditions which an historical novel writer would desire. Sertorius is a character and name scarcely known to superficial students; there is little danger that the author should give offence by seeming to misrepresent the magnitude and colour of his deeds, or by clashing in opinion with his readers. Almost as open a field may seem to be left to his imagination, as if he were dealing with a fictitious person. Yet, as respect for the learned and the danger of giving false views of the contemporary history would forbid mere capricious invention, it was farther requisite that what we do know of Sertorius should suit him to the author's tale; and so exactly it is. In every point of view, intellectual and moral, he is pre-eminent among contemporary warriors; while the sphere in which he moved was most magnificent. Nor, unhappily, is a dark background wanting to bring out his brilliancy. Rising in the midst of the Marian party, he shines as a star out of the clouds; humane among the cruel, chaste among the impure, patriotic and single-minded among the selfish and ambitious. As a general, he scarcely yielded to Hannibal—the greatest of ancient names—in resource, in activity, in coolness of head, and all-embracing vigilance. As a soldier, he was an epic or middle-age hero, attaching followers to himself by his romantic bravery and untiring enterprise. As a patriot, he cared for his country more than for his party or for his personal aggrandisement, even in the midst of a horrible civil war, in which thousands were mercilessly massacred and the estates of as many more confiscated. In times so troublous, he declined marriage, and loved no female so well as his mother, to whom he was romantically attached. For a Roman, he is, perhaps, unparalleled in the enthusiastic devotion to his person which he inspired into a foreign nation; thousands of young Spaniards binding themselves to live or die with him in battle. Few passages in history are nobler, than the reply of Sertorius to Mithridates,

refusing his alliance on any terms dishonourable to the majesty of Rome, or the freedom of Greece. Fugitive and proscribed though he was, and in appearance armed against his country, he cared for his country's honour as tenderly as if he had been its chosen and trusted statesman, and he exerted a real influence in freeing the Greek towns of Asia. His tragical end heightens the love and wonder with which we regard such a man;—he was murdered by the conspiracy of his fellow-senators and fellow-generals, who hated him for nothing but his commanding virtue;—men to whom he was only too gentle and too good:—and when his will was opened, it was found,* that the chief traitor had been named by him among his heirs. For eight years together he had contended with increasing advantage against the best generals, and most amply appointed armies which Rome could afford, although he began with his mere name and his own sword; and every year gained him so many new adherents in the senate at Rome, (who believed that he must ultimately prevail,) that success seemed almost within sight: yet, no sooner had he been thus foully murdered, than his own armies felt that there was nothing left to contend for, and a few months made Pompey the Great master of all Spain, and avenger of his assassins.

Such is the man whom the author has most happily selected as the centre figure of his historical piece; and hereby has brought into notice one of the grandest episodes from the main stream of history which those stirring and dreadful times afford. The greatness of Sertorius was undoubtedly in himself; but it might have passed away unnoticed and undeveloped, had not the peculiar disasters of the day elicited it. He would have preferred to live and die in a private station, unhonoured and unenvied, if it had been permitted him, as in every peaceful generation hundreds of great men do, whose mental and moral grandeur is subjected to no test by which their fellows can duly estimate it. The immense scale of the Spanish war which gathered round him, was mainly due to the cruelty of Sulla's proscriptions. This heartless despot, a fox in intellect, and tiger in blood-thirstiness, in spite of his high literary accomplishments, was as utterly wanting in long-sighted policy, as in true wisdom. Having systematically corrupted the army by indulging their avarice and evil passions, and trained them to despise their country and its institutions, he thought that, as

* This fact, which Appian also attests, proves that Perperna had no reason to dread Sertorius, except as every guilty man dreads the just. In so far Appian may be right in saying, that Perperna slew him in anticipation of a like fate. Undoubtedly Perperna was conscious of deserving it.

soon as he had won the victory, he could afford to sate his revenge by the total massacre of the opposite party; and gratify the greediness of his followers, by devoting unoffending men to death or exile for the sake of their wealth. So brutal had been the conduct of the fierce and unlettered Marius and of his equally barbarian son, that Sulla might, if he pleased, have thoroughly established his power, his party and his principles (if he had any), by favourably contrasting his own policy to that of his opponents. The noble and the good, the wealthy and the timid, would have zealously abandoned *them*, if *he* had had common humanity; and when victorious, it was easy for him to attach mere soldiers of fortune by clemency. Instead of this, his ferocious massacres and wanton proscriptions, which cast into the shade the guilt of the Marians, great as it had been, drove all the remnants of that party into the only corner of the world where a name was still heard that defied the power of Sulla—the name of Sertorius. But, in fact, the disorders of the Roman empire were manifold and universal; such as to inspire a belief that the struggle in Spain, if not soon successful, would prove too severe to be sustained by the central power in Italy. Nor is it possible rightly to appreciate the benefit, which, on the whole, the throne of the Cæsars brought to the subject people, without reviewing the calamities of the fifty years which preceded.

Scarcely had Italy and the Roman armies begun to recover from the calamities inflicted by the great inroad of the Teutons—from which Rome first learned the numbers and power of the German nations—when the obstinate refusal of the senate, backed by the prejudices of the lower people, to admit the Italians to any sort of equal privileges, by involving the state in a tremendous war against her own people and armies (B.C. 90), brought Rome into greater danger than she had incurred even from the enmity of Hannibal. In the very next year she began to make concessions, which would once have been thankfully accepted; and, when at length victorious, she nominally admitted most of the Italians to the Roman franchise, but with limitations which deprived the gift of all graciousness, and produced nothing but discontent. In consequence, materials were provided for a new struggle, not of Roman against Italian merely, but of Roman against Roman. The causes of this, as commonly detailed, seem absurdly inadequate. King Mithridates had taken advantage of the domestic dangers of the empire, had ravaged the Roman province of Asia, and massacred on one day all the Romans, without sparing sex or age, who were scattered over the whole country. The awful extent of the calamity, and the pressing danger of the moment, might seem enough to enforce concord on the Roman nobles.

On the contrary, we are told, so eager was old Marius to get the command against Mithridates, and so resolved was Sulla to have it for himself, that bloodshed took place in the forum, which involved the sacred life of a tribune, and drove Marius into Africa; yet scarcely was Sulla departed, when a revolutionary war broke out, in which the Marians, though worsted in Rome, conquered Rome by means of Italy. Tacitus says, that the two parties were fighting for the possession of the jury-box; but it looks rather as if pure mutual hatred, and personal lust of power, had been the cause. The late unnatural conflict had accustomed men to break through the feelings which are usually sacred, and had disorganized the whole state. The discontent of the Italians was manifest; and Marius, becoming their champion, gained their adherence. Such is all the account which can be given of the new and still more deadly commotion, which arose when peace might have been expected. In blowing up the flame, Marius had had recourse to the extreme measure of offering liberty to slaves who would join his army. The atrocious excesses committed by these barbarians, (many of them probably Teutons and Cimbrians, who had been captured by Marius himself,) first called out the virtue and decisive courage of Quintus Sertorius. After exhausting his influence with Cinna in vain attempts to restrain the cruelty and wantonness of these troops, who were little else than the instruments of Marius's tyranny, Sertorius at last took measures himself, and speared them all in their tents, to the number of 4,000. He appears to have deserved no blame for the atrocities of his colleagues; and as for Marius, he had been invited back by Cinna, without the knowledge and against the judgment of Sertorius. While such scenes were going on in Rome, and while Sulla was contending with Mithridates, a new danger, of an anomalous and frightful kind, arose, in the power of pirates. Such is the tissue of crime which wars of ambition generate,—the ravages and miseries inflicted by the Romans, had driven thousands of industrious men into the practice of piracy: the policy of Mithridates now fostered them, and set them loose against Roman interests everywhere. These men swarmed over all the seas, and for four years together were assailed in their mountain retreats of Cilicia, with a formidable army, by Servilius Isauricus, when Sertorius was not yet feared, and when the party of Sulla was at the height of power. New disorders arose, before Servilius's armies had returned. Marcus Lepidus, proconsul of Gaul, had renewed civil war in Italy, in the second year after Sulla's death; and although he was soon crushed by Catulus and Pompey, this continued to act as a diversion in Sertorius's favour. Nor was this all: but a large part of Lepidus's forces escaped under Perperna, who

had served under Carbo a few years before, and had been driven out of Sicily with his army by Pompey. He is believed to have been proscribed by Sulla. How he had fared in the meantime, we do not know; but now, he betook himself to Spain; and, immediately on his arriving there, his soldiers refused to follow him, unless Sertorius were made their commander-in-chief.

Macedonia, also, was a troubled province. Under the prætor C. Sentius Saturninus it had been for many years ably ruled, during Sulla's Asiatic stay; but in the year 81 a great insurrection broke out; consular armies were needed; Cn. Dolabella and C. Curio within few years gained 'triumphs' over the formidable tribes called Dardani: triumphs, which attested nothing but the power of the enemy. As late as the year 73, this Thracian people found abundant occupation for the Roman arms; while Mithridates in Asia, Spartacus in Italy, Sertorius in Spain, and the piratical power which had again risen, each singly served to need the most vigorous efforts of the state. In fact, Mithridates actually sent ships to the aid of Sertorius. As to Spartacus, whom we have named, he was ringleader and general of a most formidable insurrection of gladiators and slaves, which for three years ravaged Italy from end to end, and defeated many Roman armies in fair fight. We have enumerated these particulars, to shew that the course of events, though surprising and magnificent, has nothing in it so marvellous as to excite disbelief. The tale of Sertorius, for which we are to a great extent debtors to Plutarch, is not a romance, but sober truth; yet it has all the air and beauty of fiction.

One curious point, however, in it, has the aspect of poetic miracle. Sertorius received from a peasant, the gift of a fawn, which became so fond of him, that the Spaniards regarded it as a supernatural attendant. Hereupon it occurred to Sertorius to work upon their credulity by adopting the fiction, if we are to believe the representations of Plutarch. The author before us uses the privilege of a romance-writer, to depict this and other events as in the current belief of the Spaniards of that day they were supposed to be. It is a delicate question of taste, on which we do not presume to pronounce decidedly, whether he has by this improved or injured the interest of his tale. We incline to say, that to a generation like our own, it hinders the intense feeling of reality, and thereby lessens the interest which the facts are calculated to produce; but if any one feels otherwise, this is itself a fact in the author's favour, nor would we make our own imagination a rule for other readers. The same will not apply to his description of the mysterious converse between Fate and the Sybil, because it is here clear that the sentiments of those days alone are set before us. But it is time

that we state more distinctly the characters which the author has added, and the order in which he has worked up his story.

His first chapter is not at all to our taste ; and we would advise readers to take the author at his word, and skip it outright. After they have finished his two volumes, it will still be free to them to read this introduction, and without danger of being prejudiced against the book. It consists of twenty-five pages, which profess to give some account of the *recovery* of this history ; but the author flounders about awkwardly, from a dread of being believed to speak truth. We honour this scruple, which is by no means always needless ; yet for this very reason it is unwise to write fiction of such a character. Nor is it even an original idea with him : Walter Scott, and others, have done it many times already : we cannot profess ever much to admire the method, but where it cannot be boldly imitated, it is peculiarly flat. Neglecting, therefore, the Italian ecclesiastic Cornacchini, (whom he pretends to have compiled the account from numerous old libraries,) we proceed to the tale itself. After some account of the state of the Roman world in the time of Sertorius, we are introduced to a mysterious wilderness, where the mother of the gods (or the goddess Fate) is supposed to dwell. This place is described rather elaborately, and the scene at length brings before us the fawn, a sibyl, and the goddess herself, until all closes with a sad oracle, which we gather to have some reference to Sertorius. The first human characters described are the peasant Spanus and his wife Porsa. The name of the former might seem to mean no more than *Spaniard*, yet it is found in Plutarch ; the details are from the author's fancy. Spanus has been most unfortunate in his cattle ; the flocks and herds have died, or dwindled so as to disable him from paying the rent due to his landlord Setubal, who, after three years of forbearance, is resolved on ejecting him. The unfortunate wife attributes their calamities to the neglect of religious observances ; by which the author ingeniously gains opportunity to exhibit how much simple piety sometimes existed under the dense cloud of pagan ignorance, which afflicted it with real suffering.

The conversation of Porsa is always interesting ; Poor simple thing as she is, we would fain persuade ourselves that many in ancient times were like her. Her husband, in despair, resolves to approach the solemn unknown sanctuary of Fate, and there finds the fawn asleep. He catches it by throwing his mantle over it, and carries it away with the intention of making a present of it to the wife of Setubal, who is fond of strange animals : but on his way down from the hill, he comes upon Sertorius and his army, returning from a rapid excursion. The thought

crosses him, to offer the beautiful creature to the celebrated general. He is accepted most graciously. The fawn leaps voluntarily into Sertorius's bosom; and the peasant, combining dreams, fable, and fact, pretends that he received her from the dreadful goddess with a command to present her to Sertorius. An old Spanish officer deposes that the remarkable cliffs down which Spanus had scrambled contain the awful sanctuary. In short, Sertorius receives the animal as from the goddess, and recompenses the astonished peasant by a mule laden with silver. Spanus hastens home, and finds Setubal with the officers of justice engaged in ejecting his wife, his little children, and the household gods. This inexorable person is represented as a would-be philosopher and rhetorician, who has carefully studied Latin rhetoric as taught by Greek masters; and in spite of the intense stupidity of the rhetorical style, as the author does not give us much of him, this man is certainly amusing. On the present occasion he is surprised, and half-disappointed, by Spanus accepting his alternative to buy the land of him if he cannot pay up the arrears of rent. The peasant becomes a freeholder, and Porsa's household gods escape the lot of wanderers.

Sertorius is represented as having his camp and headquarters at Osca, at the southern foot of the eastern Pyrenees, a city the site of which the author depicts elaborately; whether with any aid from the real position and scenery of the modern Huesca, we are not able to decide. Orcilis, king of Osca, is described as a meek old man, full of natural dignity and antique wisdom, but too good and too simple to deal with Roman politicians or Greek sophists. His daughter, Myrtilis, a wild and clever girl of sixteen, had for years been a favourite of Sertorius's, and even at this childish age, exerts no small influence over her indulgent father. Her cousin, Vergilia, daughter of the prince of Lucentum,* is a sterner and graver beauty, who has attracted the love of Manlius, quæstor to Sertorius. Manlius is a name historically mentioned in this war; but it is only from our present author that we learn his character and deeds. He is in fact Sertorius's right hand, and his only trusted friend. His duty, for some time, had been to defend Lucentum, in the far south, from forces very superior to his own, and he might ultimately have succeeded, had not Perperna, then marching into Spain, perversely disobeyed Sertorius's instructions, and disconcerted all the arrangements of the campaign. Manlius did his best in sending Vergilia to Osca by

* 'Prince of *Cætubis* and Lucentum,' says the author, in p. 139. Elsewhere he spells it *Setabis*, which agrees with our maps.

Sertorius's galleys, (her father having died) and then bringing off his army safe. Full of self-consequence for his achievements, (the grandeur of which Vergilia—fatherless, houseless, and an exile—does not understand,) he presumes far too much on the certainty of reciprocal affection from her, and alienates and disgusts a heart which he might have won. This decisive result is brought about only gradually; and when Manlius is fully aware of it, he imagines that he has been supplanted by Sertorius, and conceives a hatred for him, embittered by their former intimacy. Perpenna (or rather Perperna,) is next described; a wealthy unprincipled aristocrat, a sort of Catilinarian, who has joined the Marians in this late stage, in disgust that he does not find in Rome all the impunity which he desires for the enormous license which he assumes. In the character of this man is well set forth the pampered luxury, the unbounded presumption, the self-complacent conceit, and the unredeemed vileness, of the bad Romans of that day. Yet we are scarcely pleased with the author's very low intellectual estimate of Perperna, which does not tend to elevate Sertorius.

Plutarch speaks with much respect of his military qualifications; nor was it small credit, that he succeeded in leading off into Spain so large a body of men, when the cause of Marcus Lepidus had utterly failed. The author, indeed, seems not to be aware that Perperna was one of Carbo's generals, (unless he holds this to be a different man,) else he would not represent him as a Sullan until the moment of his coming into Spain. The presumption, indeed, is, that he was a skilful officer; for though political intrigue constantly put forward as consuls, and thereby as commanders in chief, men of no military talents, their lieutenants were only the more carefully chosen on that account. But the higher the military credit of Perperna, so much the more honourable is it to Sertorius that the whole army insisted on having him for their generalissimo. The circumstances of that event have been rather differently represented by the author for the sake of dramatic effect. According to him, Perperna, in a public harangue, assumes to himself the command of Sertorius's legions as well as his own, condescending to leave to the latter the headship of the irregular troops. Sertorius, in reply, absolves the soldiers from their military oath, and allows them—this once—to choose whom they will follow. They zealously prefer Sertorius; and Perperna comes into danger of his life. The result, however, (as here represented) is, that Perperna retains the supreme control of his own army.

Another character whom our author has imagined, is Ahala, chief pontiff to Sertorius's little Rome. The real chief pontiff,

at present, was no other than Metellus Pius, the commander on the opposite side : but as there was at Osca all the semblance of a Roman senate, to suppose high officers of religion there is a legitimate fiction. This man, Ahala, is one of the many, who, according to Gibbon, viewing with eyes of pity and indulgence the follies of the vulgar, condescended to act a part in the theatre of superstition, and hid the heart of an atheist under the robes of a priest. His black and dreary soul is terribly set off by the contrast of his innocent and sweet children ; who poison themselves with the cup of consecrated wine, which he had intended for the lips of Sertorius. The plot is so far laid bare, as in general opinion to implicate Perperna ; but as Ahala slays himself, and no distinct evidence can be attained, Sertorius refuses to act on mere suspicions, and has no alternative but increased vigilance. Meanwhile Manlius had gradually approximated towards Perperna's faction ; and by his help a horrible species of treachery was begun, against which no wisdom could provide. Oppressions and cruelties of various kinds were perpetrated on the native Spaniards in many parts where Sertorius was not present ; and complaint was silenced by the stern whisper that all had been done by Sertorius's order. Thus his popularity with the Spaniards was not only undermined, but gradually changed into aversion. Several towns revolted, in which he had placed great confidence ; so that in self-defence he was driven to many severities contrary to his nature. Of these the following is most censured by Plutarch. He had assembled at Osca the sons of the chief men of many towns at Spain, whom he had trained at school under Roman teachers, and dressed like the children of senators. No doubt several objects were aimed at by him at once. If the rising generation of the Spanish aristocracy became imbued with Roman culture, it was to be hoped that they would have a predilection for Roman life in general, and take a Roman view of politics. For the moment, also, the parents were pleased with it as a distinction conferred : and, lastly, it cannot be doubted that from the beginning Sertorius looked on the children as hostages, little as the parents so intended it. Accordingly, to check the revolt, he now put to death some of them and sold others into slavery, by way of terrifying the towns which still adhered to him : a deed which our author softens, by making Sertorius explain to Myrtilis, when reproached with it, that he has done it only in pretence. The children still live ; those who were sold, were privately redeemed by his order ; but he is forced to submit to be thought cruel by the few, that he may keep a check on the many.

There is no doubt that in this anecdote the author has taken

a liberty with the facts, in order to impart a poetical perfection to his hero's character. If Sertorius had been unable to slay the innocent in order to controul the guilty, it is scarcely conceivable how he could have carried on a guerilla for so many years. We do not now discuss the propriety of war in any case; nor whether the war carried on by a proscribed man, in a foreign land, against the ostensible but iniquitous authorities of his native state, can be strictly defensive, however patriotic in intention. But, granting such war to be right, it seems impossible any longer to be scrupulous as to details. It may be requisite to burn the country far and wide; and if innocent persons in consequence perish from hunger, the general will no doubt allege that they die in the same good cause, as the innocent men who are slain in battle. So, also, if he puts to death a hostage, he will plead, that it is better to take one innocent life, in order to stop a war from breaking out, than have to sacrifice hundreds or thousands in suppressing it. A man who cannot reason and act thus, is probably unfit to be a military commander: that Sertorius was believed by the ancients to be unshrinkingly stern on occasions, is clear from the terrible story that in the midst of a battle, receiving news of a great calamity, he instantly slew the friendly messenger with his own hands, lest the troops should learn the bad news before their work was done. This may be hardly credible, on the ground that the advantage to be gained from the deed is so exceedingly doubtful; for the messenger might already have reported his tidings to hundreds: nevertheless, such a tale could scarcely have gained currency, if Sertorius had not been as unscrupulous while war was raging, as he was gentle and loving in time of peace.

While we desire to make some extracts, we are somewhat embarrassed by the difficulty of giving fair specimens without making them too long. We begin with one which will show the author's power of description, and will introduce the Spanish peasant and his wife:

‘Hardly any region is so desolate as to retain its gloom against the influences of vernal breezes and early sunshine. Rocks, moors, sands, wildernesses, barren as they may be, are then only the less ornamented of nature's children, not her scorn and shame. The wilds which encompassed this habitation of phantoms and visions, were neither sterile nor melancholy:—among the earth's varieties they held an honorable place, as her roomy reservations from the encroachments of man. The long and level valley which lay between these cliffs consecrated to terror on one hand, and the mountain ranges covered with forests, on the other, if its soil were too scanty for stronger vegetation, still was its shallow turf verdant, its sparkling streamlet clear and rapid. And now the loftiest crag brightens in the sunbeams; peaks of granite glow like

topaz pinnacles upon the mountain tops ;—with wings outspread but motionless, the eagle floats around them higher still ;—the dreams and apparitions of the night have passed away.

‘ Days, and sometimes weeks elapsed without any interruption to such silence by man’s presence or pursuits,—the shepherd’s pipe, or hunter’s horn. Travellers usually suspended their adventure till they could gain courage from society, and pass in companies. But now, emerging almost opposite to those cliffs so strongly fortified by superstition, behold a peasant still young, whose contracted brow and compressed lip denote that he is collecting enough of resolution for some perilous exploit. Descending to the daylight from his forest glades, there is a momentary relaxation of such forced alacrity ; his gait becomes irresolute ; it slackens, falters, and soon stops. With one hand shading his eyes from the sunbeams which, by this time, have fallen low enough to dazzle them, he gazes upward on Diana’s sanctuary, Berecynthia’s height, the shrine of Proserpine, or however else it may be described.

‘ His raiment was of a kind best calculated for temperate climates and pastoral occupations. The colour and materials of his single garment in use—only that its hue was more grave, and its texture less delicately woven, were such as soldiers prefer for their tents, seamen for their sails, and millers for their mealsacks. Extending from his neck to his knees, but concealing neither, it was girded about his loins with a wolf-skin belt. If the left arm had not been encumbered by his cloak, no lover of simplicity in apparel could have desired less. Nor was the hesitation in his progress long protracted. After having looked back once or twice into the path by which he came, he resumed his purpose with longer strides, crossed the greensward between the forest and the cliffs, and then depositing his cloak and hempen tunic on the rivulet’s margin, he repeated his ablutions three times with ceremonies carefully protracted and scrupulously minute. From his hollow palm he poured libations to the sun, the air, the ocean, the three divisions of the earth, and the cliffs above his head. That no possible error might exist in the computation, three times did he perfect his offerings and ascend the bank.

‘ Hardly were these solemn rites well dispatched, and his garment replaced, when other and longer interruptions suspended the enterprise. The whole valley resounded with lamentations, and Echo from her crags and caves reclaimed the fugitive. By love, by pity, by the greater gods, and the less,—he was adjured to stop. Men seldom listen so flexibly to the entreaties, or the upbraidings of those who follow them, as when their undertakings are perilous. Spanus had not permitted his religious obligations to suffer through excess of eagerness. The supplications of love are powerfully seconded by a consciousness that wisdom is circumspect, and that we are rash. Unlike many other people, he felt more in dread of Proserpine or Destiny, than of his wife. Deaf or obdurate, at any time, must he have been who could resist adjurations so pitiful as these. The bewildered peasant’s ears were opened and quickened by their proximity to the cliffs, and he had a tender heart.

‘ Small space, indeed, would have been allowed him for the remonstrances of cruelty. Whatever doubt may have appeared in his own advances toward this habitation of terror, there was none in his pursuer’s.

The valley had been crossed, and the brook forded, before he could find time for stubbornness. Sexual dignity required that he should be subdued if subdued at all, by blandishments and entreaties adequate to his concessions. He stood awhile like the column of a temple which may be embraced, but not shaken. Nor was it till the unhappy Porsa had so far recovered her breath, after its profuse expenditure in haste, terror, and supplication, as to remind him, amidst sobs and tears, of his children and his household gods,—of Juno, at whose altars he had sworn,—of Jugatinus and Domiducus,—of Pan and Pales,—the Dryades and Orestiades,—that he prepared to yield. But when she released his neck, slipping from the bosom that she might embrace his knees, the compassionate Spanus raised her with a sigh, silently seating her on the rivulet's margin, and himself beside her.

'Prayers, however fervent, are partly modulated by custom. Grief, however simple or tender, must express itself as nature has been educated by example. The pious Porsa felt that no extremity of terror or sorrow should dispense with a long enumeration particularising sacred names and ancient ceremonies. Nay, as a slip now might have consequences more disastrous than ever before, she thought that the greatness of the occasion would require proportionable care, and especial solemnity.

'*Porsa*.—Helpless and forsaken, of all mothers the most miserable,—woe is me! What is it that I have done? Rebuke and punish me if thou hast been displeased—but do not leave me, Spanus! Bethink thee of those doves placed by us on the altar of Venus, before our spousals; on the spear's head which parted, and the coronet of roses which circled my tresses after them; the three boys and the five torches which conducted me from my mother's door! What avails it that the deities sent to us, each by the bird or beast which he loves the best, some token of his favour, then? That the mountains welcomed me with their pleasant voices; the streams laughed, and the trees were glad—if I must become at last thus desolate, of all women the most unhappy! Even yet will I believe that thou didst love me once.

'*Spanus*.—I loved thee, Porsa, not as I then told thee, but far more than I was able to tell, when one garland was hung by me, in the morning, on thy mother's door, and another on mine own, at eve. When I lifted thee high above the threshold lest thy feet should touch it; and though no children were yet there to gather them, when I scattered nuts about the floor, I loved thee, innocent as Diana's youngest nymph, and fairer than Hebe at the footstool of Jupiter. Time, which corrupts and consumes the feeble, may perfect the strong. Neither then, nor ever since then, did I love thee with such might and honour as now I do.

'*Porsa*.—Is it because love grows greater and more honorable that thou wouldst flee from me thus?

'*Spanus*.—It is from thy misery that I would flee; thy patience, thy silence, and the sight of those tears.'—vol i., pp. 62—68.

A prevailing fault in the dialogue, especially of the Roman grandees with the Spanish ladies, is a certain want of ease. There is a rather ambitious attempt to say something good: its

terseness and sportiveness is too artificial, and often difficult to understand; yet, in seeking to avoid common-place, this opposite error is almost venial, so hard is it to steer between both. For this reason we decline to cite any more of the dialogues, and select a second passage from the narrative of the battle near the Sucro :

‘ The charge was sounded, the hastati had thrown their spears, the principes and triarii were hand to hand and in many parts intermixed. Sertorius had hewn his way amidst frightful carnage and confusion to the eagle under which his supposed antagonist appeared, when he discovered that it was not Pompeius whom he saw, but Afranius. Afranius never had been so much esteemed by his own general as by Sertorius, in whose temper and position there was no place for jealousy. At the same moment intelligence arrived that Pompeius had thrown into disorder the left wing of the confederates—that Capito was unable to sustain his weight—and that if he were encountered at all, he must be looked for without delay.

‘ Entrusting his two legions to Cæso and Publius, the prætor sprang upon a horse at all times held ready in his rear, and hastened so rapidly where his presence was demanded, that the contubernales were left behind. But in the crowd of soldiers ill arrayed, feebly fighting, half fugitive, his voice was instantly recognised, as it had always been. The cohorts rallied at its first cry, like school-boys in mischief surprised by the advent of their master; re-formed their ranks; inclined their spears and standards in the opposite direction; the contubernales and ablecti arrived; and at length Sertorius and Pompeius found themselves face to face. Their interview lasted but for a moment. In the crash and tumult by which the advance of Sertorius was, at all times, distinguished as his, Pompeius fell, with his charger under him. He was wounded, no one knew by whom. If the African mercenaries, who fought so furiously, first with the enemy, and then with each other, had not—by encumbering the ground—obstructed pursuit, he would have remained in the hands of his opponent. They crowded between, struggling to secure, not Pompeius, but his horse! Dazzled by the plates and chains of gold, the crimson furniture and other proconsular decorations, their eyes were diverted from its rider. Sertorius lost his hopes by less than fifty yards, but the victory on this side was complete.

‘ Everywhere else, it inclined the other way. Deserted by his example, neither the prætor’s right wing, nor his right centre, had been able to maintain his ground. They were opposed to the bravest and steadiest cohorts of the republic. Afranius forced back the half centre, and overthrew both legions. He followed them to that confused assemblage of terrified slaves—of cattle without owners—tents not yet erected—burdens not yet appropriated—the scattered and confounded *impedimenta* which should have constituted a camp. Afranius knew nothing of his general’s disaster, and it was now almost dark. The last intelligence which he had received represented Pompeius as a conqueror earlier than himself. He supposed that as the enemy had disappeared, the battle was decided—that the proconsul was in pursuit of the prætor,

and that the spoils which lay scattered before him, were his own. His soldiers were permitted to pillage a camp, if we may call it such, which had been left unfortified, unguarded, and in the wildest disorder.

‘Sertorius, who never suffered himself to remain destitute of intelligence, even while the battle was at its crisis, called back his left wing and left centre from pursuit, and returning with victory, though without Pompeius, he fell upon the soldiers of Afranius, scattered as they were in this blind labyrinth, bewildered by night and terror, and encumbered by their plunder. Such as were not put to the sword, escaped separately, and in the darkness unrecognised, through the ranks, and between the weapons, of their enemies.

‘In all ages of the world, there has been the same supposed necessity for falsehood which no one long believes. Pompeius in his epistles to Rome, called this a victory. He and his diminished legions were sheltered that night behind their intrenchments, after having been saved by its darkness. When Sertorius presented himself next morning at dawn of day, Metellus was in sight. It became expedient that the prætor should retire before two armies now united, and till the arrival of Perpenna, each equal to his own. He fell back in the direction of his colleague—but with gaiety suitable to the occasion and the present temper of his hearers, he said—‘If the old woman had not run to his assistance, I would have flogged this boy a second time, and sent him back to Rome.’—vol. ii., pp. 9—13.

Towards the latter part of the tale the interest thickens, although we become in a manner angry at Sertorius’s too great forbearance. In the dreadful scene of the assassination, the author is very successful, but we could not quote less than the whole. The arrest of the traitor Manlius by the order of young Myrtilis, and her frantic driving of her father’s chariot into the midst of the camp, is Homeric in conception, and finely executed. The scene between Manlius in chains and Myrtilis, before the dead body of Vergilia, who slew herself when her country’s last hope expired with Sertorius, is also majestic and appalling. But perhaps the best imagined event is in the closing chapter, in which much high tragedy is contained. After Pompey has possessed himself of Perperna’s camp, almost with the good-will of the Sertorians, he has Perperna executed on the spot, learning that he has read the secret papers of Sertorius, which contained letters from great numbers of senators at Rome. The whole portfolio he forthwith publicly consigned to the fire. This is a historical fact, and Pompey’s prudence in the act was highly celebrated. But the author adds, that Manlius was dismissed by Pompey, and became a wanderer and outcast, a second Cain, abhorred by all who knew him, and loathing himself for his fruitless and infatuated crime. At length, in extreme destitution, he approaches the house of Spanus, not far from the Sanctuary of Fate and the Furies, and demands food as a famished soldier.

From him first Spanus extracts the sad tidings that his benefactor Sertorius is slain. The dialogue between them is fearful, though the stranger does not name the assassin. When a little strengthened by food, he implores the peasant to accompany him a little way, in order to do him a service.

‘ He snatched his sword from the hand of Spanus, and passed downward by the brook’s side. Porsa shuddered when her husband left her, but she said nothing.

‘ At first, the compassionate peasant followed his guest that he might recal him, and when expostulations availed not, he still followed that he might learn his purpose, and serve him as a guide. They walked in silence after his hospitable remonstrances had been disregarded, till that wider valley was reached which inspired terror even yet, though some of its remembrances were so happy. At its farther side ran the more copious rivulet, and the sacred cliffs rose high above. They looked wan and ghastly illumined by the fading sun-beams, and contrasted with the lurid skies behind them. As his last dissuasion to the wanderer, Spanus reminded him that the clouds were stormy and the night threatening.

‘ *Spanus*.—There is tempest in the heavens. As soon as the sun-beams are withdrawn, its lightnings will be visible. I pray thee return.

‘ *Soldier*.—If thou hast compassion on the miserable, let me sleep here, and I acquit thee of the rest. The armour, take it, or leave it, as thou wilt; but slay me here and bury me to-night.

‘ *Spanus*.—I slay thee! The Gods forbid! Why should I slay thee!

‘ *Soldier*.—Because it is their will.

‘ *Spanus*.—Their will wants not my aid.

‘ *Soldier*.—Then let this labour be divided between us. There is now strength enough in mine own hands. I would rather have entrusted the office to thine as surer and abler, for my sword has failed me twice. If I take the first half of violence—the other, of charity, will neither affright thee nor oppress thee. We Romans would not lie unburied. Come they whence they may, superstitions torment us. Give me a little dust to cover me from the skies. Promise that thou wilt hide me beneath the turf from the foxes and the eagles? I claim it of thee as a guest.

‘ *Spanus*.—Forbear till thou has heard me. Our last moments can hardly require too much from that patience which they are absolving and dismissing.

‘ *Soldier*.—I have not waited long—but I have searched vainly. Take heed, shepherd! He is cursed who leaves the dead exposed! Remember this! Hide me deep enough from the eagles—from that look of wonder—that smile—from the wolves and the ravens.

‘ *Spanus*.—Let me speak. The same thoughts once burned in mine own heart—standing here on the same spot. I too was miserable. The Gods appeared to have despised me. My children had no food—they and their mother henceforth could have no succour from me. I stood here and looked upward to those cliffs. In every place are the eternal presence and wisdom of Destiny, but there is her sanctuary, her throne, her abode! The same day saw me happy—nor has any day since then,

till now, seen me otherwise than happy. Hast thou courage to place the burden of thy calamities at her feet.

‘*Soldier*.—Destiny has declared her will to me long ago—and her messengers are behind me. Yet, if Destiny can render me no more miserable than I am, why not? Make haste, shepherd, or I shall be there before thee.

‘They crossed the valley—they forded the brook—and after having paused a moment while the soldier collected his breath and Spanus prayed, they addressed themselves to ascend the cliffs. The compassionate peasant trembled as he crept in silence from root to root and rock to rock. He too had been wretched, and he would hazard much if he might guide the yet more desperate and miserable to the same mercy. It was an enterprise which required hands as well as feet, and if by any means attainable, the encouragements of hope. His companion was too weak for equal speed, but he toiled vehemently. If the least active, he was the most eager. Spanus sometimes held him by the wrist, lifted him from above, and waited for him till he had regained his breath; but neither spoke.

‘Even from that height, the sun had set. At length they rested themselves upon a standing-place unincumbered by trees, and commanding the whole valley in one direction—its grassy level and winding brook. Spanus recognised the spot by the prospect which he beheld from it. He had rested there once before. ‘We part now,’ whispered the peasant. ‘A few steps higher, and thou wilt surmount the cliff. Safe upon its summit, incline easily toward the left. The sound of water will guide thee to its fountain, and to an altar breast high bearing the similitude of three heads. Kneel there.’ The panting and reeling wanderer leaned for support, during one moment, upon his shoulder. Low mutterings of thunder were heard above; and in the twilight, more than one faint flash had preceded them.

‘*Soldier*.—Dost stop here?

‘*Spanus*.—Few human eyes have looked upon that altar even once. It is said that the Gods themselves approach it reluctantly at first, and tremblingly a second time. I go no farther—but take heart! It was from this spot that I first saw good fortune.

‘*Soldier*.—In what form?

‘*Spanus*.—The noblest and most gracious till treachery had destroyed it—the form of Sertorius while he returned with victory. Look down where the rivulet bends inwards. His lictors preceded—his legions followed him. One hand rested on a horse’s mane, while he conversed gaily with the rider. The sacred fawn then lay upon my knees: it was I who brought her to him from the altar.

‘*Soldier*.—Who says so? Art thou he? Is this the place? I neither sought it, nor thought of it! Bewildered among the mountains, I knew not where I was. Why go farther in search of that which may be found here? Shepherd, thou wilt slay me now? Take this sword back, and hold the point upwards, fixing its hilt upon the ground. Fool and coward! hold it for Sertorius! His hand rested on a horse’s mane—he conversed gaily with his rider—the horse was mine—my servants slew his fawn, and I himself.

‘ *Spanus*.—Thou didst this ?

‘ *Soldier*.—I, Manlius.

‘ *Spanus* dropped the sword, and covered his face. Were these the pure hands, the pious lips, which he should have conducted hither ? Had Manlius slain him ? What mercy might either find ? What endurance was there for himself ? Awakening from his trance, he heard the boughs rustling above his head—his companion had left his sword where it lay, and was already on the cliffs. ‘ Accursed parricide ! ’ said he, “ death itself abhors thee—thou art forsaken even by thy sword ! Let the Furies be thy companions. They have hunted thee among the mountains, and have driven thee hither ! They watch thee, and pursue thee to the feet of Destiny—what need of me ? ’ ’

We have quoted enough, and written enough, we hope, to commend these interesting volumes to the attention of the reader. In conclusion, we may venture to suggest to the author, that the axes of the consul’s lictors were the symbol of the *martial* law, which he exercised without controul in the camp, and not of the *civil* law, as he seems to imagine (vol. i. p. 99).

Art III.—*The Minstrelsy of the English Border : being a Collection of Ballads, ancient, remodelled, and original ; founded on well known Border Legends. With Illustrative Notes.* By Frederic Sheldon. Longmans.

It is scarcely surprising that the ancient ballad should be the most popular of the many departments of antiquarian literature, when we consider its peculiarities. Intended emphatically for the people—stamped with the popular character—dealing wholly with popular subjects, whether the feast or the fray—whether telling, in the homeliest common-place,

‘ Some natural tale of joy or pain,
That hath been, and will be again ;’

or, with rude spirit, some story of the wildly marvellous ; but still appealing to common joys, and common hopes, and common fears ; undergoing, too, a constant process of modernization, vexatious enough to the antiquary, which renders them additionally acceptable to the many, old ballads have formed through every generation a most important branch of ‘ folk-lore ;’ and they have formed, too, a pleasant kind of ‘ antiquarianism made easy,’ for the beginner in such studies. Indeed, it is curious to trace how a taste for the ancient ballad, mostly forms

the earliest manifestation of antiquarian feeling in communities as well as individuals ; and how the collection of fragments of national song, almost invariably precedes the publication of more strictly antiquarian works.

In an historical point of view, we can attach little importance indeed to the ancient ballads. The very circumstance of their being composed for the populace during a period when the knowledge of passing events circulated both slowly and imperfectly, must ever prevent them from being viewed in any way as correct versions of the history of that period. But, as indications of popular feeling during a time of political excitement, they are extremely valuable ; and they are still more so, as transcripts of the popular character. None but Englishmen—pointed out by foreign writers, both in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as possessing a measure of freedom astounding to the continental nations—could have originated the Robin Hood ballads ; and none but an enterprising race which, ere long, was to plant colonies in every part of the globe, could have delighted in those many ballads of the following century, which told the wild adventures of the mariner on the high seas, or the daring, and the high fortune that rewarded that daring—of the London 'prentice, or 'marchaunte of Bristowe,' even at the court of the Grand Turk. Subsidiary to *local* history, too, ballads have, however, a frequent value. The event which has given a name to some spot on the hills, or some nook within the wood, chronicled in the ballad, has thus escaped oblivion ; and the feud which, generations ago, separated and set in battle array two powerful families, has still a record in the rude rhyme of some faithful follower, though unregistered in the muniment rolls of either house. In the present day, therefore, when traces of the past are so rapidly wearing away, we have often thought that a collection of the old ballads of each county—the genuine ones, and given in all their literal rudeness—might form an important accession to our stock of information as to the general character and feelings of past times, as well as a record of many a minor event which might, perhaps, serve as links to more important ones.

The volume before us contains a collection of ballads, all relating to border traditions, of which some are ancient, some written by modern hands, some have been remodelled by the editor, and some are original. Against the remodelling of old ballads we must enter our protest. It is only as they are genuine, that such remains have any value ; and, although we should not characterize Mr. Sheldon's effort as 'rash,' in 'plucking the nettles away that choked the healthy growth of the young, fresh, and budding flowers,' as he remarks in his preface, we

certainly consider, to follow out his figure, the planting of *new* flowers in their place to be so. Let the ballad, as far as consistent with correct taste, be presented *verbatim*; while for those passages which a coarser age approved, but which we justly repudiate, let blanks be left, or, as may often be done, let the objectionable passages be simply left out; for there is seldom indeed, in these old compositions, such condensation of style, that it is necessary to preserve every verse.

The first ballad of this series, a very spirited one—we should like, however, to know, whether the tradition on which it is founded, is *really* authentic—seems to us to be partly old and partly new, and this takes off much of its undoubted merit. The story, that of a father who would give his daughter to that suitor only, who should bear her to the summit of the mountain without setting her down, is exactly, even to the catastrophe of the young man dying of exhaustion, that which forms the subject of the sixth lay of Marie de France, and which she entitles ‘*Le Lai des deux Amans*.’ In this graceful Anglo-Norman poem, the scene is laid near Rouen, and the tradition still exists among the Norman peasantry. The existence therefore of a similar tale respecting North Berwick Law, the scene of this ballad, is very singular. The next, entitled ‘*Seton’s Sons*,’ is founded on what is, we think, an apocryphal story of Edward the Third’s revenge against the governor of Berwick. The style is a very good imitation of the genuine old ballad; but the phrase ‘*sayler loons*’ is altogether modern. ‘*Marinere*,’ was the word during the middle ages, and we are inclined to think the synonym ‘*sailor*’ was not adopted until the ancient practice of using oars or sweeps, had been wholly superseded by *sails*. In the ballad of the ‘*Ladye of Barmoor*,’ which is founded on a story common throughout the north, of a woman taking the form of a hare, and when chased, distancing every dog in the country, but at last being slain by a charmed arrow, or bullet, the old style is so spiritedly imitated, that we are almost vexed the illusion should be dispelled by the last line, which represents her when buried at four cross roads, as lying ‘*with a bible at her feet*.’ The bible was too expensive, as well as too sacred, to have ever been used for such a purpose. The fifth is a genuine old ballad; although we should certainly place its composition, if not the era of Duncan Frazer, who claims the authorship, in the fifteenth century, rather than a full century earlier. The tale itself belongs to a very early period, and probably was brought over by the Danes at their first settlement in these parts. Indeed, the numerous Danish, or Scandinavian, legends, to be met with all along the eastern coast, from Berwick to Essex, in the various forms of popular superstitions, ballads,

and nursery tales, proves forcibly how completely this portion of England was colonized by the Danes. The ballad here referred to is, 'The Laidley-Worm o' Spindleston Heugh.' Here is the beginning :

'The King is gone from Bambro' Castle :
 Long may the Princess mourn,
 Long may she stand on the Castle wall,
 Looking for his returne.

She has knotted the keys upon a stryng,
 And wi' her she has them taen,
 She has cast them oure her left shoudher,
 And to the Castle she is gane.

She trippit out, she trippit in,
 She tript into the yard ;
 But it was more for the King his sake,
 Than for the Queen's regarde.

It fell out on a day, the Kinge
 Brought his Quenis home ;
 And all the Lords in the north countrie
 To welcome them did come.

'Oh, welcome, my father,' the damsel cries,
 'Agayn to your halls and bowers ;
 And so are you, my fayre step mother,
 For all these things are yours.'

Out cried a Lord, while the damsel spake,
 'This Princess of the north
 Surpasses all the maiden feres
 In beauty and in worth.'

The envious Queen out cried at last,
 'You mought have excepted me ;
 But in a little I'll bring this mome
 Down to a low degree.'—p. 59.

The poor princess—by the way, 'princess' is an evident modernization, for the title was seldom used in the middle ages—is therefore turned into 'a long worm,' by which the reader may understand either a serpent, or dragon, 'worm' being the original Scandinavian as well as old English name for all such. As she is very poisonous, the grass not growing where she breathed, and, moreover, having an enormous appetite, 'word went east, and word went west,' as well as over the sea, of this fearful visitation, until,—

‘ Word went easte, and word went west,
Worde oure the sea did go ;
Childe Wynd, he got a wyte of it,
Which filled his heart with woe.

He called straight to him his merry men all,
They thirty were and three ;
‘ I wish I were at Spindleston Heugh,
This deadly worm to see.’

‘ We have no time here for to waste,
Let’s owre the salt seas sail ;
My only syster burd Margaret
Some sickness haplys ail.’

They built a ship without delay,
Wi’ masts of the rowan tree ;
Wi’ fluttering sails of sylk so fine,
And set her on the sea.

They went on borde withouten stop,
The wind blew oure the sea ;
At length they spied a huge square tower,
Upon a rock so high.

The sea was calm, and the lift was clear,
When they sailed coastyng nigher,
King Ida’s castell they wot it was,
And the banks of Bambroughshire.

The Queen looked out o’ her bower sae fyne,
To see what she should see ;
There she espyed a gallant shyp
Sailing upon the sea.

When she beheld the silken sails,
Full glancing in the sun,
To sink the shyp she sent awa’
Her witches every one.

Their gramarye was all vain,
Before the Queen they stood ;
Crying ‘ Witches have no power,
Where there is rowan tree wood.’

She stormed in rage, and sent a boat,
Which in the haven lay,
With armed men to board the shyp—
Childe Wynd drove them away.

The worm leapt up, the worm leapt down,
 She plaited round the stane,
 And aye, as the shyp cam to the land,
 She banged it off again.

The Child he sailed his shyp from her reach,
 And ran it on Budley sand ;
 And jumping into the sea shallows,
 Securely got to land.

And now he drew his berry brown sword,
 And laid it on her head,
 And swore gif she did harm agayn,
 That he would stryk her dead.

' O quit thy sword, unbend thy brow,
 And give me kisses three ;
 For though I am a poisonous worm,
 No hurt I'll do to thee.

' O quit thy sword, unbend thy brow,
 And give me my kisses three ;
 If I'm not won ere the sun goes downe,
 Won shall I never be.'

He quitted his sword, and smoothed his brow,
 He gave her kisses three ;
 She crept untill the hole a worm,
 And came out a fayre ladye.'—pp. 62—65.

We should rather imagine that the 'old original' composition ended here, since an abrupt ending is a characteristic of the ancient ballad which we have seldom been deceived in. Duncan Frazer, however, has a proper sense of poetical justice, and therefore represents the spiteful queen as being turned into a toad. The incident recorded in these rude rhymes, was a very popular one with the metrical romance-writers of the middle ages ; for, singularly enough, the serpent, although known only by description to the nations of northern Europe, plays as important a part in their legends, as in those of the East.

'Mordington's Chase' is, we should think, altogether modern. It is merely the story of the Wild Huntsman, doomed to hunt until the judgment-day—a legend which has never been naturalized, so to speak, in England. The tale of 'Sir Gillum of Myddleton,' is one of that numerous class, which involves a more solemn doctrine than the light-hearted reader, or hearer, might dream of. The incident may be met with in story and ballad

in many parts of England, and very probably was founded in fact. A knight owes his safety to his gallant steed: but alarmed by the prophecy of an old crone that the steed shall be his death, he seeks to avert it by killing the faithful animal. Years pass on: the bones of the steed whiten on the sea-shore: when walking with a friend he tells him the circumstance, striking his foot at the same time against the skeleton head. The good steed has indeed been killed, and most unjustly; but the injury the knight feared from the living horse, he receives from its remains, for a splinter enters his foot, the wound mortifies, and he dies, leaving the solemn lesson, that the threatened doom cannot, though foretold, be averted, but despite of the utmost ingenuity and caution, '*che sara, sara,*' it must come to pass.

A tale more strictly belonging to the Border, is that of 'The Worme of Lambtone,' which, although one of the common tales of a gallant knight overcoming a huge serpent, is curious from the resemblance the conclusion bears to the story of Jephtha. The knight is warned, that if after killing this 'Worm' he does not put to death the first creature he meets, then—

'Lambtone's Lords, for nine descents,
Shall ne'er die in their bedde,'

The young knight therefore blows his horn, to summon his hound; but his aged father, overjoyed at his son's escape, rushes forth to meet him:

'When Lambtone saw hys father come,
He allmost fell wyth grief;
'I must not kyll my sire,' he saide,
'If never comes relyfe.

'Oh father, wherefore came you here,
And not fyrst loosed my hounde?
The next thing that I see I'll slay,'
And loud his bugle wound.

His staghounde heard the well-known blast,
O'er hill and holt he flewe;
And comynge to the fatal rocke,
The Knyght hym fellie slewe.

Too late he made the sacrifice,
'My vow is kept,' he sayde;
Butte the Lambtone Lords, for nine descents
Ne'er died withyn their bedde.'—p. 304.

And this tradition is strictly believed among the Dur am

peasantry, for by a singular coincidence, nine "Lords of Lambtone" in succession, were either slain in battle, or lost their lives by accident. The ballad of 'Countess Joan's Garter,' is founded, not only on that most apocryphal story of the institution of the order of the Garter, but on the mistake, fallen into, however, by Froissart himself, respecting the Countess of Salisbury, who, so far from being the admired lady of Edward the Third, was actually the wife of his son the Black Prince.* But however apocryphal the ballad of the 'Countess Joan,' may be, that which records the flight of the Countess of Cassilis, with the Gipsy laddie, has, we have little doubt, foundation in truth. It is curious to observe how wide the circulation of this spirited old ballad has been; few of the lower classes even in London, being unacquainted with it. This might perhaps be owing to the very lively tune, to which we recollect hearing it sung in our childhood; but it might also arise from the interest, half pleasing, half fearful, which the lower classes, during the last century felt for the Gypsies, and for the fate, both of the lady who so madly left her castle, for the wild woods, and the seven 'so brisk, and bonnie O,' but who were justly

' Hanged all in a row,
For the earl of Castle's leddy, O ! '

Among the more ancient ballads in this collection, are several which record some deadly feud of the border families, or the misdeeds of some noted 'robber and reiver.' Unfortunately one of the most spirited of the latter, is so horrible a tale of outrage, and deadly revenge, that although valuable as a genuine ancient ballad, it really seems out of place here. Some traditions, which Mr. Sheldon has woven with much skill into ballads, are however of a pleasant and lively character. Such is 'Meikle Mouthed Meg, or the Wife of the Wuddy.' It begins in the true ballad style—

• The moonbeam glints on tower and hill,
It's hey for the bonny moonlight ;
• Gae saddle my steed, ise ride betimes
The English Border to night.'

• Tak tent gude lad, the Warder's men
Are riding owre the land ;'
• Tuts ! sax Scots lads will keep twa score
Of sic feckless loons at a stand.'—p. 352.

* The date at the commencement of the ballad, is a strange oversight, for it was just one century earlier, 1342.

O, they were twenty stout and bold,
 Mounted on active naigs ;
 Some arm'd wi' guns and Jeddart staves,
 Wi' iron round their craigs.

Young Scott o' Harden, led them on
 To the lands o' Elibank ;
 ' Gude faith, I wat Sir Gideon
 Will no his kindness thank.'

And indeed he had no cause, for young Scott, and his followers 'lifted' every head of cattle, and were returning with them, when Sir Gideon, who had been slyly watching, pursued him with a larger company and took him prisoner. Now Sir Gideon's daughters, as the report went on the border, were wholly ungifted with that indispensable requisite of a ballad heroine — beauty, and one, in particular, from the width of her mouth, had received the not very complimentary *soubriquet* of 'Meikle Mouthed Meg.' The young man during the fight having taunted the father with his daughter's ugliness, the old man now determines forthwith to hang him, and meanwhile thrusts him into a dungeon. His wife, however, is a prudent dame, and thinks he may do better.

' And what, Lord Gideon,' said his dame,
 ' Will ye do wi' young Scott ?'
 ' Do ye see yonder branch o' the elm,
 For that shall be his lot.'

' O gudeman,' quo' his pitying dame,
 ' Ye could na do this thing,
 For lifting a pickle o' your nowt,
 Sae braw a lad to hing.'

' What mercy did ever a Scott o' them
 E'er shew to me or mine ?
 The rieving Scotts shall surely weep,
 The last of all their line.'

She said ' But we have dochters three,
 And they are no weel faured,
 When ye've a husband to your hand,
 To hang him wad be hard.'—p. 357.

The old knight, after some farther consideration, is won to this prudent suggestion, and judging that a man threatened with a 'tippet of tow,' will not be particularly scrupulous as to the beauty of the wife who is to rescue him, determines on offering 'Meikle Mouthed Meg,' to his prisoner. Sir Gideon pro-

ceeds to young Scott's cell, and makes him the offer, which is scornfully rejected—the very fame of this wide mouthed maiden being enough, it would seem—so he leaves his prisoner in high dudgion, threatening that ‘death shall be your bride.’ At midnight young Scott is visited by a maiden who kindly offers to do his last bidding, and to carry word to his mother of his fate. He is moved by her pity and gentleness, and when in answer to his entreaties, she unveils her face, he is so struck with its open expression, that he declares he only wishes that she were ‘Meikle Mouthed Meg.’ He writes a hasty letter to his mother, which she promises to carry, and prepares for the gallows tree. The interview which takes place with his mother, who urges him to marry the wide-mouthed Meg, greatly injures the effect of this spirited ballad, we shall therefore go at once to the conclusion. Young Scott is brought forth to be hanged, and Sir Gideon now at this ‘last time of asking,’ repeats his question.—

‘The wuddy still before the wife,’
Young Harden stoutly said,
‘And wi’ the hemp around my throat,
I’ll spit on the ground ye tread.’

They led him forth to the gallows tree,
When he saw that mayden there,
Who at her risk, unto his mother
Carried his last letter.

The thoughts o’ the gallows could not stir
The heart o’ that dauntless Chief,
But the weeping look o’ that young girl,
It pierced his soul wi’ grief.

And while the tear hung in her eye,
He took her lily hand ;
And said, ‘Thy heart is far too meek,
For such a ruffian band.

‘Hear me, Murray, speak my mind,
I care not for thy word ;
I’d rather marry this poor mayden,
If should my life be spared,

‘Than ever I’d wed thy daughter Meg,’
Sir Gideon clapped his hand ;
‘A bargain, I take thee at thy word,
Young Scott, where dost thou stand.’

They buckled them in holy bonds,
 The priest he prayed the while ;
 And when the marriage knot was tied,
 Sir Gideon blyth did smile.

His mother fell upon his neck,
 ‘ God bless my bairn, he’s free ;
 And bless the bonny lassie yet,
 Wha brought the word to me.’

‘ I give thee a father’s blessing, Sir,’
 The Murray blythly cried ;
 ‘ For what ?’—The lassie modest said,
 ‘ Meikle Mouthed Meg’s your bride.’

Oh, then sore shame fell on the Scott,
 And tears came in his eyes ;
 ‘ And is my bride the scorned Meg
 That I did soe despise ?

‘ Let no man hate what he’s not seen,
 The shame on me doth lay ;
 I rose this morning for my death,
 And it ends in my bridal day !’—pp. 370—372.

With this pleasant story, we close our extracts, again repeating our wish that the old *county* ballads could be preserved from oblivion. We use the word *county*, advisedly, for all acquainted with ballad lore, are well aware that many, indeed most of the popular ballads, are to be met with in various parts of the kingdom, sometimes with variations, but more frequently with little, or none. Such ballads, therefore, may safely be rejected, for they are sure to be found on some ‘broadside,’ or in some ‘garland.’ But those which illustrate the feelings of the peasantry of a county, during any period of popular commotion, or record some county tradition, these are the relics we wish to see preserved, for independently of the interest we naturally feel in the tale that has amused successive generations, it may sometimes possess a subordinate historical value.

There is yet another point, to which we wish attention could be directed—this is, the *tunes* to which these old ballads were sung. England has long been taunted as being destitute of national melodies, and her children have quietly taken up the reproach, without troubling themselves to enquire, whether it is really well founded. Now many of our ancient song tunes possess much beauty ; and many snatches of old ballad tunes, which we have heard, have also a character of peculiar sweetness—reminding us often of the simple melody of the village

chimes, from whence perhaps in some instances, their pleasant cadence has been taken. We think too, that could an extensive collection of these ballad tunes be made, we should find marked differences in the character of the melodies of the various parts of England. We wish our suggestion had been adopted in the volume now before us, for the tunes would have added much to the interest of the work, and from what we know of the melodies of the Tyne and the Wear, we think they would have been most acceptable to the lover of music. Nor let the advocate of graver studies, consider researches like these trifling. Whatever contributes to a clearer apprehension of the state and feelings of the mass of the people in past times, can never be valueless. In antiquarian studies, as in all others, we should seek for a *complete* view, and without the old ballad, and the old tune, that complete view cannot be attained. The botanist must preserve the common weed, and simple wild flower, as well as the gorgeous productions of tropical climes; and in the cabinet of the naturalist, the least singing bird has a place, as well as the kingly eagle.

Art. IV.—*Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles. With an Appendix, in continuation of the Inspired History, by a Sketch of the Revelation.*
By James Bennett, D.D., pp. 473. London; John Gladding.

'THE Acts of the Apostles' is eminently worthy of the studious attention of the believer in Christianity, whether as containing a history of important transactions and events, as describing the development of the Christian church, or as constituting a link in the chain of Scripture evidence. The lover of interesting narratives will find nothing more charming than the artless and graphic records of Luke; the inquirer after the ecclesiastic principles and practices of those who had the ordering and establishment of the kingdom of heaven, cannot dispense with his information respecting their 'ways in Christ;' while every Christian may find in his history some of the most effectual weapons of defence against infidel impeachments, and mythical interpretations, of the New Testament writings.

Dr. Bennett has done well in adding these 'Lectures' to those which he formerly published on the history of Jesus Christ, thus presenting to the church a valuable commentary on the whole of the inspired histories of the New Testament.

In expounding the Acts of the Apostles, he has made the basis of comment, a translation 'as literal as possible,' justly observing, that 'there is no book of the New Testament which demands more imperatively than the Acts, an appeal from our authorised version to the Greek. For the ignorance, or prejudices, of our translators, and the commands of their conceited king, have combined to corrupt, in a peculiar manner, this portion of the word of God.' Employing his own version, which, in many instances, is much to be preferred to the authorised one, and in most serves advantageously to break the spell of technical ideas, he proposes the proper aim of such a writer, namely, 'to keep constantly in view the genius of the Acts, which is historical.' 'If God,' he remarks, 'has varied his revelation, why should we confound all distinctions by a sameness of exposition? Let the epistles teach us Christian doctrine, and the Acts make us acquainted with ecclesiastical history. It had been easy and pleasant to indulge in theological reflections, where Luke has confined himself to facts; but he who makes us better acquainted with the inspired history of the church, is the real expositor of the Acts.' It would have been well if such a principle had been observed by all that have undertaken similar tasks. To realize a mistaken conception of gospel preaching, or to prevent a false and foolish outcry against its omission, are poor substitutes for the wise and full interpretation of the free and natural records of Scripture.

It is, of course, a mere matter of justice, in considering any work, to 'regard the writer's end.' In the case before us, that end appears to be the making general readers acquainted with the contents of an important portion of Scripture. Biblical scholars will not obtain any fresh light on the various mixed questions to which Luke's history has given rise. Of original disquisition there is little, or none. In leaving the reader to the marginal dates with the remark, that they 'are as nearly right as, perhaps, any that have been framed, from Capel, down to our day,' the author only presents a specimen of his general mode of dealing with a large class of matters. This is not to be censured. Every writer has a perfect right to select his own purpose, and, whatever his competency may be to attain a higher and more difficult one, should be honoured if that which he does attain be good. Looking at the volume, as contemplating the instruction and edification of the popular mind, we can speak of it in terms of commendation. It possesses, in a high degree, many of the qualities which should mark such a volume. It is the condensed result of much labour. There is no lack of the requisite learning. He who should attempt to

expound the Acts with a mind ill-furnished with sound and varied knowledge, would speedily discover or expose the greatness of his folly. Dr. Bennett is, above many, 'a scribe well instructed' for the work; and his work, consequently, comprises a great body of valuable interpretations, explanations, and illustrations, of inspired history. There are few subjects on which information is likely to be craved by the popular student, that are not referred to at less or greater length, and generally in an instructive manner. The author is known to be a staunch defender of congregational views of church polity, and an uncompromising opponent of state-churchism. This is important in connection with the present publication. As men make selections of Scripture to suit the nature of any theological creed, so can men deal with the facts of history. Nor does this imply dishonesty or intentional perversion. 'Facts' may be 'stubborn things,' but the difficulty is to find them. The things that pass under the name are generally remarkable for their yielding properties. Their stubbornness is not in themselves, but in those who use them. Who that knows how the real merits of most important passages of history, involving questions of political and ecclesiastical principle, are debated,—who that is acquainted with the quiet confidence with which each sect draws its own notions of theology and the church from the New Testament, but must deem it well that the exposition of the Acts has fallen into the hands of one whose mind is in sound and healthy agreement with the *spiritual, personal, and popular*, genius of Christianity? The priestism, ritualism, and oppression, that have so extensively prevailed in the 'visible church,' have no place found for them in the free and Christian records of Luke. Our author is what Dr. Johnson would call 'a good hater' of sacerdotal pretensions, ceremonial formalisms, and tyranny in every shape; and one of the best services rendered by him in the present instance is the bold and rational stand he makes for moral religion, individual conscience, and popular government. There is no feature of our author's mind more clearly marked than its *acuteness*, and this appears in undiminished excellence in his present work. It is impossible to read it without being conscious of the presence of a sharp, if not a profound, intellect. The eye is continually falling upon shrewd remarks which often do the execution of long arguments, while they always give more freshness to familiar views. Approaching a difficulty, and wondering how it will be met, in a few dry words we find the knot is skilfully untied, or boldly cut. Dr. Bennett is far removed from a stiff and formal mode of exposition. He writes not as the dignified professor, but with the ease and freedom of conversational dis-

course—not always disclaiming an allusion almost sly. Does Peter address the crowd from the ‘upper room’ towards the street? We are reminded that he stood ‘not higher than *a pulpit too often is.*’ Is Judas deprived of the episcopal office assigned him by our translators (Acts i. 20)? It is added, ‘but if this ‘handling of the word of God deceitfully’ was perpetrated to make bishops successors to the apostles, *no other connecting link could be found than Judas Iscariot.*’ Speaking of the waiting portion of Cornelius’s household, the wish is uttered, ‘Oh, that when the worship of God commences, we could say, ‘*We are all here!*’

The following extract will enable our readers to judge of the style in which Dr. Bennett discusses important questions. The subject is the origin of the name ‘Christians.’ After considering other explanations, he proceeds thus:—

‘There remains but this one hypothesis, that it was given them by the inhabitants of Antioch, the Gentile world around them. The language of Luke rather intimates this; for, instead of saying, as he might, and as I cannot but think he would have done, if the ordinary hypothesis were true, *that the disciples called themselves Christians* first at Antioch; he says, ‘They were called so there, as if it were by the inhabitants of the place.’ That this was the fact, many things prove. The name was given them in a Syro-Greek city, which, it should be observed, was the seat of the Roman government of Syria and Judæa. The Antiochians felt the need of some term by which to call the new and numerous religionists who had risen up among them; as the world will always need some name for us. They could not call them Jews; for it was manifest that this was a new sect, differing from the Jews, who had long been known in Antioch, where they abounded. If it be asked, Why could they not have called us by the appellations formerly in use? I answer; if this means ‘in use among the Jews,’ the terms Nazarenes, Galileans, refer to a minute locality, the supposed birth-place of Christ, of which the Gentiles knew little; and the reproach conveyed by the terms was not intended by those who gave us this new name. But if the question is, Why not employ the appellations adopted among Christians? I answer; these, in the first place, could not be supposed to be familiar to others; and, in the second, could not be expected to be adopted by them, as that would imply that they identified themselves with us, by calling us disciples, believers, saints, brethren, beloved, or friends. It is not to be expected, nor even desired, that the world should adopt our language, by which we are known among each other. Why should they make false professions? If, then, some term was needed to designate us, by those who did not intend to affiliate themselves with us, what should it be? The inhabitants of Antioch soon discovered that the disciples spoke much of Christ, and, by adopting the term Christians, they designate us as Christ’s men; for they seem to have intended no scorn or reproach. If the verb employed by Luke expresses anything peculiar, or instructive, as it is derived from business, it may be intended to express that Christians

nor their fathers could bear. The Jewish law never was intended to be universal or perpetual. It was fitted only to a small nation, for a time. It was never given to any but the seed of Abraham, nor to them before they settled in Canaan. When the kingdom of God is universal, the ceremonies of Moses are impossible. Peter, a Jew, may eat with the Gentiles, for they are all one in Christ Jesus. Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free. Rejoice, not that you may eat ham, rabbits, and hares ; but that your conscience is freed from a yoke of bondage.'—pp. 172—175.

We have said that the merits of Dr. Bennett's work must be considered in connexion with its design. Keeping this in view, we must be permitted to say how we think its value might be increased. The want of an index is sorely felt in a work of this kind, the trouble of making which would be infinitely outweighed by its utility. Here is not even an enumeration of the subjects of the lectures. A still greater omission appears to us in the exclusive attention paid to the *contents* of the Acts. An introductory lecture, or two, on the authenticity and genuineness and truth of the sacred history we cannot but deem indispensable to the completeness of such a volume. It is especially desirable, now, in consequence of wide-spread scepticism respecting the early date, and historical integrity, of the New Testament records, that no fair occasion should be lost of vindicating them in these respects ; and the Acts of the Apostles supplies an opportunity most inviting, and means most abundant, of so doing. As it is, our author has well explained the provisions of a will, but he has not proved its validity. We admire the plainness and familiarity of the general style. Theological treatises, and especially lectures and sermons, are too often composed in a stiff and stilted style, as if the subjects discussed had the smallest possible connexion with the common sentiments, and actual interests, of men. Yet is there a proper medium, which Dr. Bennett does not always observe. When saying, that business 'frequently gave to a man his name, as we read of Simon, the tanner,' there was no need to add, 'and a large proportion of our surnames speak their origin, as Mr. Carpenter, Fisher, Baker, Butler' (p. 182). Nor is it in good taste that 'the whole body of the faithful' are represented as 'hanging' on Christ, 'as the whole swarm on the queen bee' (p. 188). Such things as these can be *said* but by few men with any good effect, and they are always better left out of printed books. It is unnecessary for us to specify particular points of difference as to facts. The Acts of the Apostles involve too many questions to allow of an entire agreement between an author and his reviewer. But we must regret that some questions, by no means the least interesting, are not touched, and others, (as, for

instance, Matthias's appointment) referred to with a brevity, and in a manner, that fail to do justice either to their difficulty or importance. Dr. Bennett is too brave a man to shrink from hard and awkward objections, but, in the clearness of his own perceptions, and the fulness of his own convictions, he has not always paid sufficient respect to the darkness or doubts of his readers. We should like to see an exposition composed, for the most part, of answers to the questions of a shrewd and well read catechist. General readers would derive more advantage from the work before us, if written in a style of somewhat less condensation and abruptness. Accustomed, as we are, to the author's manner, we frequently find it necessary to go twice over the same sentence in order to catch his exact meaning. The multiplicity of his ideas demanding expression, produces an effect not unlike that occasioned by a crowd of people issuing through one doorway. He will say two things at a time. What requires explanation is often dispatched in a sentence, which can only serve as a sign of the author's knowledge, to those who share it with him. What would the greater number of his readers infer from the remark on Gallio being called 'Proconsul of Achaia,' (Acts xviii. 12) that 'the accuracy of Luke is observable, for only now was it correct to speak of the deputy or proconsul of Achaia'? It is a pity to lose such an opportunity of illustrating, as well as mentioning, the minute correctness of the historian, as shewn by the fact that Achaia had been a senatorial, then an imperial, province, and afterwards became a senatorial one again. The peculiar excellence of Dr. Bennett does not consist in a large development of the logical faculty. Keen and quick in his perceptions, he is sometimes too intent on the settlement of a matter to render due regard to the whole merits of a case, and proves nothing by proving too much. Speaking of Matthias, he says:—

'Matthias, with Paul, would make thirteen, where there were to be but twelve; this is a two-edged sword; for, upon any hypothesis, there were, at different times, thirteen; since Christ first chose twelve, and then added, at least, Paul. But, when Matthias was chosen, the apostolic commission was opened *at Jerusalem*, with twelve witnesses, 'Peter standing up with the eleven,' to whom Christ could say, 'Ye are they who have continued with me in my temptation, and I appoint unto you a kingdom to sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of *Israel*. Ye shall be my witnesses of the things ye have seen and heard in Jerusalem, and Judea, and Samaria;' which would include Matthias, but exclude Paul, who was bidden to depart from Jerusalem, and sent to be the apostle of the Gentiles. There were not thirteen for any considerable time, James the brother of John being killed by the sword of Herod soon after the conversion of Paul; though it might be pleaded that the tribes of Israel, also, were thirteen.'—pp. 14, 15.

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It is obvious, that this variety of expedients is fatal to an argument. It cannot thus be tossed between twelve and thirteen apostles, and twelve and thirteen tribes. The reasoning savours more of the counsel than the philosopher. It is more like the dusk that serves for escape, than the light that serves for guidance. The last desire we shall avow is, that greater breadth and comprehensiveness of philosophical reflection, had sometimes marked the volume. It affords much information respecting the *letter* of Scripture; considerable learning, and reading, and thought, are brought to the explanation of terms, the reconciling of discrepancies, and the practical application of theological truths; but in our admiration of the ready textuarist, we cannot suppress a sigh for the spirit of the philosophical historian.

If we have been faithful to our convictions in the remarks we have made upon the work of Dr. Bennett, we can safely say, that we have been prompted by something beyond a simple desire to be faithful. We have too much respect for him to offer indiscriminate and insincere laudation, and he has too much respect for himself to value it. Besides, the real worth of his lectures excites a solicitude to see their value enhanced, which we think it would be by attention to the preceding hints. That is indeed, a poor book, that is incapable of improvement; and we trust a second edition of the present volume will increase the earnestness with which we recommend it to general students of the sacred oracles, and particularly to teachers, Bible classes, young or theological students, and village preachers.

ART. V.—*Short Sketches of the Wild Sports and Natural History of the Highlands.* From the Journals of Charles St. John, Esq. (Murray's Home and Colonial Library, Nos. xxxvi. and xxxvii). Pp. 281. London: John Murray. 1846.

WE are no sportsmen. The mysteries of deer-stalking, and the art of grouse-shooting, are alike unknown to us. We are free to confess that we never patronised a shooting-jacket, dog, and gun, in our life; and are quite unable to appreciate the amusement of butchering birds and animals by wholesale. There may be something worthy of especial admiration in being a 'good shot,' but we are too obtuse to perceive it. And the sanguinary *battues* which royalty delights in, we are vulgar enough to think more worthy of a barbarous, than of a polished community.

Man, it is said, is naturally a 'hunting animal.' We do not believe it. Were he so, his organization would have been very different. It is true that savages follow the chase. Their degraded condition drives them to it. Necessity, not nature, makes them hunters. It is the only mode of obtaining food within the reach of beings so low in the scale of humanity. In that respect, they approach beasts of prey. But with them it is an unnatural state. Their powers are of a higher order. It was intended that man should procure his food by means of the intelligence with which he has been gifted, and not by mere hunting capabilities in which he is miserably deficient. And hence we find that every step in knowledge and civilization that advances man towards his *really natural* position, separates him still farther from the brute, and renders him, less and less, a 'hunting animal.' As, however, it is thought aristocratical to 'bag' game, hordes of 'gentle' savages scour the Highlands, in their struggles after fashionable notoriety, submit to all sorts of annoyances under the name of 'sport,' and if their shots fail, they need only *buy* the proper quantity of grouse to convince their friends of their exploits, and to sustain their character as 'gentlemanly fellows.'

But Mr. St. John must not be confounded with this herd of vulgar sportsmen. He is a man of very different mould. Indeed he appears to hold in utter contempt all 'spruce cockneys, in tight-waisted shooting-jackets, plaid waistcoats, and (so-called) Glengarry bonnets.' It is true that he enjoys 'wild sports,' but has no liking for butchery. He has an active temperament, and a robust frame, that give him a fondness for out-door exercise, and a love of adventure. No difficulty appears to daunt him. He seems to throw his whole heart into the chase with an enduring energy, and indefatigable perseverance, that are quite characteristic. There is a manliness about his sports which would be perfectly incomprehensible to the 'spruce cockneys.' The mere destruction of animals has no charms for him. Indeed it often gives him more pain than pleasure. He says that he never killed a roe without regretting it, and wishing that he could bring it to life again: and that he has more pleasure in seeing different animals enjoy themselves about him, and in observing their peculiar habits, than he has in hunting down and destroying them. The roe-buck, always graceful, is peculiarly so when stripping some young tree of its leaves; and, on one occasion, Mr. St. John tells us, that he 'watched a roe strip the leaves off a long bramble shoot, beginning at one end, and nibbling off every leaf. My rifle was aimed at his heart, and my finger was on the trigger, but I made some excuse or other to

myself for not killing him, and left him undisturbed—his beauty saved him.'

We have written thus far in justice to Mr. St. John. His book has made us esteem him. And despite our objection to sporting, as generally practised, we cannot help feeling a deep interest in his own adventurous 'wild sports,' and could almost wish to tread the heather ourselves in his company.

We can scarcely hope to have many fashionable grouse-destroyers amongst our readers, or we should recommend to their best attention the following remarks of our author :

'I cannot say that my taste leads me to rejoice in the slaughter of a large bag of grouse in one day. I have no ambition to see my name in the county newspapers as having bagged my seventy brace of grouse, in a certain number of hours, on such and such a hill. I have much more satisfaction in killing a moderate quantity of birds, in a wild and varied range of hill, with my single brace of dogs, and wandering in any direction that fancy leads me, than in having my day's beat laid out for me, with relays of dogs and keepers, and all the means of killing the grouse on easy walking ground, where they are so numerous that one has only to load and fire. In the latter case, I generally find myself straying off in pursuit of some teal or snipe, to the neglect of the grouse, and the disgust of the keeper, who may think his dignity compromised by attending a sportsman who returns with less than fifty brace. Nothing is so easy to shoot as a grouse, when they are tolerably tame; and, with a little choice of his shots, a very moderate marksman ought to kill nearly every bird that he shoots at early in the season, when the birds sit close, fly slowly, and are easily found.—pp. 26, 27.

But Mr. St. John's book is very much better than a mere record of 'wild sports.' His 'Sketches of the Natural History of the Highlands' are highly interesting, and abound in descriptions of the most graphic truthfulness. It is long since a work has appeared so likely to commend itself to the hearts of field naturalists. Mr. St. John has had every advantage in making himself acquainted with the habits of the animals and birds of this country. His ample leisure has enabled him to gratify his early fondness for the study of nature, and he considers himself now tolerably well acquainted with the domestic economy of most of our British *feræ naturæ*, from the field-mouse and wheat-ear, which he stalked and trapped in the plains and downs of Wiltshire during his boyhood, to the red deer and eagle whose territory he has invaded in later years on the mountains of Scotland. His present residence is situated in the midst of a district inhabited by a great variety of animals and birds, into whose haunts his hunting excursions constantly take him. And the habits of the various species which his quick eye has detected, he recounts

to his readers with a power of description rarely equalled. An additional charm about the book arises from the evidently unstudied character of its contents. Mr. St. John's words flow from his pen with such ease and freshness, that the interest never flags. And then, too, he paints the scenery of his favourite spot so beautifully, and tells of its attractions with such fulness and spirit, that when his 'Journals' become familiar to naturalists, we shall not be surprised if a visit to the 'rapid and glorious' Findhorn is thought not less interesting than a pilgrimage to Selborne.

The naturalist can scarcely read this description without wishing to visit a locality so well adapted, in every respect, for the prosecution of his favourite study. A country so varied in its character must necessarily furnish shelter for a great variety of species. The forests and rocks which, on each side of the Findhorn, extend for miles along its course to the sea, are the abode of numerous animals and birds of prey. The peregrine falcon, one of our noblest species, breeds amongst the inaccessible crags; and the kite may sometimes be seen soaring, in its graceful circles, at an immense height above the woods. Another beautiful bird, the osprey, occasionally visits the river, and sailing along, darts with unerring aim upon the finny prey which its sharp eye detects in the water. The eagle, too, is not unfrequently observed in Morayshire; as he wends his powerful flight from the mountains of Sutherland or Caithness, to the Grampian range.

The other members of the falcon tribe met with in this locality, are the buzzard, harrier, sparrow-hawk, kestrel, merlin, and hobby, all of which are gradually becoming less numerous, in consequence of the destructive warfare waged against them by English game-keepers. Partridges and grouse suffer greatly from the hen-harrier and sparrow-hawk; more especially from the former species, which hunts on the hill-side, or courses in all directions over the turnip-field, flying a few feet from the ground. The moment the hen-harrier perceives its prey, it darts to a height of about twenty feet, and then pounces down upon the victim with a strength of blow that strikes dead, at once, even a pheasant or black cock. Mr. St. John saw a harrier strike a heath-hen on a hill-side in Ross-shire. He instantly drove the hawk away, but found that the head of the bird was cut off by the single stroke as completely as if severed with a knife.

The long-eared owl, tawny owl, and barn owl, breed in Morayshire. The short-eared is a migratory species, arriving in October to pass the winter in the Highlands. Amongst the rarer visitors is the beautiful snowy owl (*Strix nyctea*); and our

author has reason to think that the great-eared, or eagle-owl, (*Strix bubo*), also occasionally comes over from the north of Europe. He remarks, that:—

‘The eastern coast of Scotland, owing to its proximity to Sweden and Norway, and also to the great prevalence of easterly winds, is often visited by foreign birds. Amongst these is that splendid stranger the snowy owl, who occasionally is blown over to our coast from his native fastnesses amongst the mountains and forests of the north of Europe. Now and then one of these birds is killed here; and I was told of one having been seen two or three years back on part of the ground rented by me. He was sitting on a high piece of muirland, and at a distance looked, said my informant, ‘like a milestone.’ This bird was pursued for some hours, but was not killed. The snowy owl has been also seen to the astonishment of the fisherman or bent-puller, on the sand-hills, where he finds plenty of food amongst the rabbits that abound there. One was winged in that district a few years ago, and lived for some time in confinement. He was a particularly fine old bird, with perfect plumage, and of a great size. I am much inclined to think, that the great-eared owl, *strix bubo*, is also occasionally a visitor to the wildest parts of this district. A man described to me a large bird which he called an eagle. The bird was sitting on a fir-tree, and his attention was called to it by the grey crows uttering their cries of alarm and war. He went up to the tree, and close above his head sat a great bird, with large, staring, yellow eyes, as bright (so he expressed it) as two brass buttons. The man stooped to pick up a stone or stick, and the bird dashed off the tree into the recesses of the wood, and was not seen again. I have no doubt that, instead of an eagle, as he supposed it to be, it was the great *strix bubo*. The colour of its eyes, the situation the bird was in on the branch of a tall fir-tree, and its remaining quiet until the man approached so close to it, all convince me that it must have been the great owl, whose loud midnight hootings disturb the solitude of the German forests, giving additional weight to the legends and superstitions of the peasants of that country, inclined as they are to belief in supernatural sounds and apparitions.’—pp. 72, 73.

Beasts of prey are not less common in the Highlands than the raptorial birds, but like them, they, too, are fast declining in numbers from the deadly attacks of game-keepers. The wild cat (*felis catus*) inhabits the most lonely and inaccessible ranges of rock and mountain. In the day-time, these animals are rarely seen; but during the night they prowl far and wide, and their harsh, unearthly cries are not unfrequently heard resounding through the woods. This species is quite distinct from the domesticated variety, from which it may be distinguished by its larger size, more powerful make, and bushy tail. Rüppel and Temminck are of opinion, that the tame varieties are descended from the *Felis maniculata*, a species indigenous to North Africa, and which Rüppel supposes was first domesticated by the Egyptians.

The true *felis catus* destroys large quantities of prey, and sometimes, visiting farm buildings, carries off fowls, and even lambs, to satisfy its rapacity. When caught in traps, which their want of caution exposes them to, the cats fly fiercely at any person who approaches them. One of these savage creatures flew once at Mr. St. John in the most determined manner. Our author met with a wild cat near the banks of a river in Sutherlandshire, where he was fishing. Always ready for wild sports of this nature, he immediately gave chase with three small Skye terriers, that forced her to take refuge in a part of the rocks, where, out of reach of the dogs, she stood spitting and growling, with her hair bristled out, like the common cat. Mr. St. John, having no other weapon, cut a strong stick, with which he proceeded to dislodge her. The animal, as soon as he came within a few feet of the place, sprang right over the dogs' heads, and would doubtless have inflicted a severe wound on Mr. St. John's face, had he not struck her in mid-air as she leaped upon him. The blow knocked the beast to the ground, where the terriers, after a desperate fight, ended the matter. Mr. St. John never saw an animal so hard to kill, and remarks that, 'if a tame cat has nine lives, a wild cat must have a dozen.' Their powers of vitality, however, cannot withstand the persevering attacks of the gamekeepers; and, ere long, the species will probably be extirpated, or become exceedingly rare.

The common cat sometimes takes to the woods, and, becoming shy and wild, breeds in hollow trees and rabbit holes. The half-wild race thus originated are found to be very destructive to game, as they prey upon hares, rabbits, and grouse. It is worthy of remark, that the variations in colour, so common in the tame species, and which have resulted from the influence of domestication, are not perpetuated in the wild progeny. These, in most cases, have their hair of the beautiful brindled colour, which is the original characteristic of their species, as well as of the allied *felis catus*. In some instances, this change may possibly result from the intermixture of the two species; but we think it scarcely probable that such is the case.

Another race of *feræ*, found plentifully in this district of the Highlands, are the weasels; comprising the pine marten, stoat, common weasel, and pole-cat. Of these, the pole-cat is the least frequent, having suffered much from gamekeepers and vermin-trappers. Mr. St. John mentions that there was a nest of wood-pigeons in an ivy-covered tree close to the window of his dressing room. The young birds were nearly full grown, when, one morning, he saw the old birds flying about in great distress. Presently, down fell one of the young pigeons to the ground, and immediately afterwards the other, both bleeding at the

throat. Mr. St. John forthwith loaded his gun, and had the satisfaction of shooting a large pole-cat, which came climbing down the tree in order to carry off its victims.

Mr. St. John relates a remarkable instance of cunning displayed by the common weasel.

‘I once witnessed,’ he says, ‘a very curious feat of this active little animal. I saw a weasel hunting and prying about a stubble-field, in which were several corn-buntings flying about, and every now and then alighting to sing on the straggling thistle that rose above the stubble. Presently, the little fellow disappeared at the foot of a thistle; and I imagined he had gone into a hole. I waited, however, to see what would happen, as, from the way he had been hunting about, he evidently had some mischief in his head. Soon, a corn-bunting alighted on the very thistle near which the weasel had disappeared, and which was the highest in the field. The next moment, I saw something spring up as quick as lightning, and disappear again along with the bird. I then thought it time to interfere, and found that the weasel had caught and killed the bunting, having, evidently guided by his instinct or observation, waited concealed at the foot of the plant, where he had expected the bird to alight.’—p. 102.

The activity and suppleness of animals belonging to this tribe are so great, that they generally escape when hunted with dogs. When pursued in an open field, they dive down the first rat-hole or mole-hole which they come to. Mr. St. John once started a pine-marten amongst the long heather in the very midst of the pack of a Highland fox-hunter; and ‘though all the dogs, greyhounds, foxhounds, and terriers, were immediately in full pursuit, the nimble little fellow escaped them all—jumping over one dog, under another, through the legs of a third, and finally getting off into a rocky cairn, whence he could not be ejected.’ ‘It’s the evil speerit hersell,’ said the old Highlander, as, aiming a blow at the marten, he nearly broke the back of one of his best lurchers. Nor did he get over the annoyance at seeing his dogs so completely baffled, until after many pinches of snuff, and Gaelic curses upon the ‘beast.’

Foxes are abundant in the Highlands, and commit great depredations. Mr. St. John has occasionally fallen in with their breeding place, and has found there the remains of different animals in great variety. ‘Turkeys, which have been caught at several miles’ distance; tame geese from the farms, and wild geese from the sea-shore; fowls, ducks, pheasants, and game of every kind; including old roe that have been wounded, and young roe too weak to resist their attacks; all appear to form part of this wily robber’s larder. He also takes home to his young any fish that he finds on the shore, or that he can catch in the shallow pools of the streams during the night time.’

The cunning of the fox, so celebrated in fable, is not less substantiated by fact. He 'finds out the pool where the mallard and his mate resort to in the evenings, and lying in wait to the leeward of the place, in some tuft of rushes, catches the bird before it can take wing.' And Mr. St. John gives a very interesting account of the manœuvres of a sly old fox, which he noticed before daybreak one morning in July, when out on a stag-hunting excursion. The wily animal did not perceive Mr. St. John, having his attention completely taken up with some hares that were feeding in a field. Being aware of his inability to catch them by speed of foot, he placed himself at a gap in the turf-wall, lay down close to the ground, so as not to be seen, and waited for the egress of his prey, like a cat watching a mouse-hole. At sun-rise, the hares came, one by one, out of the field to the cover of the neighbouring plantation, until at length two came together through the gap where Master Reynard lay in ambush. He instantly started up, and, with great quickness, caught one of the hares, and immediately killed it. He was carrying off the booty, when a ball from the rifle of *his* concealed enemy brought his crafty career to an end.

Badgers are still found in the wilder districts of Morayshire. Mr. St. John has an evident fondness for the animal, and regrets the probability that it will soon be extirpated. He defends it from the popular stigma of dirty habits and offensive smell, and states, as the result of his observations, that the domestic economy of the animal is remarkably clean and 'respectable.' The badger feeds upon snails, worms, bird's eggs, succulent grasses and roots; and no doubt, occasionally, makes a meal upon some wounded bird or animal that may fall in his way.

Otters were formerly plentiful in the river and mountain streams, but are gradually diminishing in numbers. Seals, also, are becoming rare on the coast, where, a few years ago, they abounded. Salmon-fishers destroy as many as possible, to secure themselves from the damage which these strong animals constantly do to the stake nets. The seals also interfere seriously with the interests of the fishermen, by driving the shoals of salmon away from the coast into deep water. They sometimes even seize their prey out of the nets. An old seal has been known to frequent a particular range of stake-nets for many years, escaping all attacks against him, and becoming both so cunning and so impudent, that he would actually take the salmon out of the nets (every turn of which he becomes thoroughly intimate with) before the face of the fishermen, and retiring with his ill-gotten booty, adds insult to injury by coolly devouring it on some adjoining point or shoal, taking good care, however, to keep out of reach of rifle-ball or slug.

The localities which furnish haunts for the otter and seal, are also frequented by a large variety of water birds. The sea-coast, the river, the burns, and the silent lochs in the hills, have all their feathered denizens. Various kinds of duck are met with at the mouth of the Findhorn and along the coast; whilst in the bay, and Moray Firth, gulls abound in great numbers and variety. Some of the districts, which, from their swampy and marshy character, were formerly the favourite haunts of wild fowl, have felt the effects of modern improvement, and have been metamorphosed into 'smiling corn lands.' Mr. St. John's 'aide-de-camp,' Donald, the constant attendant upon his wild sports, likes this change as little as the water-fowl may be expected to do.

'I shall never forget,' says our author, 'my old keeper's exclamation on his first seeing one of his favourite spots for stalking wild-fowl turned into an oat-field. We had walked far with little success, but he had depended on our finding the ducks in a particular spot, not being aware that it had been drained since his last visit to it. Having taken a long and sonorous pinch of snuff, according to his usual custom when in any dilemma, he turned to me, muttering, 'Well, well, the whole country is spoilt with their improvements, as they ca' them. It will no be fit for a Christian man to live in much longer.' He thought that oats and wheat were a bad exchange for his favourite ducks and geese.'—p. 168.

Woodcocks and snipes breed in the woods of Altyre and Darnaway. Terns lay their eggs in large quantities on the sand-hills. And amongst other species Mr. St. John mentions having noticed the roseate tern (*sterna dougallii*), but is not sure that it breeds in the locality. Occasionally, flocks of wild swans (*cygnus ferus*) arrive in October, and their remarkable trumpeting notes are heard as they settle on the bay, or take their flight to their winter quarters. On the Darnaway side of the Findhorn, a number of old trees have been taken possession of by herons, where, year after year, these birds build, or repair their nests, and bring up their young, undisturbed by the frequenters of the neighbourhood. Mr. St. John has given a description of this very interesting heronry:—

'The foliage and small branches of the oaks that they breed on seem entirely destroyed, leaving nothing but the naked arms and branches of the trees on which the nests are placed. The same nests, slightly repaired, are used year after year. Looking down at them from the high banks of the Altyre side of the river, you can see directly into their nests, and can become acquainted with the whole of their domestic economy. You can plainly see the green eggs, and also the young herons, who fearlessly, and conscious of the security they are left in, are constantly passing backwards and forwards, and alighting on the topmost branches of the larch or oak trees, whilst the still younger birds sit bolt upright

in the nest, snapping their beaks together with a curious sound. Occasionally a grave looking heron is seen balancing himself by some incomprehensible feat of gymnastics on the very topmost twig of a larch tree, where he swings about in an unsteady manner, quite unbecoming so sage-looking a bird. Occasionally a thievish jackdaw dashes out from the cliffs opposite the heronry and flies straight into some unguarded nest, seizes one of the large green eggs, and flies back to his own side of the river, the rightful owner of the eggs pursuing the active little robber with loud cries, and the most awkward attempts at catching him.'—pp. 159, 160.

Birds, generally, adopt every possible precaution to prevent their nests being discovered. With this view, many species cover their nest with materials similar to those by which it is surrounded. Mr. St. John has recorded various instances of the adoption of this means of concealment. The missel-thrush builds in the apple-trees in his garden, and although the nest is large, it is so carefully constructed of substances resembling the colour of the bark, as to be not easily distinguished. When the wren builds on some shrub near the ground, she forms her nest of the withered grass, and covers it so nicely, that amongst the surrounding herbage it would escape the eyes of 'any animal,' as Mr. St. John remarks, 'excepting those of boys.' But if the little architect selects a beech-hedge, on which the leaves of the last year still remain, she conceals her habitation with an outer covering of the withered foliage. Or, if her nest is placed in a spruce fir-tree, another expedient is adopted, and its outer layers consist of a green moss exactly resembling in colour the leaves of the spruce. The green-finch uses moss, in a similar manner, to prevent her nest being seen amidst the green foliage of the tree on which it is built. The chaffinch, with the same object, imitates the lichen-covered branches of apple-trees. And the yellow-hammer, and little white-throat, whose nests are placed on or near the ground amongst the grass, adopt the plan of the wren, covering them over with the withered herbage.

Mr. St. John states, that a pair of the water-ouzel built their nest for several years on a buttress of a bridge over the Blackburn near Dalvey. The nest appeared from above to be merely a lump of rubbish, that might have drifted down the stream, and been deposited by chance upon the buttress.

In a similar manner, birds adopt expedients to prevent their eggs being discovered. Many of the smaller species line their nests with substances closely resembling the colour of their eggs. This is the case with the chaffinch, yellow-hammer, green-finch, robin, hedge-sparrow, &c. The pee-wits lay their eggs on the ground, in some spot where stones of a similar

appearance lie scattered. The terns, the ring-dottrel, oystercatcher, and other grallatorial birds, deposit their eggs, which look very much like pebbles, amongst the shingle and gravel. Young birds, also, often resemble in colour the situations in which they are placed, and thus escape the notice of their numerous enemies.

The destruction of carnivorous animals and birds, which has taken place, to so great an extent, in the Highlands, has been naturally followed by a large increase in the numbers of the various species which form the prey of the raptorial tribes. Mr. St. John remarks that:—

‘ Wood-pigeons, blackbirds, thrushes, and all the smaller birds increase yearly in consequence of the destruction of their natural enemies. The wood-pigeon, in particular, has multiplied to a great extent. The farmers complain constantly to me of the mischief done by these birds, whom I cannot defend by giving them the credit of atoning for their consumption of corn by an equal or greater consumption of grubs and other noxious insects, as they feed wholly on seeds and vegetables. An agricultural friend of mine near this place, who had yielded with a tolerably good grace to my arguments in favour of the rook, pointed out to me the other day (March 6) an immense flock of wood-pigeons busily at work on a field of young clover, which had been under barley the last season. ‘ There,’ he said, ‘ you constantly say that every bird does more good than harm; what good are those birds doing to my young clover?’ On this, in furtherance of my favourite axiom, that *every wild animal is of some service to us*, I determined to shoot some of the wood-pigeons that I might see what they actually were feeding on; for I did not at all fall into my friend’s idea that they were grazing on his clover. By watching in their line of flight from the field to the woods, and sending a man round to drive them off the clover, I managed to kill eight of the birds as they flew over my head. I took them to his house, and we opened their crops to see what they contained. Every pigeon’s crop was as full as it could possibly be of the seeds of two of the worst weeds in the country, the wild mustard and the ragweed, which they had found remaining on the surface of the ground, these plants ripening and dropping their seeds before the corn is cut. Now, no amount of human labour and search could have collected on the same ground, at that time of the year, as much of these seeds as was consumed by each of these five or six hundred wood-pigeons daily, for two or three weeks together. Indeed, during the whole of the summer and spring and a considerable part of the winter, all pigeons must feed entirely on the seeds of different wild plants, as no grain is to be obtained by these soft-billed birds excepting immediately after the sowing-time, and when the corn is nearly ripe, or for a short time after it is cut.’—pp. 118, 119.

If, therefore, the farmer can only protect his ripe corn, and newly sown fields, from the attacks of these birds, he may rejoice in their numbers, and encourage their visits, during the

remainder of the year. Mr. St. John, as will be seen from the passage just quoted, is a zealous advocate of the claims which various species of birds have upon the protection of man, on account of their utility. He mentions an instance where the owls having been nearly destroyed by pole-traps, the rats and mice multiplied to such an extent, and committed such havoc among the nursery gardens, farm-buildings, &c., that the proprietor was obliged to have all the pole-traps taken down, and when the owls increased in numbers they speedily diminished the destructive vermin upon which they feed.

The Kestrel preys almost entirely upon mice, and must therefore be of great use in destroying large quantities of those animals. Mr. St. John accordingly has taken this beautiful hawk under his protection, but 'finds it impossible to persuade a game-keeper that any bird called a hawk can be harmless; much less can one persuade so opinionated and conceited a personage (as most keepers are) that a hawk can be useful; therefore the poor Kestrel generally occupies a prominent place amongst the rows of bipeds and quadrupeds nailed on the kennel, or wherever else those trophies of his skill are exhibited.'

Many of the smaller birds are of great use in destroying large numbers of insects, snails, and grubs, that would otherwise infest our gardens, and on this account, as well as in return for their sweet warblings, our kind-hearted author gives them his protection. And that, too, in an effective manner, for he never trusts a gun in the hands of his gardener, whose bigoted prejudices against the little songsters, he would probably find it difficult to overcome.

Toads, also, have Mr. St. John's good word. He thinks that they deserve the freedom of all horticultural societies, on account of their destruction of beetles and other insects that infest flower-beds. These poor defenceless animals, however, undergo a large amount of persecution from the vulgar, who are unable to believe that a creature so ugly, can be otherwise than 'venomous' or injurious. And thus the toad meets the fate, too common amongst higher beings, of losing the public estimation of good qualities from the want of a 'respectable appearance.' Notwithstanding their ungainly gait and quiet habits, these creatures sometimes display considerable activity and passion, especially during the breeding season, when two males will occasionally fight, almost to the death, out of jealous rivalry. Mr. St. John sums up his account of their habits by saying, 'there is more character and energy in a toad than is generally supposed.'

The good nature of our author, as will have been seen from the preceding instances, delights in defending his quadrupedal

and feathered *protégés* from the unjust aspersions of mankind. Amongst others, he has not forgotten the goose. He flatly denies its proverbial silliness. To call a stupid man 'a goose' is a libel upon the bird. Even in its domesticated state, when its mental capabilities must have sank under good dinners and a lazy life, it still shows signs of a quick spirit. Its watchfulness in the night, that saved the capitol of old, gives warning, now, when the farm-yard is beleaguered by the wily fox, or other enemies. Mr. St. John says,—'You may drive over dog, cat, hen, or pig; but I defy you to drive over a tame goose.' We regret that truth compels us to lessen his confidence in the discretion of this sensible bird, as on one occasion, when riding in a car, we did actually drive over a poor goose. It is only fair to add, that the catastrophe occurred in Ireland, where—as Mr. St. John might possibly suggest in defence of his theory—all things are done out of the regular order.

Geese, in their wild state, display great cunning, and are exceedingly difficult to deceive or approach. Their senses are very acute, and their precautions have frustrated many a 'wild goose chase' of our author's. When a flock are about to feed in a field, great care is taken to reconnoitre before they alight, and after settling on the ground, a sentry is always placed on some elevated part of the field, or walks slowly along with the rest, never, however, picking up a single grain, but devoting its entire attention to its responsible office. The sentinel, when wearied with watching, pecks one of the other geese who then takes his place. If any danger approaches, the sentry sounds his note of alarm which immediately calls the entire flock around him, and, after standing still for a moment or two, they take flight in a body.

Wild swans appoint sentries in a similar manner. Mr. St. John watched, for some time, a number of these birds, that were swimming about a loch, and feeding. He of course kept himself out of sight, and 'observed that frequently all their heads were under the water at once, excepting one—but invariably *one* bird kept his head and neck perfectly erect, and carefully watched on every side to prevent their being taken by surprise; when he wanted to feed, he touched any passer-by, who immediately relieved him in his guard, and he in his turn, called on some other swan to take his place as sentinel.'

It is interesting to note the very different methods adopted by various animals and birds in procuring their food. Some are endowed with locomotive powers which enable them with comparative ease to hunt down their prey, whilst others trust almost entirely to their cunning. So much is the latter the case with the fox, that, even after losing one of his legs in a

trap, he has been known to make a good living for years on the remaining three. The black-toed skua (*lestris Richardsoni*) gains its food principally by plunder. Mr. St. John has observed the habits of this species in the Highlands. A pair of skuas will perch themselves on some elevated spot, whence they anxiously watch the different birds that may be sailing over the water in search of fish. And no sooner is the industry of one of the gulls rewarded with a prize, than the 'black robbers' instantly dart upon the unfortunate bird, compelling it by violence, and despite its screams and attempts to escape, to disgorge the fish which is seized by them as it falls to the water.

The habits of the king-fisher when in pursuit of its prey, have been described by Mr. St. John with his usual graphic power, and will interest our readers.

'During a severe frost, last year,' he says, 'I watched for some time a common king-fisher, who, by some strange chance, and quite against its usual habits, had strayed into this northern latitude. He first caught my eye when darting like a living emerald along the course of a small unfrozen stream between my house and the river; he then suddenly alighted on a post, and remained a short time motionless, in the peculiar strange attitude of his kind, as if intent on gazing at the sky. All at once a new idea comes into his head, and he follows the course of the ditch, hovering here and there like a hawk, at the height of a yard or so above the water. Suddenly, down he drops into it, disappears for a moment, and then rises into the air with a trout of about two inches long in his bill; this he carries quickly to the post where he had been resting before, and having beat it in an angry and vehement manner against the wood for a minute, he swallows it whole. I tried to get at him, coveting the bright blue feathers on his back, which are extremely useful in fly-dressing; but before I was within shot he darted away, crossed the river, and, sitting on a rail on the opposite side, seemed to wait as if expecting me to wade after him; this, however, I did not think it worth while doing, as the water was full of floating ice; so I left the king-fisher where he was, and never saw him again.'—pp. 199, 200.

Terns obtain their food in the same manner as the kingfisher, hovering like a hawk in the air, and darting into the water, with wonderful quickness, as soon as their prey is perceived. It is, indeed, almost inconceivable how these birds can manage to seize, with such certainty and apparent ease, the slippery little sand-eels, on which they chiefly subsist, and which 'glance about in the water like silver arrows.' Mr. St. John states that he has often watched flocks of terns fishing at a short distance from the shore, and never saw one emerge from the water disappointed of its prey. Sometimes he has shot the bird as it flew off with a sand-eel, and always found the marks of the bill just behind the head of the fish, where it seems to be invariably caught.

We have not given a prominent notice, in this article, of Mr. St. John's sporting excursions, for several reasons. Chiefly, because it appeared to us more advisable to devote the space at our command to the very interesting natural historical sketches contained in his 'Journals;' and, also, because we found that to do justice to the best of his wild sports would have necessitated an amount of detail, and length of extract for which we were not prepared. Take, for instance, the chapter (occupying many pages), entitled 'The muckle hart of Benmore,' in which the interest is exceedingly well sustained by a graphic account of the varied incidents that befell Mr. St. John and his attendant during six successive days of deer-stalking, ended by the death of the noble stag of Benmore, on whose track they had followed, with indomitable perseverance, for the whole week. It is obvious that narratives such as this, cannot well be abridged, but should be read in full to be rightly appreciated and enjoyed. The amount of fatigue and exposure to which Mr. St. John cheerfully submits, in the prosecution of his 'sports,' is certainly astonishing. He thinks nothing of passing a night on the mountain-side wrapped in his plaid, and covered with heather; or of wading knee-deep up a burn, and crawling along over mud and through rushes, when stalking wild-geese or the timid deer.

We will just give one sample of the 'Wild Sports of the Highlands,' recorded by our author; and it shall be 'Salmon-Spearing by torch-light,' as practised by a gang of poachers, whom he once fell in with.

'The night was calm and dark. The steep and broken rocks were illumined in the most brilliant manner by fifteen or sixteen torches, which were carried by as many active Highlanders, and glanced merrily on the water, throwing the most fantastic light and shade on all around as they moved about. Sometimes one of them would remain motionless for a few moments, as its bearer waited in the expectation that some fish which had been started by his companions would come within reach of his spear, as he stood with it ready poised, and his eager countenance lighted up by his torch as he bent over the water. Then would come loud shouts and a confused hurrying to and fro, as some great fish darted amongst the men, and loud and merry peals of laughter when some unlucky fellow darting at a fish in too deep water, missed his balance, and fell headlong into the pool. Every now and then a salmon would be seen hoisted into the air, and quivering on an uplifted spear. The fish, as soon as caught, was carried ashore, where it was knocked on the head, and taken charge of by some man older than the rest, who was deputed to the office. Thirty-seven salmon were killed that night; and I must say that I entered into the fun, unmindful of its not being quite in accordance with my ideas of right and wrong; and I enjoyed it probably as much as any of the wild lads who were engaged in it. There was not much English talked amongst the party, as they found more expressive

words in Gaelic to vent their eagerness and impatience. All was good humour, however ; and though they at first looked on me with some slight suspicion, yet when they saw that I enjoyed their torch-light fishing, and entered fully into the spirit of it, they soon treated me with all consideration and as one of themselves. I happened to know one or two of the men ; and after it was over, and we were drying our drenched clothes in a neighbouring bothy, it occurred to me to think of the river bailiffs and watchers, several of whom I knew were employed on that part of the stream, and I asked where they were, that they did not interfere with the somewhat irregular proceeding in which we had all been engaged. ' Deed, ay, sir, there are no less than twelve baillies and offishers on the water here, but they are mostly douce-like lads, and don't interfere much with us, as we only come once or twice in the season. Besides which, they ken well that if they did, they might get a wild ducking amongst us all, and they would na ken us again, as we all come from beyont the braes yonder. Not that we would wish to hurt the puir chiels,' continued my informer, as he took off a glass of whisky, 'as they would be but doing their duty. They would as lave, however, I am thinking, be taking a quiet dram at Sandy Roy's down yonder as getting a ducking in the river ; and they are wise enough not to run the risk of it.' '—pp. 57—59.

We must now, with some reluctance, take leave of Mr. St. John. We need not add a single word of recommendation, for if the extracts which have been given are not sufficient to induce our readers to procure the '*Sketches*,' we cannot suppose that anything we can say will have that effect.

Art. VI.—1. *On the Moral Treatment of Lunacy.* By F. Leuret, Visiting Physician of the Lunatics at Bicêtre. Paris. 8vo. 1846.

2. *Collection of Songs for the use of the Lunatics at Bicêtre.* By M. Guerry. Paris. 12mo. 1840.

AFTER a great struggle, of seven years' duration, the advocates of *moral* treatment in cases of lunacy have succeeded in France. Much as remains to be done in that country, on this subject, this success is well worth our attention. The change from utter idleness to *profitable* activity in thousands of cases, is alone a medical revolution of an extraordinary character; and although sufficient time has not elapsed to authorise confident expectations as to the result, enough is accomplished to command our respect for the men who have done this good work. The leader in it is M. Leuret, the successor of M. Esquirol in the most extensive private practice in lunacy in France, and as the Director of the lunatic department at Bicêtre, one of the great hospitals in Paris. A controversy of extreme bitterness has attended this struggle; but M. Leuret has had the satisfaction of numbering among his supporters not only the young and ardent members of the medical profession, but especially the more eminent in the particular branch of it entrusted with the care of lunatics. The subject is very far from being unknown in England; although they who are the most familiar with it, will perhaps find more than one point in what follows new to them.

'The importance of moral means of treating lunacy,' says M. Leuret, 'has never been absolutely denied. Sometimes they have been exclusively followed. At present, however, they are used as subordinate *in all cases*, to *medical* remedies; such as purgatives, bleeding, sudorifics, and bathing. The *moral* means in question are, on the contrary, removal from old associations, amusements, walking, reading, conversation, music, manual labour, and travelling.'*

The latter remedies are held by M. Leuret to be proper in all cases in which the mind is deranged without any distinguishable affection of the body; but *medical* remedies must be resorted to in plain cases of bodily disease; and both where the symptoms are mixed. At all times each class of cases, and often each individual case, must, he thinks, be dealt with specially.

Although M. Leuret makes no pretension to having himself

* On the Moral Treatment of Lunatics. Paris. 8vo. 1840. pp. 2, 3.

founded a new* system for the relief and cure of lunatics, it is no small merit both to have fully appreciated the value of moral treatment for them, and also, after numerous observations, to have reduced what he received from his respectable predecessor, the late M. Esquirol, to a principle capable of scientific application to a great variety of cases of mental disease. Among the remedies included in this moral system, is occupation for the mind; and for that object there was established at Bicêtre a common school, in which M. Leuret placed a musical, or singing class. This great innovation took place towards the close of 1839; and it immediately excited great interest. The *musical* branch of the experiment is the only one to be now examined; and without attributing to it too high a degree of merit, or claiming for it anything approaching to exclusive attraction. Nothing could be more wise than M. Leuret's opposition to the great modern error of tracing all cases of lunacy to one cause—a diseased brain; and it would be a mistake of the same kind to give undue weight to any one means of cure. But the musical branch of the new system is selected because the special mode of its application in Paris has hitherto escaped among us the notice due to it, although as an alleviation of the sufferings of lunatics, its importance cannot be overrated. It has unquestionably been the immediate means of cure in some cases, by rousing the dormant, or stimulating the sluggish faculties; or perhaps sometimes by presenting recollections or new images, and thoughts capable of effacing those which constitute the patient's disease.

Without attributing to music in our day, under any circumstances, the marvellous powers which it seems once to have had, the success to be here recorded will refute a paradox on the subject in the ingenious remarks of Mr. Moore upon the ancient Irish harp. He considers that sweet sounds and harmony neither spring from nor are dependent upon intellect; because 'some of the exquisite effusions of the art have had their origin among the simplest and most uncultivated people.' He thinks that such people did not possess 'intellect,' although they had

* How old some *new* things are, may be seen in a curious account of the cold water cure of modern Germany, given by Professor Fauriel from a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris, of the fifth century. The bather was first thoroughly heated in steam, collected from hot stones, in a covered wicker frame; and then plunged into a cold spring.—*Hist. of Southern Gaul* p. 389. Paris, 1836.

The merit of Preisnitz is not lowered by the fact of his *discovery* being known to the luxurious ancients, as well as familiar to the savages of Columbia River and New Zealand, although the antiquity of the practice is worth knowing, in order to the better appreciation of its merits.

feelings capable of responding to music ; and he therefore concludes, that music is not an intellectual thing.* How strangely a man of rare abilities and admirable taste can confound truth with error, even when discussing a topic of taste and mind, will be apparent from the following display of mental powers revived through a judicious appeal to those *intelligent* 'feelings.' The acute French physicians who directed the interesting experiments about to be noticed, succeeded because they perceived that the insane possess mental faculties susceptible of improvement through the influence of music, and especially of musical exercises, and because they took the feelings into the account only as subordinate to the intellect.

The good results of the musical exercises at Bicêtre, and the greater successes obtained at the Salpêtrière, have been admitted ; but sufficient explanations have never been given respecting either their mechanism, their way of working, or the practical effects of their respective parts upon different individuals. It is in these points of view that the subject will be sketched here ; and we are able to furnish the reader with a survey of the French experiments with something of the correctness and authority of personal testimony. Our account of those experiments will be minute enough to furnish instructions for introducing similar exercises in any considerable lunatic asylum at small expense, provided that adequate musical knowledge, a sound judgment, and a due amount of zeal be not wanting to the task.

The influence of music in treating lunacy, as hinted above, had already been thought of in France. M. Esquirol, besides applying it to the cases of individuals as an universal relief, tried its effect in a formal manner, upon eighty patients, selected from different classes of the 1,500 female lunatics in the Salpêtrière in Paris. His band was made up of some eminent public performers ; and the lunatics were the *auditors*, without any strangers among them. The concerts were continued, once a week, during the two summers of 1824 and 1825. They produced no lasting change in the insane, who, however, showed themselves far from insensible to the music ; but the convalescents derived very great pleasure and some profit from these concerts. 'My patients,' said M. Esquirol, 'were very attentive ; their features became animated ; the eyes of some sparkled ; but all remained perfectly still. A few shed tears ; and two asked leave to sing themselves to an accompaniment, which was allowed. This new scene had advantages ; but it produced no cure.'

* The Hist. of Ireland, vol. i., c. xiv., p. 317.

The same observations apply to the individual lunatics, whom M. Esquirol allowed to play music. He concluded that its usefulness was limited to the production of an innocent pleasure to the insane, however beneficial it might be to the health of the convalescent patients.*

Taking up the subject, after many years discontinuance of what he thought an imperfect experiment, M. Leuret made the material additions of much more frequent exercises, in which several hundreds of the lunatics at Bicêtre took part, as solo, vocal, and choral performers. He insisted upon the attendance of the patients with great vigour; and excited a very strong interest in the proceedings of the class, both among themselves, and beyond the walls of the asylum in Paris. The governors of the hospitals there approved of his work, and shared his zeal in it. The clergy, who directed the religious services, gave him their support; and even consented, with the sanction of the Archbishop of Paris, to the chanting in the church of the asylum being performed by the lunatics. The public press joined in the general applause, from which the rivals alone of M. Leuret dissented with the inveteracy of controversialists.

From the numerous writings produced on the occasion, we select, as a specimen of singular acuteness and logic, a single letter of his of an early date, with which this part of the statement will be concluded.

‘Lately, at the Academy of Medicine,’ said M. Leuret, ‘many objections were stated against my method of treating the lunatics. It was urged, First, that I have entirely given up medical remedies, in order to resort exclusively to moral ones. I reply, that my principle is, to determine which kind of remedies is best adapted to each class of cases, and to act accordingly. I use only moral means, when the cases have no physical symptoms; and after I have ascertained, that there are cases which yield to moral influences, whilst they resist medical treatment. Second: I am accused of useless severity. I hardly expected that reproach to be repeated in the Academy; and I will make no other answer than this—that, where others have failed with shower-baths of half an hour, and three applications of hot iron besides, my moral method has succeeded with thirty seconds of the shower-bath alone. Third: It is then said, that I have changed my opinion respecting moral treatment. This is true; but the change has been to extend it to some cases, which I at first thought fit only for medical remedies. Fourth: But it is asserted, further, that my practice is less successful than that of my brethren. This is a point to be settled by figures. From the 1st of July to the 31st of December, 1840, I received at Bicêtre one hundred and thirty-two patients; from which number four are to be deducted who

* M. Esquirol, *Des Maladies Mentales*, vol. ii., p. 585; cited by M. Leuret, in his book *Du Traitement Moral de la Folie*, p. 300, 3.

only pretended to be mad ; and fourteen who were epileptic, not insane. Of the remaining one hundred and fourteen, I cured fifty-nine ; and five more were sufficiently improved to be sent to their families. This is as 1 to 1.93, or something more than half. But, according to the usual way of making up medical statistics, I might deduct from the one hundred and fourteen, thirty-eight incurable cases, which would give me the proportion of 1 to 1.29 for the cures. Now the authentic state of the cures at Bicêtre, in former years, has been 1 to 2.55 in the curable cases ; and 1 to 73.66 in those accounted incurable. Fifth : Finally, they say that my cured patients relapse. Of twenty-seven cases, however, published by me, or by my pupil, M. Millet, as cures, my *moral* treatment produced no effect in one ; the cures in six others seem still to me to be doubtful, and two have relapsed. But eighteen of them are perfect cures. Even of the six doubtful cases, two are of those of men who were *odd* before. They were insane, and they are *odd* now. Their intermediate condition of absolute insanity, has been happily changed by moral means alone. Therefore,' concludes M. Leuret, ' I insist upon the efficacy of moral treatment in lunacy. It is a treatment founded in reason ; it has borne the test of considerable experience ; and probably the time is not remote when the present opposition to it will only excite astonishment.'

The *musical* exercises were an important branch of the moral treatment thus ably vindicated by M. Leuret:—To the complete success of those exercises at Bicêtre, and to their due adaptation for being introduced elsewhere, there was wanting the co-operation of a kindred mind, capable of working out, in indispensable and important details, the whole range of musical instruction and practice, to which it is clear from the meagreness of M. Leuret's own notices, that he is not equal. Such an individual he was fortunate enough to find in Monsieur Guerry, ' the friend,' who as he states in a preface to the Songs, made the collection of them, and who really formed the musical exercises for a class of lunatics in Bicêtre. At a very early stage of M. Leuret's experiment, M. Guerry perceived, that sweet sounds, however useful as an attraction to them, cannot alone form proper exercises for the purpose of reviving the dormant powers of the mind. For that end it was necessary to contrive a process of mental activity. This was effected by him, and without it such praiseworthy attempts as M. Leuret began with, could only produce very imperfect results, and lead to disappointment.

M. Guerry's zeal for the success of this remarkable undertaking, prompted him to superintend personally the exercises of the musical class at Bicêtre ; and those exercises, under his able management of the lunatics in the class in aid of M. Leuret, were conducted in the following manner:—From three to four hundred of the patients were taken into one room ; and of these above thirty were taught songs—the rest only listening. But if

any of the listeners seemed to be peculiarly interested in the lesson, they also were taken into the class of learners. In this way that class may have doubled its number. If any individuals were noisy, or troublesome, they were put out of the room; to which discipline very few exposed themselves. These exercises produced so great an effect, that besides the regular hearers, many more of the hundreds of patients at Bicêtre crowded to the windows of the room to listen, and to see what was going on. The expelled delinquents were always among these; and almost the only real disturbance arose from their wish to get in. The interest thus exhibited outside, was very gratifying to those within. To improve the singers, a few instruments were added. The orchestra was formed from the band of *the blind* at Bicêtre, who brought their violins, a bass, clarionets, flute, keyed horns, etc. The lunatics were nearly all ignorant of music; but many of them were familiar with popular airs, so that their ear was attuned to harmony to begin with. The plan proceeded upon was, to range the whole body of hearers upon benches round the room, M. Guerry standing at the end, so as to see them all at once, with the blind orchestra immediately before him. It was thus ascertained, that all present were attentive to the opening. For the first exercise, M. Guerry himself sang the gamut very slowly, beating time at each note. Then the blind orchestra joined him in the repetition of the gamut; but, at its third repetition, the patients generally also joined. These several repetitions of the gamut were continued for about half an hour, in order to familiarise the ear to the ascending and descending scale; and to prepare the patients for future explanations. In order to oblige the pupils to pay attention to each note of the gamut, and to prevent mere repetitions by rote, other exercises extremely interesting to them, were made with the *melo-plaste*—a large board, with the five lines of the scale in red. The teacher pointed with a rule successively to each of the notes to be sung, the patients of course never seeing what was to come next. They thus escaped all distraction.—When they were masters of this part of their task, the pupils, already divided into two sets, were shewn the notes out of their regular order. Then whilst the melody was traced by the proper succession of notes with the right hand stick, those of the bass, or second part, were pointed out on each correspondent note by the left hand stick. Their attention once gained to this complex movement, enabled them to execute unconsciously the harmony. It is right to add, that a few only could be brought to this point of the exercise.

For the time, another course was taken. The patients were made to raise their hands without any singing, and so to beat

time. This they also did, when they were told to let the master sing alone: at the same moment he also beat time himself. He would occasionally stop short, so as to surprise the patients, if wandering. At intervals, all of them beat time with the feet, at command; or they marched in companies like soldiers, and were suddenly halted. The music was stopped when any of them were troublesome, or shewed a disinclination to the work, or were even inattentive; and the delinquents were reprimanded or expelled. This always produced a good effect. When the notes were learned in this manner, a sort of prayer, as in Wilhelm's popular schools of music, was repeated by them in these words:—

‘ God of goodness! Lord of mercy!
Our humble voices chant thy praise!’

Of this song, the more advanced pupils learned a second part, and the master took the third. The orchestra played the accompaniment; so that a simple but complete chorus was thus performed. Afterwards some very easy pieces, with words adapted to the condition of the patients, were sung in the same method. To secure their attention by dividing their labours, the air was first sung alone, then the air with the time marked, and lastly the air, time, and words at once. Care was taken throughout to train the singers of the several parts in several groups. When so separated, their execution of the whole was watched by the teacher; and his chief difficulty lay in keeping up the independent attention of the respective parties so steadily as to prevent their mutual distraction. It was clear that no correctness could be attained without the persevering devotion of each party to its separate task; and without the execution of each task being in unison with the others: which enforced a degree of labour calculated greatly to strengthen feeble minds.

The same steady attention to this new musical exercise further withdrew their minds from the ordinary diseased currents of thought; and from the influence of any disturbing fancies. They were consequently so far advanced in their cure; and this is, in itself, a most important result independent of the effect, whether good or bad, of music upon the diseased mind. These exercises were varied by some of the lunatics singing solos; and they were allowed to practice many of the songs which they had learned either before or after coming into Bicêtre.

The results were most satisfactory, and a volume of cases might be easily produced in proof of the relief thus obtained for these unhappy beings. Indeed, the ordinary proceedings of the musical class under M. Leuret's care did him great credit.

But the most remarkable circumstance attending his efforts was the performance of the religious service of the church at Bicêtre by his patients. This was brought about very naturally. Among the best executed songs were some of those of Jean Baptiste Rousseau, and religious choruses from Racine. Hence the chaplain inferred, that the effect of their singing in his church on Sunday would be good. There was much hesitation before this proposal was adopted, lest some act of madness should take place during the service, and bring discredit on the musical exercises themselves. But at length the sanction of the ecclesiastical authorities being obtained, this exhibition was determined upon. Accordingly some hymns, and the complete music of the service, were carefully studied by the musical class. After many rehearsals they were thought perfect. Every thing went on well, and the great experiment was to be tried. When the day came, an interest, approaching to anxiety, was excited for the result, not only among the inmates of Bicêtre, the poor lunatics, and their zealous attendants, but out of doors among their friends, and also in musical and medical circles.

Now, however, an unforeseen and ludicrous incident threatened to defeat the whole plan; but although the incident was ludicrous, it certainly illustrated in a very satisfactory manner, the progress made by the patients. It related to the dress in which they were to appear at church when joining in the service. Since their attention had been roused to the presence of strangers attracted by their musical exercises, they had acquired a strong objection to the common clothes of the asylum; and positively refused to come forward if fresh ones were not provided them. They had, in fact, arrived at that strong mark of reviving intellect—a horror at being confounded with a crowd of lunatics, which, six months before, would probably have been perfectly indifferent to them. Had they been few in number, the difficulty could have been got over at once, by procuring new habiliments. But they were near to an hundred men. Therefore, after a world of searching, the following expedient was hit upon by the puzzled assistants, and with success. At Bicêtre there is a vast store of dresses of all sorts belonging to the patients who wear an uniform till they quit. Many of these stores are unhappily never wanted again. A great heap was accordingly brought out, and found to suit the singers admirably. They were soon transformed into a staid respectable body, and exceedingly well satisfied with themselves. They were taken with due regularity to the church, and, under the lead of one of their number, who beat time, their performance surpassed all expectation. The account of this service is concluded with a striking anecdote.

‘ A liberal collection was made after the service (says the official reporter) for a purpose in harmony with the whole service of the day. A poor, but very respectable, scene painter belonging to the Italian Opera, had fallen into a state of melancholy, and was himself among the patients. A small sum being required to purchase the means of completing an ingenious work he was engaged upon in the asylum, the money was raised on this occasion. The chaplain added the usual collection of the day to the special benefaction; and the poor artist was relieved by a singular application of his own musical science to the cure of the malady he himself laboured under.’

Among the eminent musical men present were the famous pianist Litz, the composers Mainzer, and Elwart; and Wilhelm who has done so much to spread the taste and practice of music among the people.

Even better illustrations of the value of this system than M. Leuret's remain to be noticed in some details. At the Salpêtrière, the vast asylum for female lunatics, and other diseased and destitute women in Paris, amounting altogether to more than 5,000, the musical exercises were certainly more successful than those at Bicêtre. Perhaps the superiority is to be attributed to women being more disposed than men to musical impressions. Perhaps the wish to be noticed by the visitors may have influenced them more. But independently of these causes, which may be controverted, it is no disparagement of M. Leuret, to acknowledge the peculiar ability displayed in these exercises at the Salpêtrière by one of its superintending physicians, M. Trelat, a man in whom respectable medical talent is but a secondary recommendation. With uncommon warmth of personal character, he combines the high mental qualities shown in his various writings on social economy; and both his capacity and his character have been proved, to universal satisfaction, in the management of lunatics in this great hospital. Very early in the sort of controversy which the musical exercises at Bicêtre raised, Dr. Trelat declared himself to be favourable to them, whilst others asserted that they were mere waste of time; and when their surprising effects were alleged to be either delusions, or frauds, he watched their progress with care, and hailed their ultimate unquestionable success with sincere satisfaction.

The Salpêtrière did not set out with the advantages of Bicêtre. It had neither school room nor trained agents to begin with. The plan pursued there was as follows:—All the women who could be kept in sufficient order as to dress and demeanour, were brought together into a large hall. The superintendent of the work rooms, and all the usual attendants, were present. The patients were seated on benches. A few were entrusted with

copies of the printed book of songs. Then without any other preparation than the slow singing of the gamut, they repeated the words of various songs with the airs. The only accompaniment was upon the pianoforte. But this gave the patients great pleasure. Many of the poor women had fine voices and good taste. Like the inmates of all other asylums, however, only so short a time ago as in 1840, they were destitute of all relief from occupation, except a little needlework ; and their minds were directed to no useful object whatever, either from an erroneous opinion that they were themselves utterly incapable of attention, or from simple carelessness in regard to them. It was a blessing of incalculable value to women in their condition, to be admitted to a sort of animated employment, which, besides being agreeable in itself, made them, moreover, the objects of compliment on the part of their friends and the visitors. The wish to please was observed to lead them to pay more attention to the music ; and even to repeat the words of the songs in their solitary walks in the grounds, and along the halls and passages. Of the numerous cases recorded by M. Trelat, as proofs of the good done by the musical exercises among these women, one is very striking, and we add to it another case obtained from a spectator of this singular scene. The first is the case of Mademoiselle Vincent, which is here described almost in the words of M. Trelat himself. Mademoiselle Vincent was thirty-four years of age when these exercises began. She had been confined six years, and was past cure. She had lost her reason upon witnessing a barbarous assault made by her own father upon his wife, her mother. Her state was most deplorable. Utterly abandoned, and filthy in her personal habits, she was not only lost to all sense of social sympathy, but she gave no sign of sensibility to any external thing. You might strike her without eliciting a single token of recognition. She was alone in the midst of this noisy crowd. She regarded neither its gaiety nor its griefs. She heard neither its shouts of laughter, nor its sobs of despair. She only seemed to exist ; but it was without exhibiting faculties of the mind, or powers of the body. It occurred to M. Trelat, that it would possibly be useful to bring this poor creature to one of the musical exercises, which at length revealed a fact equally unknown to him and to her. In the midst of that awful ruin there had remained uninjured a susceptibility of music. What persuasion had failed to produce, was awakened by the influence of sweet sounds. When told to sing, she did not understand what was said. But the songs which she heard, she repeated readily. A most touching sight it was to see her recalled to life, and recovered with her original grace from the degrading condition she had so long

been reduced to. The tones she uttered were few ; and like the dying echoes of some musical strain ; but they were so silvery, and so clear, that all who were present were excited almost to tears. By what mysterious influence had the fine faculty which produced these tones been preserved pure in that tarnished body ? How had those living sparks been kept from extinction, where all seemed death and cold decay ? ‘I record the mystery,’ says M. Trelat, ‘without attempting to explain it ; and I humbly refer to the boundless mercies of providence, what is inscrutable to human science.’ Thus Mademoiselle Vincent was found to have one moral tie with her kind. And it seemed possible to follow this slender thread, and to gather up others, so as to restore her to some participation in the sympathies which she had lost so long ; to converse with her, who, after years of silence, had now responded to the voice of music ; and to see every faculty again exercised by one who had ceased to be conscious of possessing a sentient existence.

After some time Mademoiselle Vincent sang a few longer stanzas, and she was no more utterly careless of the directions of the teacher. When he told her to sing, she joined in the first notes of the organ. At first she only imitated the voices of others. Afterwards she did more, and would acquiesce in commands accompanied by music, even if disobedient to the same commands delivered in simple words. She made another remarkable advance. She read, and sang from a music book, evidently following the words. Her features improved in expression, and her countenance took a more elevated character. ‘This dreadful case,’ concludes M. Trelat, ‘and its deplorable cause, give rise to many sad reflections. This tender being, who sank under the horror she felt at witnessing her parents’ dissension, deserved a better fate ; and society should have shielded her from the possibility of the brutal act of one parent, and the irreparable suffering inflicted by it upon the other.’ Temporary comfort was the only benefit conferred on her by the musical exercises, and she was unable to continue them very long. She died in 1846 insane. Whether an earlier *moral* treatment would have materially improved her reason can only be a matter of vague conjecture.

The other case is altogether of a different character. It is scarcely less interesting ; and its ludicrous side only contributed to cast a ray of good humour over a scene, which was calculated to excite but too many melancholy feelings. The influence of the musical exercises was unquestionably, in a high degree, remarkable in this case of Mademoiselle Morris, the dwarf, at the Salpêtrière. This little person was forty years’ old. She was so extremely short-legged, that she could hardly stand up, and

scarcely ever walked. She had been blind, too, from her birth, and had lost many of her teeth; and when placed in a chair, would have been taken for a person far advanced in years, but for her fair complexion. To complete her misery, she could only mumble a few words, and these she would rarely attempt.

Her first appearance at one of the exercises was a strange exhibition. The lunatics, in a high degree of joyous excitement upon the opening of the doors, were seen thronging into the room, pell mell, one jostling the other, literally with the hurry and buz, and almost the confusion of an overturned hive of bees.

Here, at the tail of crowds of the more robust people, came at last two half imbecile, half paralytic women, impeded by an object they were hobbling along with in their arms. This object was the poor blind dwarf, for whom the other two women had formed a sort of maternal fondness. They were bringing her with the greatest eagerness and care, to enjoy a show of which they scarcely comprehended the purpose. But the good influence had reached them; and thus broke the sad monotony of their lives by a tumult of agreeable sensations. Many strangers happened to be present that day; and the exercises went on as usual. A romantic affecting ballad was being sung with the accompaniment of a piano, to the great delight of the patients, who repeated the chorus over and over again. It appeared, that this made a deep impression on the poor dwarf, although on the first occasion nothing further occurred than the eager, but careful presentation of her by her two friends to the notice of the assembly. They bore her off with equal zeal at the close of the exercises. Before the meeting dispersed, M. Guerry, whose attention had been attracted to this singular group, went up from pity to the chair upon which the dwarf was perched, and expressed his sympathy by tapping her shoulder. He then asked her whether she had not been pleased with the music, whether she heard it well. She made no reply, but seemed much moved by the attention. M. Guerry next inquired, if she could repeat any part of what she had heard, singing the first notes himself. Upon this, to the utter amazement of all present, the dwarf at once went through the whole air, from beginning to end, very correctly, and without breaking off. Her small, thin voice was in double octave, but perfectly in tune and time, although the air was not of a very simple character. She repeated the words with the air, of course, very incorrectly and confusedly; and her pronunciation was such, that the meaning could hardly be made out. The effect of this really astonishing exhibition may be better conceived than described. If many witnesses had not been present to attest

what had taken place, it would not have been credible. M. Trelat, M. Guerry, the professional teacher, the attendants, the numerous visitors, in short, all present were in raptures, and signified their satisfaction by hearty plaudits. The dwarf was at first overwhelmed with astonishment. Never before had she been the object of attention from the most insignificant of beings, except her two imbecile protectors. This loud applause from a numerous assembly threw her into an ecstasy of surprise and satisfaction. She burst into a long peal of delighted laughter, with as loud a shout as was possible with her shrill, soprano voice. She was hardly mistress of herself. She tossed her head to and fro. She had a look of infinite self-complacency, and was the happiest of human beings. At length, when the meeting closed, and a high Russian functionary present had addressed a few words to her with a complimentary tone of voice, she again burst out into a renewed shout of perfect delight. The poor imbeciles shared her satisfaction, and bore her off in triumph and with ceremonious care. The patients and attendants studiously made way for the party, and the remote halls resounded with their strains as they withdrew.

M. Trelat has given the details of other cases of very various characters, in which the results were good. 'We see them,' says he, 'restored to the comfort of an intellectual occupation. They go through the notes on their fingers, and on the board; and they beat time. They give the true expression of the airs; and when away from the musical class, they often walk about in the melancholy crowd in the courts, repeating their lessons to themselves, instead of joining as heretofore in their distressing scene of confusion.'

One consequence of this success, merits special notice. M. Trelat has not failed to experience the common difficulty in procuring good attendants for the lunatics; but he states that since the establishment of the musical class, his attendants have improved along with the patients. The exercises are an agreeable relief to them; besides which, since witnessing such wonders worked, they have become more affectionate to the lunatics, and more capable of discharging their duties.

This account of the proceedings at the Salpêtrière, is abridged from a report of M. Trelat, which should be in the hands of all who are interested in the management of lunatic asylums. His bold denunciation of the scandalous state of the Salpêtrière, is worthy of the highest praise. So short a time ago as in 1840, some women died of mere cold, and others of putrid air in that abode of helpless affliction. There has not yet however, been roused a right sense of the obligation of the government towards them. The musical exercises have fallen

off *because sufficient funds are not allowed for a master.* They are reduced to two days a week. The conviction of the most experienced persons is undiminished in their efficacy as stimulants to useful habits of industry, used as the sources of comfort and calmness to these agitated people. The very improvement in the general law of France in regard to lunatics, has stood in the way of this interesting experiment. In 1838 an enactment was made, whereby numerous lunatics before left at large, were brought within the Salpêtrière. Unfortunately means were not provided adequate to the proper treatment of their increased numbers. *The work is half done,* and not only are all the departments of France still thronged with the most melancholy cases of lunacy, without the slightest attempt to bring the patients into asylums,* but the asylums themselves are as yet far from being in a fitting state.

The songs which the lunatics sang in both hospitals were selected by M. Guerry, and published by the governors of the hospitals of Paris. They are arranged with much skill, and far surpass, in that respect, what a mere professional hand could have done. They contain sublime choruses upon the works and ways of Providence, from Racine and Lamartine. There are among them old popular songs and airs, and some charming new ones, developing every kindly affection, and ‘abounding in sentiments to which every bosom returns an echo.’ The kindly sympathy for all which they breathe—the patriot’s zeal—the love of home—the admiration of heroic actions—the pity for the afflicted of every race—for the negro slave is not forgotten here—the sufferer’s resignation, and his consolation in the strong hope of a better state of being—form a succession of topics equally affecting and instructive. The sea-songs are an unexpected little treasure, which might be extracted with advantage, if our space allowed; and if the military airs have a somewhat disproportionate share in the volume, they bear offensively upon the fighting glories of France, no more than that old pet piece of gasconading ‘Rule Britannia,’ tends in our day to make John Bull a quarrelsome neighbour.

When M. Guerry’s volume became known, it was suggested in some of the newspapers, that the application of its principle, on a wider scale, would be most useful. If such results could

* In a parish of about 1,600 souls, near Tours, the writer of this article saw four female lunatics in September last; and two of them were violent and running about the village in a most distressing condition; a third was an idiot; and the fourth had been shut up for nine years, more like a brute beast in a sty than a human being. In the same month, five farms were fired in this and the adjoining parish, as it was said, by an *insane* peasant, who was THEN carried off by the police. He had before been loose.

be obtained in these melancholy cases, what, it was asked, might not be expected from similar exercises being brought within reach of the labouring population? As is remarked in the preface to M. Guerry's collection, the *instructed* artisan would return to his cottage from his daily work, which also he might often enliven with the musical fruits of that instruction; his days, so enlivened, would produce many a lesson for his guidance, and many a calm suggestion of comfort. For that larger object, much more influence is wanted than individual zeal is competent to furnish.

The government, it was said, should take the thing in hand, and at once proportion the means to the objects, to be effected. It was proposed, that prizes should be offered for the best collections of songs and airs; a principle which has since been followed to a certain extent by the present minister of public instruction, M. de Talisandy; and so warmly has the invitation been met, that many thousands of airs are said to be at this moment in the hands of the appointed judges. The French government is however acting upon the old maxim, that whatever may be done by the laws, the popular songs of the country demand the most careful supervision.

For the sake of the poor lunatics, it remains to give to the new method of relief by musical STUDIES, a steadiness and an extension which will secure proper attention to the exercises, after their novelty has worn off. M. Trelat has eminently succeeded at the Salpêtrière, even without having proper means for its development at his commencement, in giving to music an important place in his plan of treating his patients. He *employs* them, and he employs them profitably. Their labour is sufficiently steady to produce a considerable income beyond the expenses, which is their own. His musical exercises, reduced as they are in number for want of a master, are carried on in a room adjoining the work shops, so that the toil of the women is lightened by the songs of their fellow-sufferers, who have almost become their companions—the result of this, and other improvements. Thus ‘a system of kindness, and of unwearied patience, with very rare examples of punishment, and still more rarely the *shower bath*,’ has succeeded so far as to justify sanguine expectations of far better results, by the appliance of this system upon a suitable scale, and with the determination to spare no proper expense in its development.

Art. VI.—*Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford, selected from the Originals at Woburn Abbey. With an Introduction.* By Lord John Russell. Vol. 3. London : Longman and Co.

THIS volume completes the *Bedford Correspondence*, and relates to a far more eventful period of our history than either of its predecessors. Its contents, however, have added little to our information, though a few gleams are thrown on the party contests and court intrigues of the day. In this respect our expectations have not been met. The historical value of the *Correspondence* is small, and it is utterly destitute of interest to the general reader. When such personages as Walpole; Pulteney, Chatham, Bute, and the elder Fox, to say nothing of a host of others, figure on the stage, it might have been expected that there would be much to attract public notice, and to illustrate the character and principles of our leading statesmen. But this is not the case, at least, in any other than a very meagre and unsatisfactory degree. Of the letters which are printed we are concerned to remember a few only,—the majority may be forgotten without regret. We are glad to possess the *Correspondence* for occasional reference, but have no expectation of being much indebted to it in any of our labours. The fourth Duke of Bedford was a man of secondary talents, and without any moral qualities to ennoble his name. He was indebted solely to his position in the Whig party for the small share of influence he exercised. Had he been a commoner his name would not have been known, but having been born a peer he was of course entitled to office, and belonging to the party which had long enjoyed a monopoly of the good things of public life, he early aspired to share them. His political morality was that which was current in his day, and the interests of the small party which he nominally led, were therefore preferred to any broader or more generous sympathies. The government of the country was conducted, at this period, on principles from the avowal of which the least honourable of our statesmen would now shrink. Jobbing was universal, it was reduced to system, and he was deemed the most successful politician who showed most skill in the application of its arts. It is lamentable to see what a falling off there had been from the middle of the previous century. Gross selfishness pervaded public life. All sense of responsibility was gone, the national exchequer was robbed for personal or party ends, and the forms of the constitution were employed to counteract its purpose and extinguish its spirit. It was altogether a dull, dead, level, over

which intelligent Englishmen can scarcely be induced to travel even by the genius and withering oratory of Chatham.

The services rendered by the Whigs at the close of Queen Anne's reign, rendered them of necessity the ministers of the House of Hanover. Had the Tories prevailed, the Stuarts would have been restored; but Bolingbroke and Atterbury were driven into exile, and the nation was content to preserve its liberties at the price of receiving a monarch, whose coarse manners, and profligate morality, commanded no respect. The second George, of dull capacity and limited information, pursued the policy of his father, and the nation was consequently ruled for many years by an oligarchy of Whig nobles, who distributed amongst themselves, and their dependants, the spoils of office. The usual result followed, and it is well for English freedom that it did. Had the Whig nobles of that day been more considerate and sagacious, they might have perpetuated for many years, their tenure of office. But they became imperious, shamelessly corrupt, and suspicious, both of talent and of patriotism. Hostility was thus aroused. Genius and virtue took part against them. The theory of the constitution was appealed to, and public sympathies were awakened by the eloquence of Chatham and the subsequent reasonings of Shelburne and Burke. The first stage of their decline was marked by divisions amongst themselves.

'The period which elapsed,' remarks Lord John Russell, 'between the fall of Sir Robert Walpole and the reign of George the Third, was the age of small factions. The great Whig party, having had from the accession of the House of Hanover complete possession of power, broke into many little sections, divided from each other by personal predilections, and not by distinct lines of policy. Thus their quarrels and their friendships were precarious and capricious: there was no reason why any one statesman should not join with any other statesman to whom he had been the week before most opposed; nor, to say the truth, was there any great question in dispute, like the Revolution settlement, or the American war, or the French war, upon which parties widely separated in opinion, could take their stand.'—p. xi.

George III. succeeded his grandfather in October 1760, and was mainly influenced in his early measures by his mother, the Princess Dowager, and her adviser Lord Bute. His father had headed the opposition to the Whig ministers of George II., and as the Tory predilections of Lord Bute were well known, a change of administration was generally expected. The Duke of Newcastle, however, was nominally retained as First Lord of the Treasury, and even Mr. Pitt, whose brilliant career had humbled the power of France, with whom he was then nego-

tiating a peace, was continued in office for a brief space. 'There is nothing new under the sun,' said Horace Walpole. 'Nor under the grandson,' replied George Selwyn. Few, however, were deceived by this forbearance. The monarch had evidently taken his resolution, and found in Lord Bute, an instrument ready to his hand. Had his purpose been high-minded and generous, he would have broken through the trammels of a Whig oligarchy without seeking to establish a secret and irresponsible power. But Lord Bute aimed to govern as the favourite of an eastern monarch, and the young king, true to his adviser, aided the policy by every means at his command. This was the sin of George III.; and it robs him of all merit in the measures he adopted, and has covered his memory with a reproach which no private virtues, had they been a thousand-fold more brilliant than any he possessed, could have atoned for. He wanted only the power to become the despot; and failing this, he condescended to intrigue and dishonesty. We pass by the continental policy of the king, by which Mr. Pitt's views were overruled, and a peace was concluded with France, much less favourable to England than that minister had insisted on. The Duke of Bedford differed from his colleague on this point, and proceeded to Paris to negotiate the treaty. 'His despatches,' says Lord John, 'appear to me to be creditable to his industry and judgment; at all events, they afford better materials than have yet been given to the world, for arriving at an impartial opinion on the merits of the peace of Paris.'

The policy of the king was of course veiled under specious pretences. This was necessary in order to its accomplishment, and the condition of parties readily suggested the plea. The nation was summoned to the aid of a young monarch struggling, as was alleged, against a dominant faction. The crown had lost its dignity, the glory of the sceptre was departed, and all true Englishmen were required to assist their sovereign in breaking through unconstitutional restraints which prevented his calling able and faithful men to his councils. There was much seeming force in all this. It found a ready response in the nation, and was for a time looked on with favour. The truth, however, was soon learnt. The king's Friends, as a party separate from the ministry was called, were found to be more powerful than his responsible advisers. Lord Bute exercised greater influence over the government than the Duke of Newcastle. The royal patronage was dispensed without regard to his approval, and changes were effected in government trusts without his opinion being consulted. Each statesman in his turn, when disengaged from office, denounced this system.

Lord Chatham indignantly declaimed against an influence behind the throne, more powerful than the throne itself. Mr. Granville spoke of a set of Janizaries, at whose will he would not hold office; the Duke of Bedford protested in the royal closet against the power of Lord Bute; and Mr. Burke, in his masterly pamphlet, laid bare the whole scheme to public indignation. This passage of our history is too little known. It has been thrown into the shade by what followed, and has been sedulously kept out of sight by the admirers of George III. It should, however, be studied by every Englishman; and if its effect be to lower that monarch in public estimation, it will only be a just retribution for the undue praise bestowed on him. Lord Russell remarks on this passage of our history:—

‘ Not that the plan of Lord Bute and his royal pupil was of so systematic a character, nor the government to be subverted of so beneficent a nature, as the great Whig statesman portrayed to the world; but that the project of restoring to the Crown that absolute direction and control which Charles the First and James the Second had been forced to relinquish, and from which George the First, and George the Second, had quietly abstained, was entertained and attempted by George the Third, can hardly be doubted.

‘ It must be owned, that the moment was in many respects eminently auspicious to the execution of such a plan. The Stuarts, as Mr. Adolphus remarks, had fallen into contempt; and the Whig families were no longer necessary to guard the parliamentary title of the House of Hanover. Let us add to this, that the Whigs were themselves broken into sections, separately weak, and too jealous of each other to combine. The Duke of Newcastle, the ancient chief of the party, had lowered himself by folly, and his party by corruption. Lord Holland was hated, and could not stand alone; Mr. Pitt was haughty and self-willed, and had broken his connexion with the other Whig chiefs; the Duke of Bedford, in his eagerness for peace, had acted with and under Lord Bute. Nor was the King deficient in the prudence and caution requisite for the conduct of a refined scheme.’
—pp. xxix, xxx.

The royal favourite, like most of his class, was unfitted for the power to which he aspired. His understanding was by no means strong, nor was his intellect broad and capacious. He wanted the practice, and probably the power, of a debater; and was utterly incapable of measuring the ebb and flow of popular opinion. His sympathies were with the prerogative, but he lacked the genius and the courage of Strafford. It had been remarked of him, by the father of the king, that he was fit to be the minister of a small German court where there was no business. It is therefore no marvel that he was speedily terrified by the conflict he had invited.

‘Parliamentary opposition,’ says Lord Russell, ‘surprised and confounded his judgment; popular clamour overcame his resolution, and scared his ambition. With these faults of mind and temper, it is not to be wondered at, that he lightly broke with the Duke of Newcastle, his ready and convenient helpmate. The power of that veteran minister was silently taken away: if places were given, his opinion was not asked; if peers were created, he was not informed of the intention; even the Board of Treasury at which he presided was taught to thwart him. Yet the favourite who could thus wantonly provoke a powerful party had scarcely taken the reins into his hands, before he shrank from the conflict, and resigned his office.’—p. xxxi, xxxii.

Such was the man on whom George III. relied; and the tenor of his policy was not long in being proclaimed. We have already seen that the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt were retained in office on the accession of the king. The former was comparatively tractable, but the latter was dictatorial and imperious. The elder Pitt was about the last man in the kingdom to content himself with the semblance of power. He felt his superiority. His genius towered over the men about him, and his proud spirit indignantly spurned the dictation of the favourite. He had restored the fading fortunes of his country by the vigour and ability of his foreign policy,—introducing order where confusion had existed, and recalling victory to the national standard. His natural imperiousness was thus heightened, and he took no pains to conceal it. We are not therefore surprised at his being chafed by the resolutions which his colleagues adopted without his concurrence. This feeling is evinced in the following brief communication, dated, March 10, 1761, addressed to the Duke of Bedford, and which sufficiently indicates the probability of what speedily followed.

‘Mr. Pitt presents his compliments to the Duke of Bedford, and is obliged to his Grace for taking the trouble of communicating to him the measure of turning out Mr. Malone, already decided and in part executed. Had Mr. Pitt been consulted on a matter of this consequence, he should have doubted the expediency of such a step, and have thought that it required to be more maturely weighed.’—p. 6.

The crisis was hastened by the minister’s own folly. He afforded the court the pretext they desired. The wily favourite waited his opportunity. He pulled the wires in secret, and thus avoided the odium of dismissing the most popular servant of the crown. ‘Although,’ remarks Lord Brougham, ‘a plot had certainly been formed to eject him from the ministry, leaving the chief control of affairs in the feeble hands of Lord Bute, whose only support was court favour, and whose chief talent lay in an expertness at intrigue; yet there can be but

little doubt that this scheme was only rendered practicable by the hostility which the great minister's unbending habits, his contempt of ordinary men, and his neglect of every-day matters, had raised against him amongst all the creatures both of Downing-street and St. James's.*

What had been long foreseen and designed, occurred in October, 1662. Thwarted in his designs, Pitt indignantly declared at the council board, that he was responsible to the people, and would no longer retain a situation which made him responsible for measures he was not permitted to direct. His resignation was of course accepted; and what occurred in the closet of the king, and in the communications which passed between Mr. Pitt and Lord Bute, constitutes the least creditable passage of his history. We do not complain of his reception of a pension. While such things are dispensed, no man could prefer a better claim; but his demeanour was unworthy of his character, and the overflowings of his gratitude were out of all keeping with the occasion.

The premier was yet retained, but his time was drawing near. For a little while longer he was borne with. He submitted to much more than consisted with self-respect, but at length the predominance of the favourite provoked even his resignation. His decision, with the grounds of it, was announced to the Duke of Bedford, May 15, 1762.

'I have had,' he says, 'so many proofs of your Grace's goodness to me, that I flatter myself you will excuse the liberty I now take in troubling you upon my own subject. It has been the greatest misfortune to me, that I have been obliged to take a resolution relating to my own situation, without having had an opportunity of previously consulting your Grace, and taking your advice, before I had put it in execution. But as the circumstances admitted of no delay, and as I have endeavoured, in the step I have taken, to act agreeably to what your Grace was so good as to declare to me was the rule I should go by, when your Grace, from your goodness and partiality to me, engaged me to remain in the king's service, I hope I can have no doubt of your approbation. When I mentioned the difficulties of my undertaking such an employment at that time, unknown to, and unsupported by, either the king or his minister, your Grace was pleased to say, that if, after trial, I found I had not that countenance, credit, and support, which my station and situation entitled me to, you would be far from advising or wishing that I should remain in employment; that case has now happened, and that has made my retreat unavoidable. Your Grace has seen the little credit which I have had either in business, or in any disposition of honours or employments, numbers of peers made without my knowing anything of it

* Historical Sketches, vol. i., p. 26.

until it was absolutely done ; and except in the case of Mr. Probert's, which was only an exchange of employment with Mr. Sloper, I don't remember one single recommendation of mine which has taken place since his Majesty's accession to the crown, I mean as to civil employments, or indeed, I may add, as to military ones also. But that which is the immediate cause of my resignation, is some late transactions with my board, and particularly with the secretary, Mr. Martin (unknown to me), which must expose me to them, make me appear insignificant there, and are a plain declaration of the little regard and confidence which his Majesty's ministers have in me. In this situation it is impossible for me to remain in the Treasury, with any honour or ease to myself, or any advantage to the public or my friends. I beg your Grace would not mention these particulars till I have the honour and pleasure to see you, and I will then explain them fully to you, and acquaint you with all that has passed upon this occasion. In the mean time, as I have felt the great advantage of your Grace's support whilst I was in the administration, I hope I shall have the comfort of your friendship and good opinion out of it.'—pp. 79, 80.

Lord Bute immediately became in name what he had long been in reality, the prime minister of the king. So far his intrigues had been successful. He had glided to and fro on the political stage, more powerful than those who were visible to the public ; and superficial observers, doubtless, concluded that the reality of power would now be retained in connexion with its well known symbols. In this, however, they were mistaken. Whilst he worked in the dark his incapacity was not seen ; but now that he came forth into open day and challenged observation, his enemies were amply revenged. Some members of the Whig party, including the Duke of Bedford, were for a time retained in his administration, but their places were gradually supplied by Tories, whose temper was more ductile as their principles were more acceptable at court. Nothing could exceed the unpopularity of the premier. He was literally hated by the nation, and soon shrank from the storm he had raised. He announced his intention to resign office, in a letter to the Duke of Bedford, dated, April 2, 1763, in which there is much obvious untruth coupled with an affected moderation, and a profession of public spirit, for which he never gained credit beyond the precincts of the court.

' I am now going,' he says, ' to trouble your Grace for the last time, in all probability, on politics, as I shall be out of office and a private man before I can be honoured with any return : the subject I am going to touch forces me to write about myself much more than I wished to do, and for this reason I hope you will excuse it. To enter, therefore, into matters, I take the liberty of observing to your Grace, that

when the Duke of Newcastle went out, and I found myself under a necessity to accept my present situation, I did it with the utmost reluctance ; and nothing but the king's safety and independency could have made me acquiesce in a way of life so opposite to every feeling ; nor did I kiss the king's hand till I had received his solemn promise to be permitted to go out when peace was once attained. Thanks to kind Providence and your Grace's abilities, that day is now come ; and well it is so, for, independent of all other private considerations, the state of my health is such, and any constant application to business is declared to be so fatal to me, that I find myself under the unpleasant necessity of putting my much-loved sovereign in mind of his promise. I have done so ; and after scenes that I can never forget, his tenderness for me has got the better of his partiality to my poor endeavours to serve him, and he approves my determination. Since this, I have often talked with his Majesty on the subject of a new administration, and he is come to the final resolution of putting the Treasury into Mr. Grenville's hands, as the only person in the House of Commons in whom he can confide so great a trust ; Mr. Fox having taken the king's word when he first entered on the management of his affairs, that, the peace made, he might be permitted to go to the House of Lords. Three things the king is determined to abide by, and to make the basis of his future administration as they have been of his present.

'1st. Never upon any account to suffer those ministers of the late reign, who have attempted to fetter and enslave him, ever to come into his service while he lives to hold the sceptre.

'2dly. To collect every other force, and above all, that of your Grace and Mr. Fox to his councils and support.

'3dly. To show all proper countenance to the country gentlemen acting on Whig principles, and on those principles only supporting his government.'—pp. 223, 224.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the inaccuracies of this letter. If one thing be more obvious than another, it is that Bute had from the first been designed for the office he filled, and that his retirement, so far from being part of a preconceived plan, was induced by fear, and was in direct opposition to the wishes of the king. The obstinacy of the monarch would have braved a storm before which the weaker and more timorous favourite quailed. The exclusion alluded to, obviously points to Newcastle and Pitt, with whom, however, ere many months had passed, Bute was again in correspondence with the design of forming another administration. Moreover, the Whigs, and Whig principles were the objects of his special hatred. He had compassed their exclusion from power, and had raised up as their competitors a knot of reconciled Jacobins, who were content to forward the policy of the Stuarts under the house of Hanover. The Duke of ^{York}ford, in his reply to Bute's application, pointed

out the weakness of the administration which it was proposed to form, and advised that one should be constituted on a broader and more stable basis, particularly urging that the leading members of the Whig party should be called to the king's councils. Lord Russell gives the following account of the negotiations which ensued:—

‘ Nothing could be more unpalatable than such advice. Still the weakness which the Duke had pointed out was felt; and the death of Lord Egremont, which happened soon after, made it necessary to hit on some new expedient for keeping the great Whig chiefs out of power. At this emergency the Duke of Bedford was again applied to, and a special agent was sent to Blenheim with orders to see the duke secretly at Woodstock. This time the duke advised that Mr. Pitt should be sent for, and asked to propose his own terms.

‘ Lord Bute relished this counsel as little as the former. But seeing there was no remedy, he sent himself to Mr. Pitt, and consented that he should have an audience of the king, carefully concealing the fact, that the Duke of Bedford had advised this course.

‘ The proposals made by Mr. Pitt were, according to the only accounts which were published, somewhat extraordinary. It is said that he not only desired to form a compact ministry of the principal Whigs of the kingdom, but that he refused to allow Mr. Grenville the office of paymaster, and put an absolute veto on the Duke of Bedford, as well as all others who had been concerned in the peace of Paris. It is to be lamented that a letter of Mr. Pitt relating to these transactions, has not been made public. The interview ended with a declaration of the king, which broke off the negotiation: ‘ Mr. Pitt, this will never do. My honour is concerned.’

‘ What is certain is, that the king, who had hitherto been so cautious and reserved, spoke openly of Mr. Pitt's conditions, and took pains to inflame the anger of the proscribed. In particular, he told Lord Hertford that ‘ Mr. Pitt proscribed several, particularly his friend Lord Powis, had said little of Mr. Legg, and still less of the Duke of Grafton.’ He desired Lord Sandwich to inform the Duke of Bedford that Mr. Pitt would not even consent that he should hold a place in the household.

‘ It seems not a little strange that the Duke of Bedford should advise the king to send for Mr. Pitt, and that Mr. Pitt's first condition should be the exclusion of the Duke of Bedford from the king's councils. What Mr. Pitt really said to the king is not yet known. But there is no reason to doubt the duke's own assertion, that he did not wish for office.

‘ His inclinations, however, were changed when he found himself proscribed. In the heat of his indignation, inflamed by the king's personal request, he accepted at once the office of President of the Council. But in resuming a place in the cabinet, he insisted that Lord Bute should retire from the king's presence and councils; and this indeed was the absolute condition in which the administration

stood. Thus Lord Bute recommended the king to send for the Duke of Bedford, who proscribed Lord Bute; and the Duke of Bedford advised his Majesty to send for Mr. Pitt, who proscribed the Duke of Bedford. In this confusion of persons and parties, a ministry was created which lasted for nearly two years.'—pp. xxxvii—xxxix.

The same course of intrigue was continued under the administration of Mr. Grenville, which led the Duke of Bedford to seek an audience with the king in order to remonstrate against the system that was pursued. His conduct on this occasion has been variously represented, but we are bound to say that the defence of Lord John is substantially satisfactory:—

'There appears,' he says, 'no reason to doubt, that from the commencement of the reign there was a party called the 'King's friends,' who attempted to exercise all real power, while the show of it only was left to the responsible ministers; that on them all favour was bestowed, and by them the measures of the court were directed: that while such was their influence, they kept in the back-ground, occupying permanently lucrative subordinate places, and leaving the labour and the risk of political affairs in the ostensible rulers of the country: that at a signal from the court, any minister was at once removed; and a subservient House of Commons were directed to transfer their votes to some other puppet, destined to hold a rank equally powerless, by a tenure equally precarious.

'If there be truth in these delineations, it was surely the duty of an old counsellor of the Crown to warn the sovereign of his danger; to implore him 'to permit his authority and his favour to go together;' and either to invest his ministers with the influence belonging to his royal station, or to produce in open daylight the secret depositaries of his confidence. By such conduct the Duke of Bedford showed that he well knew 'the eternal difference between a true and sworn friend of the monarchy, and a slippery sycophant of the court.

'The king, having resolved to keep his favour for his private friends and the Bute party, told the chancellor that he considered the Duke of Bedford's remonstrance as a resignation; nor could it be considered unhandsome to his ministers, after the alternative had been put to him, that he should take his choice of the course he preferred. He was resolved not to govern as George the First and George the Second had governed, by means of open parliamentary ministers.'—pp. xlv—xlvi.

The Grenville administration is known in English history by one of the most impolitic and mischievous pieces of legislation ever perpetrated. The resolutions which it carried for imposing stamp duties on America, led to the revolt of the colonies, and ultimately to their independence. But we cannot enter on this theme. Our business is with the Duke of Bedford, and before closing our notice of his *Correspondence*, we must advert to the defence which his descendant has made against the

fierce onslaught of Junius. If we do not misread the signs of the times, there is a tendency amongst our political writers to depreciate unduly this most marvellous of anonymous assailants. Indiscriminate eulogy was formerly fashionable, and we are now in danger of going to an opposite extreme. Admit all that can fairly be urged—and we confess that it is much—and the letters of Junius will yet remain amongst the most lucid, condensed, vigorous, and withering specimens of political writing in our language. At a time when men feared to write their thoughts, and the nation was refused a report of the debates of its representatives, this masked champion entered the lists, and by his undaunted bearing and weight of metal, bore down every opponent. That he was unscrupulous, we admit. The floating rumour of the day was adopted, private vices were dragged to light; even natural deformities, as with fiendish exultation, were dilated on, and where other materials were wanting, invention was permitted to enlarge, to aggravate, and to blacken, the follies or the misdeeds of those whom he sought to overwhelm with public infamy. The moral of Junius was inferior to the mental. His character, however, cannot be duly estimated, without regard being had to the circumstances and spirit of his age. The more healthy modes of expressing public opinion were suppressed. Men were forbidden to speak and write as they felt, while the sacredness of the constitution was violated, and public liberty openly assailed. It is not for the advocates of such a policy to censure the vices of Junius. They were the growth of their own measures, the stealthy, unscrupulous, and revengeful indignation with which an outraged people gave utterance to their maledictions. We would his letters had been free from these vices, but as the atrocities of the French revolution were the natural fruit of the heartless tyranny and sensualism of the ruling classes of that country, so the untruths, the slanders, the bitter malevolence of Junius, find their cause and explanation in the 'political condition of his times. One thing he accomplished, and for this we shall never withhold our gratitude. He had great faults; but he won for the people the right of free speech. He often penned untruths, and for this he is to be censured; but he established the claim of Englishmen to utter within the hearing of their rulers, the indignant rebukes of an insulted people. At the commencement of his career his printer, Woodfall, dared not publish, without considerable alterations, a report which he had furnished of one of Burke's speeches; but within two years that same printer published his celebrated 'Letter to the King.' The nation had found a champion, and they nobly sustained him.

Lord Russell has successfully defended his ancestor from the

attacks of Junius. This is simple justice. Though not above the morality of his day, the Duke of Bedford did not fall below it. He was not guilty in the special matters alleged by Junius. He was probably incapable of the crimes charged upon him. No candid reader of the *Introduction* to this volume will fail to acquit him, whatever estimate may be formed of his patriotism or ability. The *Introduction* itself forms an appropriate comment on the period to which the Letters refer. It is characterized by good sense and clearness of style, and may be read with advantage by the historical student. The noble author is, of course, somewhat partial to the memory of his ancestor. It would have been strange had it been otherwise. His partiality, however, is seen, not so much in any exaggerated estimate of his worth, as in the denunciation of his merciless assailant.

Art. VII.—1. *Celebrated Crimes*. By Alexander Dumas. Chapman and Hall, London. 1843.

2. *Narratives of Remarkable Criminal Trials*. Translated from the German of Aurelius Ritter von Feuerbach. By Lady Duff Gordon. John Murray, London. 1846.*

ALL our blue-books and newspaper leaders, our pamphlets and speeches, professedly on the subject of Crime, are really on the subject of Punishment. Capital punishments and secondary punishments, silent systems and solitary systems, transportation, the hulks, the penal colonies, the treadmill, dietary, medicine, education, tracts, the duties of chaplains, the visits of magistrates, &c.: on all these subjects, discussion abounds, and folios of statistics are plentiful. But it is truly surprising to have to say, in the middle of the nineteenth Christian century, that new ground is broken by an inquiry into the nature and characteristics of the Thing which causes such masses of laborious compilations, such cartloads of fruitless discussions, and such a variety of keenly controverted and vastly complicated arrangements. However, how to try, how to imprison, how to banish, and how to execute, criminals, will be admitted to be subordinate inquiries, to the question, What is Crime?

Punishment has been the chief reliance of society hitherto, all over the world and in all ages, for the prevention of crime. Hence, the attention given to it. But has the reliance been on a broken reed?

We know not how to introduce our impressions on this point better than by quoting a passage from a MS. autobiography, a

* See the *Eclectic Review* for January, 1847. Art. 'The Progress of Crime.' p. 95.

few loose pages of which lie before us :—‘ When I was a boy,’ says the anonymous writer, ‘ I often witnessed with wonder and terror the entrance of the judges of assize into the city of Aberdeen. For days the whisper passed among my playfellows, ‘ The judges are coming.’ On the day announced, the approach of the procession of carriages was proclaimed by the sound of trumpets, the notes of which were interpreted to mean—

‘ Fear ! Fear !
Ye that are clear,
Ye need not fear,
The Judges are near.’

‘ But the judges themselves, instead of being awful and pale men, walking in gloom, surprised me as pompous gentlemen with shrewd eyes, wine-ruddied faces, horse-hair wigs, and red and white mantles. A dark interest, however, invested the one whose duty it was to pronounce the sentence of death ; and my imagination tried to see him in his ‘ black cap.’ Prompted by curiosity, I would be present at a trial, and hear the wisdom of the judges from their own lips, and see the Lord Chief Justice Clerk, in his ‘ black cap,’ (which was not a cap, but a three-cornered hat), when pronouncing the dreadful sentence of death. A celebrated robber was to be tried for his life. He was a young man who had obtained a notoriety in the county as a robber, ravisher, murderer, house-breaker, and prison-breaker. He had lived wild for months in the woods, moors, and mountains of the county. Though not more than twelve years old, I would witness the trial. I could not understand why the advocates were praised so much for speaking in a way for which my father would have flogged me. But the judge rose up on the bench to pronounce the sentence of death, and put on his three-cornered hat. The prisoner also stood up in the dock. I could see his face was white like a bust. These two were the only persons standing up, and all the rest were seated. There was a hush over all. The distinct and sonorous voice of the judge fell on the ear. He told the prisoner how very fairly he had been tried, how completely he was proved guilty, and how desperately wicked his life had been. My mind went with all this, but I soon began to be perplexed. The judge, a ruddy-faced man, told the marble head how very humanely and mercifully he was to be hung by the neck until he was dead, and his body to be given to the doctors for dissection. The law, according to the judge, had a noble and Christian disdain of revenge. The criminal was not to be punished ; he was only to be made an example of. It was to *deter* others, he was to be hung.

‘ My father was one of the clearest and deepest spirits I have

ever known; and to him as wont, I made all my perplexities known.

‘ ‘Is it not a shame of the Lord Justice Clerk to tell the man who is going to be hanged that it is not because he robbed people and killed another man, that he is to be killed himself?’

‘ ‘No: that is the very wisdom of the law, which merely takes away life for the sake of example.’

‘ ‘Well, I cannot make it out. Is not it all one? Does not the judge do what he did?’

‘ ‘No, there is the greatest difference. It is the difference between doing what he did to be even with him, and pardoning him, and merely taking his life to prevent him and others from taking the goods and lives of the public.’

‘ ‘How can he be pardoned, when he is to be hanged?’

‘ ‘He is not exactly pardoned: he is punished for the sake of example.’

‘ ‘But is not punishment for example, punishment? And would he have been made an example, if he had not been found guilty?’

‘ ‘Badly-disposed people would become robbers and murderers, if there were not warnings and examples to prevent and deter them.’

‘ ‘But, last assizes there were two men hung, and before that, three: why did not they prevent and deter this man? And before them, James Ritchie was hung for only stealing a sheep, though he was only seventeen years old: why did not James Ritchie deter them all, when he was hung on purpose?’

‘ ‘When you are older, you will see the reasons for it. You are too young to see the profound and beautiful wisdom of the law; but you are not to suppose that you are right, and all the wisest men wrong.’

‘ A ravenous curiosity led me to visit the prisoner in his condemned cell. The jailer was a grim old man, with a face full of grief and kindness. As he sat at the bottom of the stone stairs, and opposite the door of iron bars, he stared with surprise at the request of the boy to see the man who was doomed to die. Knowing my family, the jailer said the chaplain was to visit the prisoner in a quarter of an hour, and perhaps he would take me with him. The white-headed chaplain, when he came, consented, observing, ‘Perhaps it may do him good.’ I was admitted afterwards by myself repeatedly. Sometimes I was left alone with the condemned. Only the substance of what the doomed man said two days before his execution is now remembered. The boy and the criminal had become intimate. The convict, a strongly-built man of thirty, was always gentle to his visitor, who had to remind himself of the crimes of his acquaint-

ance, to become quite sure he disliked him. Though his leg was chained to a long bar of iron stretching from the many-stanchioned window of the whitewashed cell towards the thick iron-covered door, the condemned would approach the boy and pat his curly head. The boy made known his difficulty, why so many examples for deterring him had not deterred him. However, he soon understood his acquaintance was just the very sort of man who despised all fear, and whose pride it was to defy all the deterring power of terror. As for the cell, the chains, and what was to occur on 'the day,' he had never thought of them, or habitually overcome the thought; and he was quite surprised at the supposition of fear being a deterring power to the like of him. The notion that such fears could prove a match for his passions seemed to astonish him. The condemned warned the boy against the indulgence of desires which might prove stronger than wild horses. His astonishment was at their tyranny, and how they had bewildered and outraged his understanding. As for the chances of an ignominious death, the condemned was perplexed by the supposition of their deterring anybody. He reckoned his own death a just debt to make him quits with man, and turned to the cross of Christ to right him with God.

'Such are my impressions of the results of these conversations. I saw discrepancies between the judge and the criminal. What was punishment to the one, was a public warning according to the other. Fear of 'the day,' which was of so much account with the judge, was almost nothing whatever in the experience of the criminal. Every boy can sympathise with the most thorough contempt for fear, and admire the determination 'to die game.'

'These discrepancies puzzled me, but I obtained no sympathy in my perplexities. A dozen years later, I was a student at law in an inn of court. I hoped for a glimpse of the profound and beautiful wisdom hidden from my boyhood. But I have looked in vain for years into a somewhat muddy sea. The beauties of the deep have not delighted my eyes. Voyagers on the Atlantic, if they look down many days, may catch a flash of dolphins comparable to the *aurora borealis*. Looking through the green waves on rocky coasts, I have had visions of beds of shells, and of brown and green sea flowers of marvellous beauty. However, a quarter of a century has not yet displayed the beautiful wisdom in the depths of the criminal law to the gaze of the student.'

Perhaps the distinction between punishments which are exemplary, and not retributive, may be a legal fiction, which makes a murderer a martyr, of whose sacrifice the law is to have the glory. Peradventure, punishment is not the prevention it has been taken to be. 'The punishment is the prevention of crime.'

Perhaps, this apothegm is not a moral axiom. May we be pardoned if we suggest the wisdom of the inquiry into what the real force of punishment is, as a preventive influence? What if punishment were scarcely any prevention at all? Would the whole framework of society break into pieces, were it suggested that, perchance, punishment deserves as prominent a place among the causes as among the preventions of crimes? The ideal character of the civil magistrates is to be a terror to evil doers. What if evil doers do evil just because they are callous, if not insensible, to terror? Let not the supposition be dismissed summarily and contemptuously, that appealing to the fears of criminals is relying on the cowardice of dare-devils. What if appealing to fear by the terrors of the gaols and gibbets be applying to the wrong emotion in the spirit of the criminal, just because it is not a ruling, habitual, and dominant feeling in the sort of mind which he possesses? Inquiry may show, that in the kingdom of the soul of the criminal fear is not a ruler, but a slave. Just suppose for a moment that, instead of directing your whole attention to the king in his mind, you have been applying to its meanest inmate? or asking the pigmy to bind and rein the wild giants?

The lawyers are merely the echoes of the philosophers. Law is an application of a part of the philosophy of morals. The ideas of the students of morals, accepted and established, become professional routine and sonorous common-places. Just and plausible thoughts issue from the sparkling forges of gifted minds, and stiffen and cool into the iron forms of law and order. Should the men who thought for them have erred, the men in red mantles and horse-hair wigs may, with their solemn voices, if echoes, at best be only echoes of obsolete fallacies, or detected mistakes, or mischievous untruths.

Undoubtedly the notions of Beccaria, which our criminal procedure embodies, were great improvements on the principles of punishment prevalent in the middle ages. The system which Beccaria found established in Europe, and which his small book overthrew, was a system of quits. Its principle was an eye for an eye. The ideal perfection of this system is represented by the murderer hung in chains on the spot where his victim fell. The legal horror confronted the criminal horror. Law fought crime with its own weapons. Legal violence contended with criminal violence. Such was the system which Beccaria destroyed. John Howard traversed Europe, exposing the practical cruelties of the system, and appealing to the instincts of humanity and the sentiments of Christianity spread the conviction that governments err when they vie with criminals in their own line—setting off cruelties of punishment against cruelties of

crime, and horror against horror. The influence of the spirit of Howard has softened the discipline of prisons, and supplied chaplains for the spiritual, and surgeons for the medical wants of prisoners. Prisons have ceased to be dens of abomination. Since Beccaria, the only original mind at work on this subject, has been Jeremy Bentham, who expended his thoughts chiefly upon his Panopticon. For the last half century, in fact, the one idea of all our thinking, talking, writing, and law-making men, has been how to perfect the house of punishment—the model prison. Now, we submit, all society would have been much more advanced in its mode of dealing with crime had the attention been bestowed on crime itself, and not on the punishment of it. It has been taken for granted, that punishing is preventing crimes. This error has been very fruitful of mischiefs. Under the prevalence of this error, society has organized the wisdom of ages into an immense and complicated system of fatuity. The civilized world has entered into a solemn combination for shutting stables after the steeds have been stolen. Bitterly does the reflective observer doubt whether this error may not have caused more crimes than punishments have ever prevented. All the attention bestowed on punishment has been given on the assumption that there is a deterring power in it. However, a scientific estimate of what this deterring power really is, has not yet been given to the world. Surely the consideration given to the punishment of crime ought to be bestowed on the nature of crime. But to enable our readers and ourselves to proceed together, it will suffice if they agree with us in thinking that, though punishment may not have had too much, crime has had too little consideration.

Experience has taught us a few useful things respecting crime. It is something which the hangman cannot cure. Crime flourishes in spite of schools, colleges, and churches. Crime seizes weapons for its purposes from the hands of science. Crime does battle with Christianity itself.

Prior to considering the nature of crime, it is necessary to distinguish between criminality and illegality. Crime is essentially selfish. The violation of law is not necessarily crime, and may be virtue and nobility. All martyrs for truth have been criminals in the eyes of the laws they broke. Yet the true criminals were not the martyrs, but the legislators and administrators of bad laws. What the law calls crimes, are crimes only when the law is in the right. There is no crime where there is no selfishness. The violation of forms of morality, and conventions of society, is criminal only when they are right. It is the selfishness which there is in a deed which gives it guilt and shame; and neither the condemnation, the illegality, nor the punishment.

For the sake of clearness, it is needful to show how like crimes deeds may be without possessing the features of unjustifiable selfishness. A fanatic or patriot slaying an enemy to liberty, a father killing his son, a daughter assassinating her father, are the cases we shall select as examples of deeds of which every man must judge for himself; while we remove them from the category to which this essay is devoted, and believe the final decision can come with certainty only from Him who seeth in secret.

Karl Ludwig Sand, a German student, stabbed Kotzebue, the play-wright, to the heart. Kotzebue was a very successful writer of pamphlets against the liberties of the German people; for which Sand had fought and laboured and struggled. As a seducer of youth and a traitor to liberty, Kotzebue was stabbed by Sand for the sake of Germany and morality. Sand loved Germany as a bride, and resolved to give his life for her. Much good, he foresaw, would come of his deed. Kotzebue was corrupting public opinion on behalf of the German princes who had broken the promises of constitutional liberty they had made to their people to make them expel the French. His deed would express the popular feelings, if his dagger did not stop the mercenary pens. 'The balance had turned in favour of sacrifice.' Sand would give his life to the scaffold, and his name to the stain of murder. Of course order is upset when individuals act as representatives of a people, and inflict death on their own convictions. Of course, the law killed Sand; but he could not be punished. Of rare gifts and acquirements, his jailer attended him with reverence. Loving in his disposition, his mother, brothers and sisters, only loved him with a prouder love for the execution, the cell, and the blood. 'A man is a fleeting shadow; a people is immortal,' he reasoned; and sacrificed the shadow for the immortal. In his twenty-fourth year Sand was borne in a carriage towards the scaffold. A youth with a rugged pock-pitted face, redeemed by eyes full of sweetness, with a broad lofty forehead, and black flowing locks—when the assembled thousands of the German people saw him passing, they showered bouquets on his carriage. At the first view of the scaffold, he smiled. On the scaffold he stretched forth his hand and said, 'I take God to witness, I die for the liberty of Germany.' His scaffold was religiously preserved by his executioner, as if an altar. The people have called his place of execution 'Sand's Heavenward Meadow—Sande Himmel Fortswiese.' Jailers, executioners, and people, could only have ennobled Sand the more, had they reviled, and hooted, and yelled at him.

Alexander Dumas tells the story of Nisida with even more than his usual melodramatic felicity. A beautiful girl is seen in a procession strewing flowers before the image of the virgin in the streets

of Naples, in the year 1825, by the Prince of Brancalone, who was young, handsome, and profligate. The girl was called Nisida, from the island on which her father, a poor fisherman, lived, and ruled like a king. Resolved to possess her, the prince disguising himself as a poor student, and one of his servants, as a pilgrim from Jerusalem, landed on the island. The beautiful girl was soon won by the honourable love of the handsome student and poet. The fisherman did not withhold his consent. However, on a night when her brother was to be at sea, the pretended pilgrim drugged the wine of the girl and her father with opium, and the prince, applying a ladder to her lattice, entered the bedroom of the sleeping maiden. A light before an image of the Madonna, and useful to guide the boats at sea, had always burned in her window. Contrary winds made the brother of Nisida return homewards; and when the prince extinguished the light, the young fisherman, impelled by alarm, arising partly from superstition, and partly from anxious affection, hurried to the window. He found the ladder, he entered the room, and seized the prince. The young fisherman was too high-minded to slay his foe except in a fair duel. The discovery of the rank of the profligate only increased the resolution of the young fisherman; for the father of Brancalone had menaced a similar wrong to the mother of Nisida. Offered his choice of weapons—an axe or a gun—the prince chose the gun. The fisherman received his fire twice. The prince missed; but seeing two of his servants, he shouted to them that the fishermen were assassinating him. ‘You lie,’ cried the young man, and clove his skull with the hatchet. The innocent girl and her old father were kneeling before the Virgin to thank heaven for her escape, when her brother was arrested on the charge of murdering the Prince of Brancalone. He was tried, and condemned to death. The evidence of the servants was received in preference to that of the girl and her father. After exhausting every effort to obtain justice, and save the life of his son, the old fisherman, who had lived amidst respect and reverence all his days, complied with the request of his proud boy, and, by stabbing him to the heart in his cell, evaded the death of exposure, and, apparently, of shame. When tried for the deed, the old man was acquitted. Brancalone was, in this case the criminal, for he was the person actuated by selfishness. Of course it is the policy of the law to denounce persons taking the law into their hands; but such talk is mere triviality in reference to any of the great tragic emotions of man. The law must either bring itself into compliance with the morality of the people, or find the human heart too strong

for its cobwebs. The morality embodied in the conduct of the fisherman was not high. Sturdy, manly, popular, springing from the circumstances which brought the wrong doer and the avenger face to face on the scene, and at the instant of the crime, there was just nothing below, and little above the average morality of Europe, in the conduct of the fishermen. Though devout catholics, their conduct embodied good paganism.

The details of the case of the Cenci family are well known. Whether Beatrice was justifiable in plotting the death of her father, is a question which most will decide not upon its own merits, but according to the relative weight of certain general considerations in their minds. In some, the authority due to the State will decide it against her, though the state was deaf to her petitions for rescue. In other minds she will be condemned out of an awful regard to the paternal relation, though this, to her, was not venerable, but diabolical. Those who realize her feelings may find the condemnation falter on their lips, and the most Christian minds will be glad they hold not the office of her Judge.

Our purpose in citing these cases will be answered, if the idea be distinctly brought out that every crime must be studied in reference to the selfishness in it, without regard to general rules of morality, the conventions of society, the opinions of the age, or the laws of the government.

Crimes, and deeds like them, called crimes by society, may be traced to each of three tyrants—a tyrant Idea, a tyrant Circumstance, a tyrant Desire.

Deeds, like crimes, may be traced to the tyranny of an idea. When, either from the state of his body, or his mind, a man is led to do a fearful deed, we ascribe it to the tyranny of an idea. This is monomania or insanity, arising from physical or mental disease; and however fearful the deed may be, it is no more a crime than is a surgical operation.

The law makes suicide a crime. But, if the term is to be applied to it, suicide must be widely discriminated from those crimes of which selfishness is the rampant ingredient. A selfish cowardice, or a selfish scheme may cause a man to take away his own life, and his deed is of course criminal in proportion as he defrauds society of the duties he owes it. But suicide may be no more a crime than a stroke of paralysis. A man may be one moment splendid in intellect and noble in emotion, and the next by a single shock of disease, reduced to the condition of an animal. Disease may develop the propensity to suicide, and there shall be no more guilt or responsibility, or selfishness, or what the law too indiscriminately calls crime, than there is in

apoplexy or epilepsy. Insanity is an evil to which all are liable in proportion to their weakness—of course the weakest most.

‘Great wits to madness sure are near allied,
And thin partitions do their bounds divide,’

is a couplet which we deem just the reverse of the truth. Small wits are nearest madness. But let the malign influences be too strong, and the best mind must be crushed by a tyrant delusion. It depends on the nature of the disease whether or not it takes the direction of suicide.

Society ought to distinguish between suicide the crime, and suicide the disease. An old Roman destroyed himself as his last duty. Twenty Greeks were once driven into a church by two thousand Turks, and the Greeks when the church was full, of their enemies, blew themselves and all up together with gunpowder. This was merely a trick of war.

2. Crimes and deeds like crimes, may be traced to the tyranny of circumstances. A state of mind exactly similar to insanity may be induced by an external cause. The tyranny is not exercised by any thing within a man either bodily or mental. It comes from without. Two men destroyed themselves from pecuniary distress. The one was rich and was destroyed by the tyranny of an idea, a delusive belief of his own bankruptcy. He was the victim of disease of body and mind. In the case of the other suicide the poverty was real. Carriages, splendid residences, a seat in Parliament, estates, rental, banker's books—all the evidences of wealth around him could not conquer the delusion of bankruptcy in the mind of the maniac. Want, cold, hunger, and debt, pressed on the other sufferer a most clear knowledge of the reality of his distress. The delusion of poverty drove the rich man—the reality of poverty drove the poor man to self-destruction. A ten pound note would have saved the life of the one; the destroyer of the other was within himself.

3. Of all the tyrannies which cause crimes, the worst is the tyranny of a desire. This is the cause of what is properly called crime. It is the tyranny of selfishness. If the first tyranny is called monomania—this may be called demonia. It is the demoniac aspect of man.

Preferring ourselves to others is the essence of all vice and crime. ‘If I have in thought ever preferred myself to another unduly, I have committed a fault identical in principle with the crimes, theft, and murder.’ This will be the reflection of every one who tries himself by profound standards of morals. Preference of ourselves makes love, lust, acquisition, greed, anger, malignity. A girl puts arsenic into the arrow-root she prepares for her father to destroy him, because he prohibits her marriage with her lover. Such was the despotism of her lust and her

self-will. Francis Riembauer and George Wachs, are remarkable examples of the tyranny of desire over minds of the most opposite calibre.

In a solitary cottage on an eminence about two hundred paces from several mills, a shoemaker sat on his stool at work, while a youth of nineteen stood beside him playing with a hammer. The youth was George Wachs, an apprentice carpenter, dressed in a blue coat and bright buttons. A silver watch hung on a nail in the wall. Until the age of puberty the youth had been good enough. Within the previous year, however, he had been discharged from a situation, for licentiousness. He had become fond of talking about women with dissolute companions at the public houses, and had committed a theft which his father had hushed up. Wachs had just left a comrade who had a watch which he was to display during the approaching Easter festivities. Wachs had no watch. The shoemaker's watch seemed most beautiful to him. He took it from the wall and opened it, and shut it, and hung it upon the wall again, and could not withdraw his eyes from it. He talked about buying it. The wife and children of the shoemaker had gone out, and Wachs went up and down the room at his back with the hammer in his hand. The longing for the watch became the dominancy of his nature, and he killed the shoemaker with a blow. Successively the children and the wife of his victim came in before he got off with his booty. He stunned a girl of nine, and killed a boy of three, and when their mother came in he killed her. The baby of two months he took into the chamber, and laid carefully into the bed lest it should fall out.

Such was the tyranny of his lust. The desire for property to display, and to subserve his lust, produced a state in which he regarded nothing—not even the lives of others in comparison to his own gratification. All his knowledge, all his ignorance, all his faculties, were the slaves for the hour of his tyrant lust, which was concentrated on the silver watch.

But the tyrant lust domineered over a far higher culture than that of a German apprentice, in the case of Francis Riembauer.

Few doubted the character of the parish priest at Priel, as he was wont to walk out of church, a holy smile on his face, his head on one side, his downcast eyes half closed, and his hands devoutly clasped. A stately and handsome form completed the impression of his great talents as a preacher and a divine. A distinguished scholar, he was admired by the clergy for his mastery of metaphysical, dialectical, casuistical, theological, patristical, and ecclesiastical learning. Diligent in his duties, eloquent in the pulpit, with a flattering thing to say to every body—many of the people deemed him a saint. His prayers released souls

from purgatory, and persons rushed to the seat he had left to catch the odour of sanctity always around him. But there was one young girl of sixteen who alone knew the true character of the distinguished priest. Her infant eyes had seen him kneeling beside the corpse of a dark and handsome mistress whose throat he had cut. To the public a saint, he was to her an assassin.

Francis Riembauer was a George Wachs, with an acute intellect, and the highest ecclesiastical culture. A shepherd boy of talent and ambition, he fell on his knees before his parish priest, and besought a clerical education. But the passions of the man were incompatible with the vows of the priest. He murdered a discarded mistress, who tried to extort money from him for herself and her child, by threats of exposure. Passion made him licentious, and ambition made him hypocritical.

But he possessed a casuistical intellect of great subtlety, and the power of his selfishness, the tyranny of his desires over his intellect was one of the most extraordinary exhibitions of the slavery to which the reason of man may be reduced. Profligacy, he justified to himself because it was increasing the number of the children of God and the sons of the church. The sins of a priest were the sins of celibacy. He found in books of casuistry authority for depriving another of life for the preservation of honour and reputation, and the authority of religion and the church. This he took as his *dictamen practicum*. He found the subtlest explanations of his contradictions, perjuries, and atrocities, in the recondite distinctions of the scholastic philosophy of mind and morals. He tried to bribe evidence without the *sensus intimus*, his razor cut the throat *motus primo primus* and he committed murder and perjury *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.

In the Thugs of India, assassination and plunder are linked with their religious ideas and feelings, by hereditary traditions and caste conventions. To murder is wrong; but it is a pious act to offer the life of a man to the Black Goddess. To plunder is wrong; but the property of the dead belongs to the living. But this is not so strange an illustration of the Despotism of the Desires, as the case of Riembauer exhibits, whose religion was Christianity, whose intellect was German, and whose perversions were not sanctioned by any long descended and class-upheld conventions. Francis Riembauer, the learned and eloquent Christian priest, holding up the beautiful woman whose throat he had cut, and giving her absolution as *in casu necessitatis*, is one of the most terrible examples on record of the conquest of the Intellect by the Desires.

Though we have discriminated these tyrants they are very similar in their powers. They often combine in the dark work of deceiving a soul. Terrible, indeed, are the powers they wield, each and all, of making us delude, betray, and destroy ourselves.

They can make all the faculties of the soul false to us. Before the terrible presence of a tyrannous idea, circumstance or desire, every faculty becomes abject and false, as a slave, and a liar, and a traitor. The memory will not supply the best known facts. The imagination paints the most fallacious pictures. The judgment makes the merest chances the greatest probabilities, and builds on the smallest particles of sand as if they were the most solid rocks. The conscience calls right wrong, and wrong right, and passes off violence as heroism, revenge as nobility, self-degradation as self-sacrifice, and moral ruin as the height of generosity.

Man has not a sense or a faculty which may not betray him. The eyes see sparks of fire, streams of water, angelic appearances, and the forms of the dead, because an optic nerve is disordered. A diseased aural nerve causes us to hear unreal sounds. All the perceptive powers can act falsely. A student at a Scotch university lost his father, whose corpse he saw, and whose funeral he attended. A few days after the funeral, oblivious of all the realities of his grief, he saw his father in the street, and went up to him, and spoke to him. He could not receive any answer from a spectre of the brain. The reflective and moral powers are as capable of delusion as the perceptive. The affection of a mother may be eradicated by a disease. It is in the power of a fever to make her destroy the babe who would else have been her darling and her idol. Physicians mention instances in which a regard for veracity has been destroyed by a stroke of palsy. For the falls from religion and virtue of women of mature age, which sometimes perplex religious circles, physiologists find explanations in the changes in the human constitution. The girl whose grace and elegance make her the queen of the ball, may be degraded, by causes equally physical, into a creature insensible to decency.

A tyrant idea, a tyrant circumstance, or a tyrant desire, can, besides making any or all of the faculties of the mind false to us, debauch the intellect and the conscience, and transmute the character of the whole man.

To note their effects on the intellect. The class of facts a man looks at on any subject determines his actions, and the tyrants determine the class of facts. The intellect is in nearly all mankind the slave of the early impressions, the constitutional tendencies, the ruling habits, the habitual sympathies. There

is no sand blindness like that of the people who allow their hearts to get into their eyes. We are all doing it always. The power of habit is the facility given by doing a thing once of doing it again, and this power may invest any feeling once indulged with an omnipotent dominion over the soul. Hence the tyrannies. They enslave and betray the intellect in two ways—they determine the class of facts a man sees, and they determine the weight he shall give to the facts.

There is a great want of a good book on the logic of the emotions. Their functions in the discovery and the proof of truth have never been analysed. We can only exhibit here how the intellect may be debauched. Take an instance in which a tyrant circumstance debauches the intellect into the sanction of crime by determining the facts considered, and the relative weight which is given to them.

Richard and Bridget Smith shot their only child, an infant daughter, through the head as she lay in her cradle, and then hanged themselves. They were overwhelmed with debt. A moral, frugal, affectionate, honest couple, they could not bear hopeless poverty. The paper which they left behind them is a most instructive exhibition of the tyranny of circumstance. In their case there was no insanity apart from the insanity which gives an undue intensity to the realities of debt and distress. The Tyrant circumstance, Debt, lords it over their intellects, their affections, their convictions. Poverty obtains an importance for itself superior to Life, Love, God, and Eternity.

‘ These actions considered in all their circumstances, being somewhat uncommon, it may not be improper to give some account of the cause, and that it was an inveterate hatred, we conceived, against poverty and rags; evils, that through a train of unlucky accidents were become inevitable; for we appeal to all that ever knew us, whether we ever were either idle or extravagant; whether or no we have not taken as much pains for our living as our neighbours, although not attended with the same success. We apprehend the taking our child’s life away to be a circumstance for which we shall be generally condemned; but, for our own parts we are perfectly easy on that head. We are satisfied it is a less cruelty to take the child with us, even supposing a state of annihilation, as some dream of, than to leave her friendless in the world exposed to ignorance and misery. Now, in order to obviate some censures, which may proceed either from ignorance or malice, we think it proper to inform the world, that we firmly believe the existence of Almighty God: that this belief of ours is not an implicit faith, but deduced from the nature and reason of things; we believe the existence of an Almighty Being, from the consideration of

his wonderful works, from a consideration of those innumerable celestial and glorious bodies, and from their wonderful order and harmony We have also spent some time in viewing those wonders which are to be seen in the minute part of the world, and that with great pleasure and satisfaction; from all which particulars we are satisfied that such amazing things could not possibly be without a first mover, without the existence of an Almighty Being; and as we know the wonderful God to be Almighty, so we cannot help believing but that he is also good, not implacable; not like such wretches as men are; not taking delight in the miseries of his creatures; for which reason we resign up our breath to him without any terrible apprehensions, submitting ourselves to those ways, which in his goodness he shall please to appoint after death; we also believe the existence of unbodied creatures, and think we have reason for that belief; although we do not pretend to know their way of subsisting. We are not ignorant of those laws made *in terrorem*, but leave the disposal of our bodies to the wisdom of the coroner and the jury; the thing being indifferent to us where our bodies are laid; from whence it will appear how little anxious we are about a *hic jacet*; we, for our parts neither expect nor desire such honours, but shall content ourselves with a borrowed epitaph, which we shall insert in this paper.

‘ Without a name, for ever silent, dumb;
 Dust, ashes, nought else is within this tomb;
 Where we were born or bred, it matters not,
 Who were our parents, or hath us begot;
 We were, but now are not; think no more of us,
 For as we are, so you ’ll be turned to dust.’

‘ It is the opinion of naturalists, that our bodies are, at certain stages of life, composed of new matter; so that a great many poor men have new bodies oftener than new clothes: now as divines are not able to inform us which of those several bodies shall rise at the resurrection, it is very probable that the deceased body may be for ever silent as well as any other.

RICHARD SMITH,
 BRIDGET SMITH.’

‘ An inveterate hatred of poverty and rags,’ made them easy upon the subject of ‘ their taking their child’s life away.’ It was ‘ a less cruelty than leaving her to friendless misery.’ A smattering of physiology enabled them to laugh at the burial under cross-roads. Thus, debt is triumphant over paternal affection, the love of life, the punishments of suicide, reason and religion. Debt defies and defeats them all. The verdict of the coroner’s jury was *Felo de se*. There was not a trace of monomania in the

affair. The Smiths left the world with the coolness and method of people of business.

The 'inveterate hatred of poverty and rags' which destroyed these persons, besides giving an undue weight to pecuniary troubles, blinded them to the strongest moral certainties of human life. There is nothing more reasonable than hope. The fundamental tendency of the mind to reason that because so and so has happened in the past, so and so will occur in the future, might suffice to fasten into all spirits the belief that the future, like the past, will have portions of brightness as well as darkness in it. 'When things are at their worst, they must mend.' The dark is full of beautiful things. Clouds always change; they are silvery to the moon, they are golden to the sun. To adapt to our purpose a comparison used by Sir Harry Vane—black though our side of the canvass be, a Divine hand paints a beautiful picture on the unseen side. However, it was the very result of the tyranny of their distress to make the facts which suggest despair vividly present, and the facts which dictate hope as absent from the view of this couple, as if non-existent.

An idea, a circumstance, or a desire assuming the command of a human mind, can enslave and debauch the conscience. By the conscience, we mean the judgment when occupied with moral subjects. By the judgment, we mean the consciousness of differences, which is our fundamental analysis of the phenomena of mind, thought, and emotion.

Conscience is the feeling of moral differences. No one who observes his own states of mind can fail to acknowledge how much his feeling of moral differences varies with the state of the body. In dreamy moods, trains of thought, pictures of fancy, and lines of conduct, are allowed to dwell in the mind with indulgence, which in other states of the body would be dismissed with instantaneous disdain. Owing to the action of bodily states on the conscience, the sick bed of the virtuous man may be remorseful, and the sick bed of the bad man full of peace. A saint may pass the gates of death with alarm, and a scoundrel see nothing but brightness beyond the dark shadow. Bodily changes can alter, as physicians tell us, the way in which the conscience regards certain sins. Pecuniary distress blinded the consciences of Richard and Bridget Smith to the right of their child to her life. The mind is one whole. A separate moral sense or a distinct faculty for moral subjects, is a fancy only a single whit less absurd than the supposition of a sense for mathematics, or a faculty for physic, or a conscience for geology. Whatever diminishes the power of feeling differences, lessens the keenness of the conscience. The conscience is deceived in the judgment.

Few more expressive examples of the power of lust and cupi-

dity to pervert the conscience can be cited than that of John Tawell. We shall never forget seeing him in Euston-square on the morning of the day on which he resolved and executed the murder, and was arrested for it. We saw hurrying past the Victoria Hotel a small elderly Quaker, with flushed cheeks and downcast eyes, about midday of the 1st of January, 1845. He was a hanger on of the Society of Friends. Originally a commercial traveller, he had been known on the road for years as 'the Quaker traveller.' Transported for forgery, he managed to make his fortune, and came back from Sydney a rich man, and set up for a philanthropist, a commentator on the Bible, a patron of schools and chapels, and was noted for his eloquence in exhortation and prayer. Much as he loved a religious reputation, and though he gave a hundred a year to a school to gain one, he could not restrain his lusts. He would be respected as a saint, and he would indulge his criminal desires. His knowledge of poisons became a snare to him. He fancied he could administer prussic-acid in a way which would escape detection. At the age of sixty-one, he poisoned his mistress, Sarah Hart. As he escaped from her cottage at Salthill, her death-moan fell upon his ear. She had 'pestered' him for money. She had threatened to destroy his reputation by an exposure. Disappointed of £700 which he expected to receive on that day from Sydney, he could not, without the knowledge of his wife, give his mistress her quarterly twelve pounds. His excellent wife was writing to him while he was committing murder as 'My only loved one.' Selfishness perverting his conscience, he persuaded himself that it was right to kill a bad woman, who connected him with vice and might destroy his home. The very ideal of a hypocrite, while he sought not to be good, his master passion was to be thought good. His own heart might tell him he was a forger, an adulterer, a murderer: and he did not care, if esteemed by deceived neighbours and a duped wife as a benevolent man and a faithful husband. His address and cunning had made his life apparently successful, and he would trust them once more. His intellect was debauched and his conscience perverted by his desire for a good name. When he hung from the beam at Aylesbury, he was an example of the tyranny of the desire for religious repute. A life of hypocrisy had, by the constant substitution of pretences for realities, made him a believer in wrong as right, but right asserted itself at last, to his destruction.

An idea, a circumstance, or a desire, may transmute the character of a man. Perversions are phenomena of human nature, the reverse of conversions. An evil principle suddenly or gradually becomes alive and active within a man, and hence-

forth his character is formed by it, and his actions dictated by it. If spiritual truth does not seize the empire of the man, a selfish principle may do it to his hurt. Errors which he had known all his days, and never felt before, become the lords of his conduct. The facts of perversions are well worthy of study. Young men often exhibit them. Moral, decorous, rightly-principled apparently, under the paternal roof and in their native towns, a change of residence to the metropolis suffices to transform them frequently into persons of licentious pursuits and sceptical and materialistic principles. In conversions, the sensual become spiritual, the proud humble, the ambitious lowly, the avaricious liberal. In perversions, the chaste become sensual, the upright knavish, the kind and well-tempered passionate. When the study of human nature is more advanced, we may hope for a philosophy of perversion,—full of the most beneficent instruction, warning, and guidance.

Brief Notices.

The History of Rome. For the Religious Tract Society. London: 1846.

EXTERNALLY, this book has many recommendations, and we are heartily well predisposed to its aim of popularizing ancient history. But, as often happens with such attempts, the labour of criticising is immensely greater than if it had been the work of a professed scholar. Its great extent is a sufficient justification of borrowing freely from other modern writers; nor would we exact references to the ancient sources; but we do think that half a page of introduction might have been spared, to inform us on whom the compiler has depended.

Not but that it is very clear whence the whole earlier history has been chiefly drawn. With good reason, Dr. Arnold's labours have been here rendered serviceable to those who are not likely to study the original ; and so far as we have been able to examine, no doubt is left on our mind that this imparts much value to the present compilation. We are glad to see that Arnold and Niebuhr are *not* followed in dating by the years of the city ; but that reference is throughout made to the Christian era. It would have been an additional convenience, cheaply given, if the date of the year had been printed at the top of every page. We remark that even a misprint in Arnold (M. Junius *Pisa*, for M. Junius *Pera*, dictator after the battle of Cannæ,) has been copied. It would have been better if the writer had not deviated from this modern authority, so far as to give us once more the fabulous victories of Marcellus over Hannibal. When Arnold fails, we believe that Ferguson is followed ; partly, judging from the similarities in the narrative, (as in the accounts of the tribunate of Tib. Gracchus, and of the death of Augustus,) partly, from the like omissions ; as in neither is the introduction of the ballot into Rome spoken of. We cannot help noticing petty errors which betray that there has been a want of scholarship in getting up the book. Thus *Corfinium* is more than once printed *Corsinium* ; which proves that the passages were reprinted from print, (in which a long s looks like an f,) or were copied from print by an ill-informed person. The names also of some of the emperors are given rather strangely. In page 229, (the emperor) Tiberius is called, in what professes to be a decree of the senate, *Caius Julius Cæsar Tiberius* : of which the three first names belong to his adopted father : if the son assumed the name *Caius*, we apprehend he must have dropped *Tiberius*. The emperor Nero also is styled *Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus*, as if Nero were his prænomen. Such inversions as Tiberius last and Nero first, would have sounded to a Roman ear, much as *Charles Fox James* and *Sir Peel Robert* to an Englishman. We are unwilling to dwell on petty matters of this nature, which are very far indeed from proving that there is not a substantial value in the publication before us. Indeed, while its very bulk has forbidden us more than a cursory examination, it is easy to see that no popular book now existing, can compare to this in the fulness of treatment and extent of plan. Besides the history, there is a book of some length on the Physical and Topographical History of Rome ; another still more extensive on the Language, Religion, Government, Institutions, and Manners of the Romans. An ample Chronological Index, and Index of Reference, closes the volume. On the whole a vast mass of information is embraced, so as to supersede all need of a dictionary of antiquities to the popular reader. We need hardly add that it is written in a religious spirit. We trust, therefore, that the work is likely to answer the ends contemplated by the excellent society from which it proceeds.

Characteristics of Men of Genius ; a Series of Biographical, Historical, and Critical Essays, selected by permission, chiefly from the North American Review. 2 vols. 12mo. London : Chapman.

WE are glad to see the principle recently acted on in the case of some of our own journals, applied to the periodical literature of America. The present volumes, which are very tastefully executed, consist of a selection, with three exceptions, from the *North American Review*. The subjects selected are of permanent interest, and are sufficiently varied to meet the claims of all classes of intelligent readers. They consist of Gregory VII., Ignatius Loyola, Pascal, Dante, Petrarch, Milton, Shelley, Byron, Goethe, Scott, Wordsworth, the poets of Germany, Michael Angelo, Canova, Machiavelli, Louis IX., and Peter the Great. In the case of some of these essays, more particularly the first two, we recognise a similar fault to that which, in our judgment, attaches to a few recent articles in the oldest of our own quarterlies. The favourable side only of the picture is presented, and the impression produced is therefore to a considerable extent erroneous. The artist is too intent on the beauty of his painting, to give due attention to the accuracy of the portrait. We dissent also from some of the literary judgments which are pronounced, and should certainly have expressed a less equivocal condemnation of the irreligious tendency of some of the writings reviewed. With these deductions the volumes may be recommended to every intelligent reader. Their contents are deeply interesting, the spirit they breathe is humane, enlightened, and generous, and their criticisms are in general candid and sound. We advise such readers as have little time to spare, not to commence their perusal, for once commenced, it must be completed. We hope the editor will be encouraged to proceed in his design, of presenting to our countrymen a further selection from the periodical literature of America.

Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, with original anecdotes of many of the most distinguished of his contemporaries, and a summary review of public affairs. Written by his widow, Lucy. Fifth Edition ; to which is now first added, *An Account of the Siege of Lathom House, defended by the Countess of Derby against Sir Thomas Fairfax.* London : Henry G. Bohn.

THIS is one of the best books in the English language. We say this advisedly, and from an intimate knowledge of its contents. Few works of fiction are so captivating, and still fewer books of history so instructive. Those who have not read the volume should do so immediately ; and such as are already acquainted with it cannot do better than renew their intercourse. Colonel Hutchinson was a puritan, a republican, and a regicide ; and yet, by universal consent, he was a sincere Christian and a polished gentleman. The publication of his *Memoirs*, in 1806, served to convince an incredulous age of the compatibility of these

qualities. It had previously been denied, and the instances adduced were pronounced unsatisfactory. In this case, however, the evidence was complete, and a thorough revolution in the public mind has since been taking place. This change we attribute in great part to the present biography, which presents 'to future ages,' as Mr. Bohn justly remarks, 'a great and noble manifestation of human character in a time of political commotion and danger.' The present reprint contains the whole of the notes and additions of the Rev. Julius Hutchinson, the original editor. The orthography and punctuation have been carefully revised; 'a few obsolete words and minor defects of phraseology have been sparingly altered;' while dates, and a general index have been added. *The Siege of Lathom House*, which, with exuberant liberality the publisher has also supplied, forms a fitting accompaniment to the work, and will be read with considerable interest by the historical student. We need scarcely say, that we recommend the volume to all classes of our readers, and congratulate those whose means are limited, on its being published at about one-sixth of the original price of the *Memoirs*. We thank Mr. Bohn for having included the work in the *Standard Library*, and wish it a universal circulation.

The Life of the Rev. John Williams, Missionary to Polynesia. By Ebenezer Prout. Fourth Thousand. London: John Snow.

Our opinion was early recorded on the character and value of Mr. Prout's labours, and it is therefore only requisite that we now state the distinctive features of this edition. It is printed, we are informed, 'in compliance with numerous and urgent applications for that work, at such a price as would place it within the reach of many church members, Sabbath-school teachers, and other warm, though not wealthy, friends of Christian missions, who could not conveniently purchase the more costly octavo. The volume has been subjected to a careful revision, has suffered no abridgment, and is printed uniform with the cheap editions of 'Williams's Missionary Enterprises,' and 'Moffat's Labours and Scenes in South Africa.'

My Youthful Companions. By the Author of 'My Schoolboy Days.' London: Longman and Co.

In this pleasing little book, 'The Philosopher' continues his praiseworthy exertions for the young. He narrates the career of some of his early associates, and, combining with this, various instructive tales and fables, conveys, in an attractive manner, moral lessons which may prove of great value to his readers. His schoolfellows certainly moralise more profoundly, and have a more extensive acquaintance with poetry, than any with whom it has been our fortune to meet; but this must not prevent our recommending 'My Youthful Companions' as a very suitable present for little people.

The Modern Orator. The most celebrated Speeches of the Earl of Chatham, the Right Hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the Right Hon. Lord Erskine, and the Right Hon. Edmund Burke. 8vo, pp. 868. London : Aylott & Jones.

THESE speeches may be had separately, or together in the volume before us ; and they form one of the most valuable additions which can be made to a library. We have repeatedly, in the course of the work, recorded our favourable judgment on it ; and now that a volume is completed, we again strongly recommend it to our readers. The Speeches selected constitute some of the noblest specimens of eloquence in our language, and deserve to be studied simply as such. Their historical interest, however, greatly enhances their value. The occasions on which they were delivered, the constitutional questions which they discuss, the vast range of information and lofty patriotism which they evince, and the mighty interests to which they ministered, give them an importance a thousand-fold greater than what belongs to them as mere specimens of oratory. We hope they will obtain a sufficient circulation to induce Messrs. Aylott and Jones to continue the publication. The speeches of Fox, we perceive, are announced as next in order. The selection is most wise ; and it will be a disgrace to the young intelligence of England, if the publishers are deterred by any lack of patronage.

History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne. Assisted in the preparation of the English original by H. White. With Notes by David Dundas Scott, Esq. 8vo. Vol. III. Glasgow : Blackie and Son.

THIS volume corresponds with the fourth of the original, and completes Messrs. Blackie and Son's edition of Dr. D'Aubigne's work. It is printed from the English edition of Messrs. Oliver and Boyd ; the publishers having most honourably paid upwards of £1,100 for permission to do so. The edition is distinguished by a collection of portraits, and by numerous illustrative notes, some of which are highly valuable.

The Congregational Calendar for 1847. London : Jackson and Walford. A VERY useful compendium of general information, and of ecclesiastical statistics, of which we recommend our readers to possess themselves.

A New Universal Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language, embracing all the Terms used in Art, Science, and Literature. London : James Gilbert. Parts 1—15.

A SUFFICIENT number of parts of this important publication have been issued to enable us to estimate its value, and we most cordially bear witness to its high merit. Such a dictionary has long been required, for not only have a number of new terms obtained currency among us, but

the meaning of many terms, now obsolete—found in our old classical writers—was not easily to be met with. To the extent of its comprehensive design this work furnishes us with all that can be required. To expect that such a dictionary should be wholly free from errors, would be to expect an impossibility, and any which may arise in its progress will be corrected in a supplement at the end. We trust the work will be continued as satisfactorily as hitherto, and the promise made in the prospectus that it shall be one of ‘ universal reference and useful information for the public or private library, the counting-house, the school, or the university,’ will then be amply fulfilled.

Letters to my Unknown Friends. By a Lady. London : Longman and Co.

THESE are a series of letters addressed to young ladies upon the following subjects : Contentment, Temper, Falsehood and Truthfulness, Envy, Selfishness and Unselfishness, Self-controul, Economy, Cultivation of the Mind, and Amusements. Were we disposed, we might ask how it happens that the authoress has broken one of the precepts she lays down, namely, that ‘ few circumstances can make it prudent for a woman to give up retirement and retired duties, and subject herself to public criticism ?’ We are not sorry, however, that she has done so, for her book contains much that is worthy of the serious consideration of those for whom it has been written ; and without pledging ourselves either to all that is asserted or recommended, we wish that its success may be equal to the authoress’s evident desire for the benefit of her ‘ unknown friends.’

British Consuls Abroad : their Origin, Rank and Privileges, Duties, Jurisdiction and Emoluments ; including the Laws, Orders in Council, and Instructions by which they are governed, as well as those relating to Shipowners and Merchants in their connection with Consuls. By Robert Fynn, Esq., barrister-at-law. London : Effingham Wilson.

THIS small volume will be found of great service to those classes for whose use it is designed ; and being the first published in the English language which treats of the past or present history of the consular system, may fairly claim peculiar favour. It contains instructions upon all matters likely to arise in practice, and is equally valuable to the consul, the merchant, and the captain. It is published under the sanction of the General Shipowners’ Society, and the moderate price at which it may be obtained will doubtless secure for it an extensive sale.

The Christian in Palestine, or Scenes of Sacred History, illustrated from sketches taken on the spot. By W. H. Bartlett; with explanatory descriptions by Henry Stebbing, D.D. Parts I—VI. London: George Virtue.

THIS work can scarcely fail to be popular. It requires only to be known in order to be prized, for it unites qualities which are rarely found in combination, and which are second to none in their power of interesting the inquiring and Christian mind. The scenes and history of Palestine have charms of their own, perfectly unique and undecaying. Their interest is increased rather than diminished by the flight of time, and every well directed effort to bring them home to the popular mind of our country is deserving of encouragement. Such is emphatically the case with the present work, the scope and design of which are accurately described in the following extract from the publisher's address:—

‘To supply the religious reader, therefore, with information respecting the past and present state of the Holy Land, is one of the most useful objects of modern literature. Many enterprising and learned travellers have of late years visited Syria, and each has furnished some new and valuable addition to the knowledge already possessed of its shores. But the perusal of the numerous works which have appeared in earlier or later times, would be too weighty a task for most readers; the generality must remain ignorant of much which is both interesting and valuable to know, if they could only gain their knowledge from original sources. It is the design, therefore, of the present work on Palestine, to furnish such notices of the country as may enable the reader to identify his associations, his own earnest and reverential feelings, with the facts of history, and with the grandest of the scenes which the traveller and the artist can offer for his contemplation.’

The work is to appear in monthly parts, each containing four engravings and twelve pages of letter-press, and is not to exceed twenty parts. The price, two shillings a part, can prove remunerative on a large sale only.

The Novitiate, or a Year among the English Jesuits. A Personal Narrative. With an Essay on the Constitutions, the Confessional Morality, and History of the Jesuits. By Andrew Steinmetz. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1846.

WE have perused this volume with minute and careful attention, for we felt that, till this had been done, we should not be in a condition to judge how matters stood between the author and his former friends, or how far the publication of his story was to be justified. Our conclusion is decidedly adverse to the step which he has taken. We cannot but regard this publication as a grievous violation of the claims of hospitality.

The author was admitted into the ‘house of the novices’ at Stony-

hurst, when, in a penniless condition, and in compliance with his own urgent desire, after that, by the direction of their London agent, he had made himself acquainted, from published sources, with the constitutions of the society. He was treated at Hodder in every respect as well as if his reception had been a source of large emolument to the society. He was allowed to depart immediately that he expressed a wish to do so, and was even supplied with money to defray his expenses to London. How he could resolve to publish to the world the details of the establishment into which he was so charitably, as well as confidentially admitted, and where he was so honourably and kindly treated, we cannot understand.

It must not be inferred from these remarks that we are friendly to the Jesuit society, or the system by which their novices are trained. The former is a conspiracy—would that it were a less powerful one—against the best interests of man ; the latter, congenial with its design, embodies, in its measure, the unnatural and antisocial principles which have rendered the Jesuits a curse and a reproach to human nature. But where would be the gain even if the influence of the Jesuits were altogether annihilated by means of the spontaneous betrayal of domestic confidence ? Society would be freed from one calamity only to be devoured by another.

We must also express our inability to discover what can have moved the author to this publication. Did he intend to expose the Jesuit system ? If so, he has exposed himself to just and certain obloquy to little purpose. His work scarcely adds anything to our knowledge of the ambition, cupidity, double-dealing *espionage*, treachery, and the cruelty of that unnatural and unholy hierarchy. It merely shows to what extent the Jesuit theory of spiritual training, as indicated in their published works, is at present carried in England. Was it that he might turn his confidential knowledge to lucrative account by writing on a popular subject ? We are loath to think so, for there are several things in the volume which make us like the author—but we can devise no other more probable motive.

Candour requires us to add that though the author has, in our judgment, violated confidence, there is nothing in the work which leads us to suspect that he has violated truth. His descriptions bear no marks of false colouring or exaggeration. He has nothing extenuated that was amiable or praiseworthy ; ‘ he has set down nought in malice.’ The ‘ father of the novices ’ at Hodder, and the novices themselves, as a body, are represented as manifesting a sincere spirit of piety ; so much so, indeed, that a professed panegyric would have produced on our mind a much less favourable impression respecting them. If this acknowledgment appear inconsistent with the blame we have attached to the publication, we must remind our readers that it is the breach of confidence involved in disclosing the privacies of the novitiate, which has provoked our censure. Had Mr. Steinmetz been entrapped into the institution, it would have been a different thing ; or had he been detained by force or fraud after he had expressed a wish to leave it, the case would have been different.

But neither was the fact, and besides this, he was aware, as he has indicated in several places, that his details referred to practices which *legally* involved their agents in civil penalties.

Having expressed our views so fully respecting the moral features of the work, we shall be very brief on other points. The author is a man of powerful mind, and should be capable of something; but unhappily he wants at present those two important qualities, self-government and concentration. He is also well informed, and fetches his images from every region. But what proves his power, proves also his incapacity; his illustrations are *far-fetched* and inelegant. Indeed, he writes at random, and in the continental style of rhapsody. We have not, for a long time, read a book so replete with passages and allusions, which we read and read again without discovering their application or their meaning.

A Year and a Day in the East; or, Wanderings over Land and Sea. By Mrs. Eliot Montauban. Pp. 201. London: Longman.

Books of travels are becoming a serious nuisance. Unless there is something special in qualification, route, or purpose, as a general rule, tourists should confine their notes and recollections to the circles of private life. If we were asked why Mrs. Eliot Montauban published an account of her 'wanderings,' we should find it difficult to assign a reason. The fair authoress has, undoubtedly, a quick perception, and lively style; but there is not enough of scene or incident to impart much interest to the volume.

Christ's Second Coming: Will it be Pre-Millennial? By the Rev. David Brown, A.M. Pp. 386. Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1846.

THIS work originated in a series of papers which appeared, at first, in the Free Church Magazine. Only about a sixth part of it, however, consists of what was thus published. We remember reading these papers with considerable interest, and were struck at the time with the evident competency of the writer to handle the subject he had undertaken to discuss. Our favourable impression has been deepened by the present volume. Nothing so complete and so conclusive has appeared upon the important questions which it treats. But why did not the author give us a table of contents?

Sermons preached in the Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Chapel, London. By John Campbell, D.D., and Rev. Joseph W. Richardson. London: John Snow. 1846.

WE do not approve of the censure passed sometimes upon publications of this nature—that they contain nothing original, and therefore should

not be given to the world. If only they who possess something new to communicate were permitted to become authors, what would be the inevitable result? What is not new to all may be new to some; and what is new to none, may be impressive to many. Every writer has his own circle, and thus possesses opportunities of doing good, though all he says should have been said before. Ministers of large congregations have peculiar opportunities of speaking effectually through the press—especially in connexion with subjects whose treatment in the pulpit has excited interest. We think, therefore, that the ministers of the Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Chapel have done wisely in sending forth, in a permanent form, the series of discourses before us. The subject is interesting, and somewhat novel; and the manner in which it is discussed, is very much calculated to secure beneficial results. The sermons are ten in number, and treat of ‘Self-examination’—‘Self-deception’—‘Self-approval’—‘Self-condemnation’—‘Self-denial’—‘Self-indulgence’—‘Self-distrust’—‘Self-confidence’—‘Self-preservation’—‘Self-destruction.’ The distinctive peculiarities of the authors’ minds and styles are plainly marked, and serve to give a pleasing variety to their discourses, which we commend, for their scriptural sentiments and practical tone, to our readers.

1. *Vital Christianity : Essays and Discourses on the Religion of Man and the Religion of God.* By Alexander Vinet, D.D., Professor of Theology, in Lausanne, Switzerland. Translated, with an Introduction, by Robert Turnbull, Pastor of the Harvard-street church, Boston. Glasgow : William Collins.
2. *The Obligations of the World to the Bible : a Series of Lectures to Young Men.* By Gardiner Spring, D.D., New York. Glasgow : William Collins.

THESE editions are part of Collins’s series of valuable and popular works, a series which, on account of price and worth, is eminently entitled to the attention and support of the religious public. The works selected for republication have been happily chosen, and the mode in which they are got up is very superior.

Drs. Vinet and Spring are well known to religious readers in this country. Very different in some respects, they substantially agree in their views of the great revelation, of whose peculiar characteristics and claims the volumes before us are luminous expositions and powerful defences.

Memoir of the Rev. John Watson, late Pastor of the Congregational church in Musselburgh, and Secretary of the Congregational Union for Scotland. By William Lindsay Alexander, D.D. Edinburgh : Adam & Charles Black.

WE ought to have noticed this volume before, and did at one time contemplate a more extended reference to it than we can now make, but

have been obliged to abandon our intention. Dr. Alexander has given not only 'a just view of the life and character' of his 'esteemed friend,' but 'such notices of the early history of Congregationalism in Scotland, and of the formation and progress of the Congregational Union as could, with propriety, be incorporated with the history of Mr. Watson's life;' and we can assure our readers that he has thus furnished an interesting record of private, and a valuable chapter of ecclesiastical, history. The style is clear, free, and fresh, as Dr. Alexander's always is; and many sensible remarks are made on various occasions. The author is a good describer of scenery, natural and social; and we could easily extract beautiful pictures of both kinds, had we space. We must, however, trust to our readers making themselves acquainted with the volume, which will amply repay a perusal.

Youthful Development; or, Discourses to Youth, classified according to character. By Samuel Martin, minister of Westminster chapel. London: D. Murray, Sloane-street.

THESE are, on many accounts, interesting discourses. It would not be possible, in a few lines, to say what they are, and what they are not. They are addressed to the great body of the young, and possess qualities adapted for general use. The author is evidently given to habits of careful observation, takes a deep interest in the young, and has considerable fitness for the treatment of their several cases. The tone of the volume is very grave and earnest, without being forbidding; the topics are discussed briefly and pointedly; and, instead of a loose generality, which is specially worthless for youth, there is a particularity of description and appeal, which, while it may offend some fastidious and impure tastes, will be duly esteemed by sound and healthy feeling and judgment. We rejoice to read, that instances of usefulness occurred during their delivery, and do not doubt that many more will result from their publication.

Gilbert's Modern Atlas of the World, for the people; with an Introduction to the Physical Geography of the Globe, and an Alphabetical Index of the Latitudes and Longitudes of 24,000 places. Parts I. to X. London: Gilbert.

A FEW words must suffice to express our approbation of this work. The maps are most correctly and distinctly drawn, and the cheapness of the publication places it within the reach of all. We hope it will obtain as extensive a sale as its merits deserve.

Pulpit Studies: or, Aids to Preaching and Meditation. By John Styles, D.D. Second Series. London: Ward & Co.

OUR opinion of the publication of sketches of sermons is not very high. At the same time, we do not object to them as aids to 'meditation' so

much as to 'preaching.' As condensed forms of important trains of thought, they may, if wisely used, supply valuable nutriment to thought and feeling. The Sketches of Dr. Styles average six pages each, and are therefore far different from the mere enumeration of heads, with which so many books are filled. We need not, nor would it be easy to give, an account of their contents; and to those who are acquainted with the Doctor's preaching we shall content ourselves with saying, that they bear, though so abbreviated, strong marks of their author's mental and literary qualities.

Lives of Alexander Henderson and James Guthrie, with Specimens of their Writings. Edinburgh.

THIS volume is issued by the Free Church of Scotland, and belongs to a series of works by Scottish Reformers and Divines. Henderson and Guthrie need not our praise. They were men of sterling worth, and their works reveal the faith which worked in them.

Correspondence.

We have received from the Rev. Edward White, of Hereford, the following letter, to which we most readily give insertion :—

To the Editor of the Eclectic Review.

SIR,—The gentlemanly candour which distinguishes your censorship encourages the belief that you would not render your pages the permanent vehicle even of involuntary *misrepresentation*. May I therefore be permitted to point out two or three rather important mistakes into which the learned and accomplished writer of the article on the doctrine of future punishment has allowed himself to be betrayed, no doubt with the best motives.

1. The *title* of my discourses is not intended as an 'assumption' of the question under investigation. There clearly is some such 'scripture doctrine' as that 'Immortality is the peculiar privilege of the regenerate,' Rom. ii. 7: and the point proposed for discussion is the literal or metaphorical character of that immortality.

2. It is nowhere asserted in *Life in Christ* that 'death had virtual possession of man before his fall,' a representation on which, unhappily, the whole body of the reviewer's argument has been made to depend; but, whether right or wrong, my statement is this: that 'Adam was not created in the possession of immortality, either in his body or soul; yet, also, that he was not created under a definite sentence of death, as was the case with the creation around him, since the boundless prospect of eternal life was open to him upon the condition of obedience during his trial,' p. 40. This is the view adopted by Shuttleworth, in his *Consistency of Revelation with Human Reason*, although that eminent person denominates *the same thing* 'a contingent immortality.'—p. 67.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

THE AUTHOR OF "LIFE IN CHRIST."

CORRESPONDENCE.

Before adverting to the special points mooted in this letter, we take occasion to say that nothing was further from our intention, in our review of Mr. White's volume, than to question the sincerity and earnestness of his attachment to evangelical truth. Whatever may be our conviction of the unsoundness of the opinion he has advocated, or our apprehension of the tendencies which it indicates, we cheerfully bear testimony to the concurrent judgment, on this point, of all who possess his intimacy. We are not to be understood, therefore, as implying that his deviation, in the matter in question, from the ordinary faith of evangelical believers, attaches any doubt to the soundness of his views on those truths which are fundamental to the mediatorial system. We should not have said thus much had we not been informed that some of Mr. White's friends regard our language as susceptible of such a construction. Against this view we enter our protest, and to guard against the possibility of mistake we are thus explicit in our statement. To ourselves, as well as to Mr. White, it is an act of simple justice that we should be so. Whilst zealous for what we regard as truth, we are concerned to avoid, even in appearance, the arts of a dishonourable and low-minded controversialist, and feel assured that no sentence in our critique is fairly open to such an imputation.

It was equally remote from our intention to say what would be personally offensive to Mr. White. We have not the pleasure of his acquaintance, but from all we have heard of his character, attainments, and habits, we were most certainly disposed, in our notice of his labours, to avoid whatever might give him unnecessary pain. We felt constrained by our allegiance to truth to expose the unsoundness of his theory, and the serious defects, as we deemed them, in the temper of his investigation; and if in doing this we have used a harsher word than was needful, we regret the fact. Truth needs not such aid; and we are specially concerned, on all occasions, to eschew it. The spirit of Christianity is best preserved when no fair occasion of offence is furnished in the mode by which even noxious errors are opposed. So far in the way of preface. We now advert to the two points in which Mr. White deems himself misrepresented by us.

1. The assumption pointed out in the title page is not that immortality, in *some* sense, is the privilege of the regenerate, and the scripture doctrine, as in Rom. ii. 7; but that immortality in a *particular* sense—the philosophical sense—the sense of interminable existence—the sense in which Mr. White denies it to the unregenerate, and restricts it to the regenerate, is the scripture doctrine. The explanation offered, *that there is clearly some such scripture doctrine as that immortality is the peculiar privilege of the regenerate*, is wholly irrelevant, just because Mr. White knows that he used the title, not in the scripture sense of eternal blessedness, in which sense he had no controversy with the orthodox churches, and no novelty of opinion to present, but in the sense of the philosophers,—simply immortal existence, and in that sense it was taken as an offensive assumption of a point denied by all others, and yet to be substantiated by himself.

2. The author says, 'It is nowhere asserted in Life in Christ that

‘death had virtual possession of man before his fall;’ nor does the reviewer quote these words as Mr. White’s, but gives them as an interpretation or summary of his doctrine. If they push the representation too far, let them be apologized for—forgiven and forgotten; but first let the following passages be read:—

‘The best proof that Paul really intended to represent the first Adam as having been created only a *moral animal*, dependent on the elements, and not possessed of intrinsic or everlasting life; (in good truth, so much an animal, that, notwithstanding the image of God, his whole person is still denoted by a phrase applicable to the lower creation,—1 Cor. xv. 45), the term is more pointedly selected to convey the idea of *mortality*, or the absence of immortality,’ &c.

‘Adam was created altogether a *mortal*—the view now presented, places *mankind exactly on a par with the inferior orders of the planetary globe*—each and all at length, together with every rank of creatures above them, *to return unto the dust from whence they were taken*; all nature constitutes one vast system of prey; but a system of prey involves and implies a system of universal *mortality*. *Death* reigned, although without its terrors, over the whole sublunary creation. Since then Adam was formed from the dust of a mortal world, with an animal framework, at least remarkably analogous in its structure to those of the animated orders around him, and with a mind not altogether devoid of resemblance to beings with ‘less understanding;’—if any presumption may be expressed before proceeding to examine the record, it certainly is not in favour of man’s essential immortality; for, on that supposition, he would have been the only exception to the *universal rule of mortality*, himself, at the same time, not possessing a nature which obviously raised him at once beyond and above the suspicion of possibly sharing the destiny of the world whose air he breathed. The circumstance of the formation of Adam in a region where nothing appeared to symbolise the possibility of rising above the level of the *universal mortality*, seems to point us to the oft repeated conclusion that he was not created in any part of his nature an indestructible being. The effect of the tree of life seems to have been to repair perpetually the decays of nature, and to prevent *the approach of death*,—like the inferior subjects of his dominion, his breath was in his nostrils, that which is not yet immortal, incapable of death, *must be mortal already*.’—p. 28—43.

What can be the meaning of the sentence, ‘*not created under a definite sentence of death*,’—but that the time was not fixed? The whole current of Mr. White’s argument goes to show that Adam was not immortal—and his own words state that what is not immortal must be *mortal already*. Can any other sense, then, be put upon these terms, *mortal already*, beside that given by the reviewer, that *death had virtual possession of man before his fall*—he was made under a sentence of death—but not a definite one? He was, however, to enjoy immortality: that is, not the philosophical immortality merely, but the scriptural immortality, eternal blessedness, if he deserved it, by keeping the command not to eat; and the grand idea of this probation for immortal blessedness is concealed under the negative idea of death, or privation of being, for disobedience. This is the theory!

It is true, Mr. White says, 'Thus was Adam placed in Paradise, *midway* between angels and the animals, on trial for everlasting life : *midway* between mortality and immortality, *midway* between an existence which was as a shadow that declineth, a vapour that vanisheth away, and one of which it should be beyond the powers even of angelic arithmetic to calculate or describe the duration.'—p. 41. But if there is any idea contained under the term *midway*—or if he means anything different from *mortality* : that is, something made up between the two negatives, neither mortal nor immortal, his own words are his best answer : 'What is not immortal must be mortal already.' So that he himself reduces this representation to a nullity ; and it only remains to say, that between the idea of *mortality*, and death having virtual possession of man before his fall, there is to ordinary understandings no perceptible difference. Hence it still appears that 'the representation on which the whole body of the reviewer's argument *unhappily* depends,' is found in Mr. White's words, and cannot be excluded from them. Mr. White may evolve from the term *midway*—something neither mortal nor immortal ; but that would be a new theory, with which we have not yet to deal.

In the reference to Dr. Shuttleworth, Mr. White represents that excellent writer as adopting his view. This is far from being the fact ; for Dr. Shuttleworth limits his remarks to the corporeal frame, and does not touch upon the nature of the soul—expressing his opinion with the utmost caution and modesty. But this is a matter of no moment : since we have to do exclusively with what Mr. White has written.

Literary Intelligence.

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Additional Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne, late Minister of St. Peter's Church, Dundee, consisting of various Sermons and Lectures delivered by him in the course of his Ministry.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited by William Smith, LL.D. Part XIX.

Florentine History, from the Earliest Authentic Records to the Accession of Ferdinand III., Grand Duke of Tuscany. By Henry Edward Napier, Capt. R. N. 6 vols. Vol. 3.

European Library. Cinq-Mars, or a Conspiracy under Louis XIII. An Historical Romance. By Count Alfred de Vigny, of the French Academy. Translated from the Ninth Paris Edition. By William Hazlitt, Esq.

Pictorial Bible. Part IV.

History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné. Vol. 3.

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A New Universal Etymological, and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language, embracing all the Terms used in Art, Science, and Literature. Parts XIII.—XV.

Bohn's Standard Library. Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini, a Florentine Artist, written by Himself, containing a variety of Information respecting the Arts and the History of the Sixteenth Century, now first collated with the New Text of Guiseppe Molini, and Corrected and Enlarged from the last Milan Edition, with Notes and Observations of G. P. Carpani. Translated by Thomas Roscoe.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR MARCH, 1847.

ART. I.—*Sermons preached upon several Occasions.* By Robert South, D.D., Prebendary of Westminster, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxon. 2 vols. Bohn, Covent Garden. 1845.

TIME works wonders ; and some of its most extraordinary phenomena are its changes with regard to authors. The revivification, by Dr. Franklin, of those flies which, brought from America in a pipe of Madeira, found themselves unexpectedly fluttering about the streets of Paris, was not more extraordinary than some literary ‘transformations.’ Little did Bunyan think how the Pilgrim of the prison would become, as adorned by a future Art-union, the pet of the drawing-room, or how the Priest and the Levite would join in 1800 in the praises of him whom, as the Baptist tinker of the Restoration, they passed by on the other side. As little could South ever dream that the arrows so studiously dipped in the venom of his own sarcasms, and intended to rankle in the breasts of nonconformists, with an effect little short of madness, would be regarded by their successors as very amusing curiosities, and teach them, by the vigour of his style, to amend the looseness of their own. Such is the progress of opinion ! At the same time, an author, whom Johnson praised as one of the best of sermon-writers, and from whom Wesley did not disdain to learn his own singularly perspicuous style, must have points of unusual merit.

The range of British history furnishes no period so memorable as that over which the long life of South extended. It was a time of national development, akin to that in which the youth begins, by lusty and often irregular struggles, to mark himself a man. The changes had been long in preparation—their ac-

tual occurrence was sudden and stupendous. The excitable matter had lain long in festering quietness; instantaneously, almost, it burst forth into a fierce and wide-spread combustion. Born in 1635, and dying in 1716, South was contemporary with the Rebellion (to use the common term)—the Protectorate—the Restoration—the Revolution—and the accession of the house of Hanover. His early years were passed amidst events under which a mighty nation rocked as with an earthquake, yet which awakened into activity a thousand sleeping minds, or created genius in the stead of dulness. His father was a London merchant, espousing, it is probable, the cause of the king. As South was only eight years old when the civil war broke out, such stirring questions as episcopacy and prerogative—ship-money and benevolences on the one hand, or solemn leagues and covenants on the other—and the contests between an ambitious parliament and a deceitful king, must have been injuriously familiar to him. So ‘tetchy and froward’ a man could hardly have been a quiet child.

At the age of fourteen he was admitted as king’s scholar into Westminster school, just as it was left by one with whom he had nothing in common—the exemplary and holy Philip Henry. He received his education from Dr. Busby—near to whom he lies buried—a man of severe memory, but an admirable scholar and a conscientious teacher. Here, as we are told by Wood *—his contemporary, but not his friend †—‘he obtained a stock of grammar and philological learning, but more of impudence and sauciness.’ On the morning on which Charles I. was executed, the future royalist signalized himself by extemporaneously inserting the name of the king in the ordinary prayers he was appointed to read. From Westminster, South proceeded, in 1651, to Christchurch, Oxford. Among the university men of his day were John Locke—of his own college and standing—William Penn, Christopher Wren, and John Howe. Owen was at the same time vice-chancellor; and Goodwin, master of St. Mary’s. Here he greatly distinguished himself, and justified, at least, that part of his epitaph which describes him as ‘*humaniorum literarum cum paucis sciens; in scholasticorum interim scriptis idem versatissimus.*’ It is said that, about this time, in the course of one of his college exercises, he had undertaken to pronounce publicly, in the dining-room of his college, a severe philippic on the sectaries of his day. But becoming confused in the course of its delivery, he repented of

* Ath. Ox.

† It is said that South made Wood his enemy by a sarcasm, more distinguished by point than decency.

the side he had espoused, and began to pay court to the victorious party. On his becoming B.A., he wrote a copy of Latin verses in honour of the Protector. This was 'variation the first.' Other 'fantasias' followed. Wood insinuates that he preached 'without orders,' and was loud against Arminianism and Socinianism, and in favour of the Calvinistic doctrines of the day, whilst he paid court to the then dean of his college, Dr. Owen. This partizanship was, however, of short duration. When he became M.A. (1657), he had abated in his zeal for the Independents; some sudden alchemy had changed his love into as violent a disgust. The life prefixed to some of his works states that, when he took his degree, Owen opposed him, and that South sought his revenge by labouring to prevent Owen from availing himself of his election as M.P. for the university. But the latter cannot be true. Cromwell called no parliament after 1656; and when Owen was elected in 1654, South was only an undergraduate. Certain, however, it is that a deadly feud began between Owen and the vice-chancellor. The latter told him that he 'sat in the seat of the scornful;' and South retaliated by many a bitter jest and furious onslaught. One of his repartees was:—'Commonwealths put a value upon men as well as money, and we are forced to take both, not by weight, but according as they are pleased to stamp them and at the current value of the coin.' Wit has a prerogative somewhat similar, and without it South could never have borne comparison with the men whom he affected to despise. This was 'variation the second.'

South was now retracing his ground. He received orders from a deprived bishop, and in 1658, after Cromwell's death, was appointed to preach the assize sermon in St. Mary's. The tide of public affairs was turning: Owen had been removed, and Dr. Fell, a friend of South, appointed in his place. It was safe and politic to inveigh against his former friends, and the preacher availed himself of the occasion to cover them with satire and invective. The sermon entitled 'Interest Deposed' is one of the first among his published works, and thus he accuses his late compatriots:—

'Many, while they have preached Christ in their sermons, have read a lecture of atheism in their practice. We have many here who speak of godliness, mortification, and self-denial; but if these are so, what means the bleating of the sheep and the lowing of the oxen,—the noise of their ordinary sins, and the cries of their great ones? . . . When such men preach of self-denial and humility, I cannot but think of Seneca, who praised poverty, and even exhorted the world to throw away their gold, perhaps (as one will conjecture,) that he might gather it up. So these desire men to be humble, that they may domineer without opposition. But it is an easy matter to

commend patience when there is no need of any trial; to extol humility in the midst of honours; to begin a fast after dinner.'—*Interest Deposed.*

The last accusation is levelled against Unton Croke, colonel of a parliamentary regiment lately quartered at Oxford, and afterwards high sheriff of the county, an officer, says Lord Clarendon, 'of no credit in the war,'—instrumental, however, in defeating the rising of Penruddock at Salisbury. We are not concerned to inquire what amount of truth there might be in this charge (perhaps 'fast' was only used by metonymy for a prayer-meeting), or in the other brought against him in the same sermon—that he affirmed the general uselessness of the universities, and asserted that three colleges were enough to satisfy the demands of the nation.

Dr. Goodwin is also attacked by the preacher. The story which South tells in a note, is related by Bishop Burnet in his 'History of his Own Times.' It appears that, within a week after Cromwell's death, Tillotson (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) was accidentally at Whitehall; and, on being informed that there was a fast that day in the household of the late Protector, attended with the family. 'Goodwin,' says the Bishop, quoting from Tillotson, 'who had pretended to assure them in a prayer that he (Cromwell) was not to die, which was but a very few minutes before he expired, had now the impudence to say to God, 'Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived.' South has given a new emphasis and twang to this sentiment, injudicious as it was at the best. Doubtless, Goodwin employed the words—he was too learned a man to do otherwise—in the sense in which he understood the prophet Jeremiah to have uttered them—as being left by God to his own delusion. But whatever the truth of such gossiping charges, they served effectively to give point to South's sarcasms.

Wood represents this assize sermon—we confess, with some improbability—as having been very pleasing to the Presbyterians, and informs us that Dr. Reynolds, who had been once dean of Christchurch, and was then present, told the preacher that what was in his power he would do for him. But the aid was not wanted.

South was successful, and no place rejoiced in the Restoration more than 'merry Oxford.' The dignities of the University again appeared—the caps and gowns which had been disused (witness Wood's charge against Owen) were, to the delight of the wearers, resumed—the organs pealed again—and the procession of 'the dean and vergers going before,' gladdened once more the hearts of the faithful. South tacked with the turning

wind. His associates were at this time, Wood tells us, 'certain bibbing persons,' masters of arts, who had managed to play the Vicar of Bray amidst all changes, and in conjunction with whom he gained the favour of those in authority by retailing the scandals of the former days.

In 1660, two months after the restoration of Charles II., and on occasion of the visitation of the king's commissioners, South preached before the university, on 'The Scribe Instructed.' His proposition in the sermon is, 'that the greatest advantages, both as to largeness of natural, and exquisiteness of acquired abilities, are not only consistent with, but required to the due performance of the work and business of a preacher of the gospel.' In this sermon we are held in alternate admiration and disgust; the whole is a singular mixture of caustic wit and sound wisdom. Sometimes, the preacher seems to rival the proverbial power of Solomon. Yet, if the question be asked, whether this were intended to help in the spiritual benefit of the rising University men of that day, the answer is clear—no! but to give effect to the perorations in which, as with a bunch of nettles, he stings those of whose alliance he appeared recently so much enamoured. His style of preaching, though too highly seasoned for the graver prelates, was exactly fitted to the taste of the day. Men had been overstrained by what was in reality too good for them, and what had not been always judiciously administered. Loose from their own terrors, they asked nothing better than that the blinded Sampson should be brought out to make them sport; and South was a willing executioner, with boots, thumb-screws, and red hot pincers, at all times ready. He was admired and popular—not because zeal and rancour against the sectaries attracted his hearers to the really good things he set before them, but because those qualities sanctified the gratification of their revenge, and their indisposition to believe that religion included any virtue. The preacher was applauded and followed. The talents and learning of South raised him to the post of university orator,* yet he was discontented because the canonry of Christ-church was not added to that appointment. In a sermon preached about this time on the two foundations, he likens nonconformists to Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Was it the first time this history was so employed? If it were, deep is the debt of gratitude which all succeeding high churchmen

* South was once, in this capacity, presenting some distinguished officer to the University. He began in the usual style, 'Præsentō vobis virum hunc bellicocissimum.' Some accident at the moment caused the presentee to turn his back upon the presenter—'qui nunquam antea tergiversatus est!'

owe him for having furnished them with so useful a hack similitude.

On the installation of Clarendon as chancellor of the University, South, who, in virtue of his office, made the honorary speech of introduction, and who was already well known for his adherence to the reigning side, was appointed his lordship's domestic chaplain. About the same time, he appears to have preached before the lord mayor and aldermen of London, at St. Paul's, his celebrated and indeed inimitable discourse, on 'Man created in the image of God;' a production which, for logical clearness, forcible statement, brilliant illustration, and true and scriptural philosophy, deserves to be placed in the first rank of pulpit compositions. It was immediately published, with a dedication at once fulsome and malignant; a remarkable contrast to the tenor of the sermon itself.

The influence of his patron now led to South's introduction at court. He was appointed to preach before the king at Whitehall. His first sermon gave, however, little promise of subsequent eminence:—

'The day appointed being come, which was the 13th April, 1662, our author ascends the pulpit, and the eyes of all were immediately fastened on him. After he had performed his obeisance to his majesty, he named his text, which was Eccles. vii. 10, 'Say not thou that the former times are better than these, for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this.' Then, after a witty preamble, he proceeded to the division of the words; and having performed that with great dexterity, he lays by the text for the present, and, according to the ancient laudable manner, addressed himself to the *Bid-prayer*, which, being ended, he resumed his text, and attempted to handle the several parts of it. The prohibition in the text, he laboured to enforce by an introduction of particulars. 'Say not'—the pagan times—the popish times,—etc., 'are better than these.' But the last he insisted on was, the times of the late rebellion; and while he was endeavouring to evince that which was indeed the main thing that he intended to handle, he was suddenly taken with a qualm—drops of sweat standing in his face as large as peas—and immediately he lost the use of his speech, only he uttered some words to the following effect; 'O Lord, we are all in thy hands, be merciful to us,' and then came down. The expectations of all being thus sadly disappointed, they were contented with the divertissement of an anthem, and so the solemnity of the service for that day ended.'—*Wood Ath. Ox.*

Such are the calamities of preachers, and such the terrors of preaching at court! One thing is clear from this anecdote, that South was no reader of sermons, at least at this time. Many would have been effectually daunted by such a

beginning. Our author was wiser; he took the advice of Lady Macbeth:—

‘But screw your courage to the *sticking-place*,
And you’ll not fail.’

and next Sunday he appeared with the same sermon a little curtailed, and arrived safely at its end.

Many smiles of court favour from this time attended him. The faithfulness of John before Herod—or of Latimer before Henry—or of Massillon before Louis, was not more demanded than his own. He was now placed as a preacher near the ear of Charles; that careless profligate, who often came direct from his paramour’s apartments to church and to the sacrament—that clever fool, who threw away the powers of nature and acquisition upon occupations no better than the card-building by which one of his mistresses was distinguished—that perjured promiser, who hated all leagues and covenants, because he had never kept his own—that easy tyrant, who smiled to men’s undoing—and that Roman Protestant, whose heart worshipped before a shrine, which his lips durst never avow. We say he was near the *ears* of that monarch, though we acknowledge the probability that ‘their sense was shut,’ as on that occasion when the witty preacher whispered out, ‘Lord Lauderdale! Lord Lauderdale! Lord Lauderdale! Don’t snore so loud, or you will awake his majesty!’ And not only had he the ear of the sovereign, but also of the court—of the titled prostitutes—the needy adventurers—the witty lampooners—the mad oppressors, with which that profligate society abounded. If ever preacher had need to say: ‘Who is sufficient for these things?’ it was surely he. Virtuous in outward conduct as we have every reason to believe him—hating the grosser forms of vice himself, and possessing a power of tremendous reprehension of it in others, as many of his sermons demonstrate, he might seem in many respects precisely the man for the post he occupied. Nor may we, perhaps, justly charge him with always shrinking from the truth he felt to be appropriate. One of his sermons, especially, known to be preached before the court, ‘Her ways are ways of pleasantness,’ was a noble affirmation of what almost all who listened to him were desirous to deny. Yet there is a reservation so large as almost to annihilate the praise; and the eagerness with which he advocated the most startling forms of Divine-right and non-resistance,—his servile flattery—his uncereemonious abuse of all whom he hated, that is, of those who had been once his friends, and above all, that degrading buffoonery, the contrast not only of all spirituality, but of all decent taste, by which the pulpit was turned into a stage, and immortal hearers into a laughing

audience, form a picture so strange and incongruous, that we have some difficulty in believing it real.*

Perhaps we could select nothing which altogether more fairly exhibits the preacher, as he appeared at court, than a sermon delivered on the 30th of January, 1642 or 1643, (whether of the two is not known.) The text is chosen as a ruffian would choose a bludgeon, and is wielded as brutally. 'And it was so that all that saw it said there was no such thing done since the children came up out of the land of Egypt unto this day; consider of it, take advice and speak your minds.'

'I do not profess myself,' says the preacher, 'either delighted or skilled in mystical interpretations, and to wire-draw the sense of the passage so as to make it speak the death of the king, as some who can interpret Scripture, as if the whole book of God was only to tell things transacted in England or Scotland; so that there cannot be so much as a house fired or a leg broken, but they can find it in Daniel or the Revelations. No, I pretend to no such skill; it is enough for me, if I bring the present business and the text together, not by design, but by accommodation.'

He proceeds then, with most malignant ingenuity, to draw out the parallel between the scriptural story and the recent death of the king—the Benjamites, i. e. the parliament party, attacking the tribe of Levi, i. e., the Church of England, until Judah, i. e., the king fell before them, etc., of which the preacher (with no forced construction, forsooth!), is about to affirm, 'there was no such thing done or seen, etc.'

The discourse first turns upon the party suffering. The portrait is drawn with all skilfulness of style. It lacks only the moral power of truth.

'He that suffered was a king; and, what is more, such a king as was not chosen, but born to it; owing his kingdom, not to the voice of popularity, but the suffrage of nature; he was a David, a saint, a king, but never a shepherd. All the royal blood of Christendom ran in his veins; i. e., many kings went to the making up of him; and his improvement and education fell in ways not below his extraction. He was accurate in all the commending excellencies of human accomplishments; able to deserve, had he not inherited a kingdom; of so controlling a genius, that in every science he did not

* His picture of Cromwell, whom he had once praised, but whom he later in life described as 'a bankrupt beggarly fellow, with a thread-bare torn cloak and a greasy hat—perhaps neither of them paid for,' is well known; as likewise the exclamation of the king to Rochester, as he burst out into a fit of laughter, 'Ods fish, Lory, your chaplain must be made a bishop—put me in mind of him at the next death.' This was one of the promises which, with lover's vows, and such other bubbles, are kept, according to Ariosto, in jars in the moon!

so much study as reign; he appeared not only a proficient, but a prince; and, to go no further for a testimony, let his own writing serve for a witness.' (Eikon Basilike, to wit, Dr. Gauden's authorship of which is no longer doubtful, and of which Charles II. said, 'All that is in that book is not gospel.') 'which speak him no less an author than a monarch, composed with such an unfailing accuracy, such a commanding, majestic *pathos*, as if they had been written, not with a pen, but a sceptre. And, as for those whose virulent and ridiculous calumnies ascribe that incomparable work to others, it is a sufficient argument that they did not write it, because they could not. It is hard to counterfeit the spirit of majesty and the inimitable peculiarities of an incommunicable genius. At the council table he had ability enough to give himself the best counsel, but the unhappy modesty to diffide in it; indeed, his only fault, for modesty is a paradox in majesty, and humility is a solecism in supremacy. Look we next on his piety and incomparable virtues, though without any absurdity I may say, that his very endowments of nature were supernatural. So pious was he, that if others had measured their obedience to him by his to his God, he had been the most absolute monarch in the world.'

This has been since repeated to nauseating disgust. It was fresher in South's day. But what must Charles II. have thought of this accompanying stimulant.

'In short, he was a prince whose virtues were as prodigious as his sufferings; a true father to his country, *if but for this only, that he was father of such a son?*'

Charles did not sin in secret; his character was well known even before the Restoration, especially to Clarendon, South's patron. This was the second year at least of the king's reign, and he was already pretty well '*blazè*.' After this, nothing in the sermon can pass for fidelity, at least towards Charles.

'Having thus seen the person suffering, let us in the next place see the preparations of this bloody fact; and, indeed, it would be but a preposterous course to insist only on the consequent, without taking notice of the antecedent. It were too long to dig to the spring of the rebellion, and to lead up to the secrecies of its first contrivance; but, as David's phrase is, upon another occasion, it was framed and fashioned in the lowest parts of the earth, and there it was fearfully and wonderfully made—a work of darkness and retirement, removed from the eye of witnesses, even that of conscience also; for conscience was not admitted into their council. But their first aim was to procure a Levite to consecrate their design, and a factious ministry to christen it the cause of God; they still own their party for God's own Israel, and being so, it must needs be their duty to come out of Egypt, though they provide themselves a Red Sea for their passage. For their assistance they repair to the Northern Steel, and bring in

an unnatural, mercenary crowd, that, like a shoal of locusts, covered the land, such as inherited the description of those which God brought upon his people the Jews; a nation fierce, peeled, and scattered; and still we shall read that God punished his people from the north, as Jer. i. 3, '*Out of the north comes destruction which shall make the land desolate*;' Jer. iv. 6, '*I will bring evil from the north, and great destruction.*' Now, to endear and unite these into one interest, they invented a covenant, much like to that which some are said to make with hell, an agreement with death. It was the most solemn piece of perjury, the most fatal engine against the church, and form of monarchy; the greatest snare of souls and mystery of iniquity that ever was hammered out by the wit and wickedness of man. I shall not, as they do, abuse scripture language, and call it the blood of the covenant, but give it its proper title, *the Covenant of Blood*.

'Come we now in the third place, to show who were the actors in this tragic scene. * * Such an inferior crew, such a mechanic rabble were they, having not so much as any arms to show the world, but what they used in rebellion; that when I survey the list of the king's judges, and the witnesses against him, I seem to have before me a catalogue of all trades, and such as might have better filled the shops of Westminster Hall, than sat on the benches; some of which came to be possessors of the king's houses, who before had no certain dwelling but the king's highway; and some might have continued tradesmen still, had not want, and inability to trade, sent them to the war. Now that a king, such a king should be murdered by such, the basest of his subjects, and not like a Nimrod (as some sanctified preachers have called him), but, like Actæon, torn by a pack of blood-hounds—that the steam of a dunghill should thus obscure the sun; this so much enhanceth the calamity of this royal person, and makes his death as different from his, who is conquered and slain by another king, as it is between being torn by a lion, and being eaten up by vermin; pardon the expression, for it came into my mind by speaking of those, many of which were one time beggars.'

The conclusion is the only redemption of the discourse. It is bold and eloquent:—

'Would you be willing to see this scene acted over again? To see that restless plotting humour that now boils and ferments in many traitors' breasts, once more display itself in the dismal effects of war and desolation? Would you see the rascality of the nation in troops and tumults beleaguer the royal palace? Would you hear the ministers absolving their congregations from their sacred oath of allegiance, and sending them into the field to lose their lives and souls in a professed rebellion against their sovereign? Would you see an insolent, overturning, army in the heart and bowels of the nation, moving to and fro, to the terror of everything that is noble, generous, and religious? Would you see the loyal gentry harrassed,

starved, and undone by the oppression of base, insulting, committees? Would you see the clergy torn in pieces, and sacrificed by the inquisition of synods, friars, and commissioners? And, to mention the greatest last, Would you have the king, with his father's kingdoms, inherit also his fortunes? Would you see the crown trampled upon, majesty haled from prison to prison, and at length, with the vilest circumstances of spite and cruelty, bleeding and dying at the feet of bloody, inhuman miscreants? Would you, now Providence has cast the destructive interest from the parliament, and the house is pretty well swept and cleansed, have the old unclean spirit return, and take to itself seven other spirits, seven other interests worse than itself, and dwell there, and so make our latter end worse than our beginning? * * When I see the same covetousness, the same drunkenness and profaneness that was first punished in ourselves, and then in our sanctified enemies; when I see joy turned into revelling, and debauchery proclaimed louder than it can be proclaimed against; these, I confess, stagger and astonish me. Nor can I persuade myself we were delivered to do all these abominations. But, if we have not the grace of Christians,—yet, have we not the hearts of men? Have we no bowels, nor relentings? If the blood and banishment of our kings—if the miseries of our common mother the church, ready to fall back into the jaws of reformers, cannot move us, yet shall we not at least pity our posterity? Shall we commit sins, and breed up our children to inherit the curse? Shall the infants now unborn have cause to say hereafter, in the bitterness of their souls, Our fathers have eaten sour grapes of disobedience, and our teeth are set on edge with rebellions and confusions? How doth any one know, but the oath that he is now swearing—the very lewdness he is now committing, may be scored up by God as an item for a new rebellion? We may be rebels, and yet not vote in parliament, nor sit in committees, nor fight in armies. Every sin is virtually treason; and we may be guilty of murder in breaking other commandments beside the sixth. But at present we are made whole; God hath by a miracle healed our breaches, cured the maladies, and bound up the wounds of a bleeding nation. What remains now, but that we take the counsel that seconded the like miraculous cure, go our ways and sin no more, lest a worse thing come upon us. But since our calamities have reached that height, that they give us rather cause to fear a repetition, than a possibility of gradation, I shall dismiss you with the same advice, upon a different motive; Go, sin no more, lest the same evil befall you; which God, of his infinite mercy, prevent; even, that God, by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice; by whom their thrones are established, and by whom their blood will be revenged.—*Sermon on the 30th of January.*

Such was the preacher whom the Castlemaines, the Rochesters, the Lauderdales, the Buckinghams, the Stewarts of the Restoration, were prone and pleased to hear!

In 1663, South was installed Prebendary of Westminster Abbey, and, at the same time, he applied to the convocation of the university, under letters of his patron Clarendon, to be created doctor of divinity. Wood states that the application was greatly to the astonishment and chagrin of his seniors, as he had not suffered for the king, but had rather symbolized with the Independents, and distinctly declares that the senior proctor falsely announced his election. What the truth of this may be we know not. Academical degrees have been certainly often conferred on men less worthy of the honour, and in secular learning South was no mean proficient. Soon after this he became canon of Christchurch, as he had previously desired, and also obtained a sinecure in Wales. By the death of his father, and even before his father's death, he had become possessed of considerable landed property, on which, during the greater part of his life, he resided, unless when immediate ecclesiastical duties summoned him elsewhere. When the Hon. Lawrence Hyde, son to the chancellor, was sent over on a special ambassadorial mission into Poland, South accompanied him as chaplain; and, in a letter addressed to Pococke, the orientalist, he describes, with much acuteness and information, his impressions of that country. On his return (we suppose) he became chaplain to the Duke of York, and was inducted by the dean and chapter of Westminster into the living of Islip, in Oxfordshire, described as in value £200 per annum. He was now a rich man, and being by no means wanting in generosity, when it suited him to exercise it, he allowed a handsome sum to his curate, and, at his own expense, repaired the chancel of his church, and rebuilt the rectory.

On the accession of James II., South was fifty years of age. His former patrons were now in power. The acrimony of South against papists prevented, however, his farther advancement. When a debate was held before the king, on the comparative merits of the Romish and English churches, intended to convince Hyde, now Earl of Rochester, of the superiority of the former, South was forbidden to be a disputant, though, in private, he is said to have greatly contributed to the result, and to the verdict pronounced by James,—‘That he had never heard a good cause managed so ill, nor a bad one so well.’ South's doctrinal orthodoxy and controversial acuteness are unquestionable. It is said, that about this time he refused an Irish archbishopric. He opposed the Revolution, yet afterwards acknowledged the legality of the settlement of William and Mary; he declined to accept one of the sees vacant by the resignation of the bishops, and was a determined enemy of the

Act of Toleration, the passing of which embittered the rest of his days, and infected him with a kind of monomaniac frenzy.

The question of the Trinity about this time brought South into controversy with one of his own party, viz., Dr. W. Sherlock, dean of St. Paul's. The latter having asserted that there were in the Godhead three minds, three beings, and three intelligences, South, whose combativeness rendered him always ready for conflict, especially with Sherlock, by whom he thought himself ill used in the matter of adherence to William and Mary, engaged the dean with more acuteness than courtesy, and with more wit than reverence, utterly demolishing his false and untenable position. The following is a specimen of the *mode* :—

‘ Really our author has shewn himself very communicative to the world ; for, as in the beginning of his book he has vouchsafed to instruct us how to judge of contradictions ; so, in the progress of his work he has condescended to teach us (if we will but learn) how to speak and write contradictions too. There remains only one favour more, that he will teach us how to reconcile them also. * * * I cannot but here further declare, that to me it seems one of the most preposterous and unreasonable things in nature, for any one first to assert three gods ; and when he has so well filled the world with deities, to expect that all mankind should fall down and worship them.’ Again ; ‘ and so I take my leave of the dean’s three distinct infinite minds, spirits, or substances—that is to say, of his three gods ; and having done this, methinks I see him go whimpering away with his finger in his eye, and that complaint of Micah in his mouth, Ye have taken away my gods which I made, and what have I more.’

When so indecent a mode of controversy was resorted to, it was not wonderful that some wit of the town should ridicule both parties, together with Dr. Burnet, master of the Charter-house, and author of ‘ Archæologia.’ The latter is caricatured as having said,—

‘ That all the books of Moses
Were nothing but supposes.’

And the three reprehended in some very pointed stanzas :—

‘ Thus in the battle royal
As none would take denial,
The dame for whom they strove,
Could neither of them love.

‘ She therefore slyly waiting,
Left all three fools a-prating ;
And being in a fright, Sir,
Religion took her flight, Sir,
And ne’er was heard of since.’

It were hardly worth while to quote these lines but for the moral they convey. A religious controversy, carried on without the spirit of the gospel, is an argument for infidelity, which its best apologist finds it hard to answer.

But, if there be no royal road to geometry, there is to theology. Difficult questions—questions about which devils, according to Milton, disagree—have been often settled by act of parliament; and, on this occasion, the king interposed his royal authority, and forbade any preacher to presume to deliver any other doctrine concerning the Trinity than that contained in Holy Scripture and the Thirty-nine Articles. Publicly prohibited from following up his victory, it only remained for this ‘learned but ill-natured divine,’ as Bishop Burnet calls him, to indulge himself in a sly inuendo or two, as he did at the beginning of the 3rd vol. of his sermons.

During the greater part of Anne’s reign, South was living in private, refusing the see of Rochester and the deanery of Westminster,* and, at the death of Anne, he described himself as needing to prepare for immortality, ‘since all that was good and gracious, and the very breath of his nostrils,’ was departed before him. One of his last public acts was to exert himself in favour of Dr. Sacheverell, with whose weak sentiments and outrageous conduct it may be imagined he fully sympathized. He died at Westminster, on Sunday, the 8th of July, 1716.

The biography we have given distinguishes most of the points of Dr. South’s character. We see a man, bold, firm, penetrating, but fierce, dogmatical, and revengeful; liberal, on some occasions, when money was concerned, yet ungenerous in the highest sense when principles and conscience were at issue; zealous for his party, yet, we fear, guided in his attachment to it by no true principle; a professed lover of religion and asserter of its claims, yet hating every spiritual form in which it could exist; possessing none of the blandness essential to a happy temperament, and

* We scarcely know at what date to place the following amusing anecdote:—South, though temperate, was somewhat nice in his appetite. After Tillotson became archbishop of Canterbury he one day met South, and though he had promised Mrs. Tillotson to bring no company that day to dinner, he so far forgot himself as to invite that divine to a plain family meal. He carried the doctor to an apartment of the palace, leaving the door ajar. When he told his wife who was the guest she broke out, —‘Sure, there never was such a man as you are; this morning there was to be no company, and now that I have ordered nothing for dinner you have brought with you one of the greatest epicures in London!’ As she insisted with more than usual pertinacity upon this maladroitness, Tillotson, though ordinarily placid, lost his temper. At last he told her, somewhat pointedly, that ‘it was well for her there was a stranger in the house.’ South, who heard all, cried out, ‘Let me beg, doctor, that you will make no stranger of me on so urgent an emergency!’

disliked and feared by those to whom, as a partizan, he was essential; in his personal habits, temperate, and, in some of his relations, considerate; but, in public, avowing sentiments of the most bloody persecution; a stern reprover, yet a base flatterer, and one who blew hot and cold, if not skilfully, yet at least shamelessly. South appears never to have married, and it was well. Such a temper would have been to a wife a perennial torture. It could not be said of him as Burke said of Fox,—‘he was born to be loved.’ When we think of him as a Christian, though with every desire to forgive the enemy, we feel it impossible to reconcile misrepresentation so deliberate, and passions so violent, and so wantonly indulged, with any variety of holy character of which we can conceive. There is a passage in a letter from Poland, which is not only damaging, but damning. If it be the key to the man, and we fear it is, it destroys every claim to true principle. He speaks of the professors at Wilna, whom he describes as ‘bunglers in their respective sciences,’ and far inferior to Oxford servitors. ‘However,’ says he, ‘I found myself under a necessity of *extolling them for their profound knowledge, and of closing in with every opinion they at random gave vent to*, for the sake of my own quiet; since their pride, if any ways mortified by contradiction from strangers, pushes them upon unforeseen extremities; *and it’s the best and surest way to be of the same mind with them, if any one takes a good liking for the security of his body.*’

Intellectually, South was highly, and indeed extraordinarily, endowed. His perceptions were strong—his judgment, in the main, accurate—his sense of logical dependence true and severe—his imagination often eminently original, and always fresh and varied, glancing from every point, and illuminating whatever it touched. He excelled equally in statement—in reasoning—in disquisition—in illustration—and in the antithetical point which wit commands. None could generalise more profoundly, or condense with more emphasis. His learning was ample: history and metaphysics were alike familiar to him, and his memory enabled him to levy contributions from all quarters, direct and indirect—sacred and profane. When we add to this that his mind was tutored upon the best models, and by great practice, we have pronounced a large eulogium, but not more large than true. His humour was at once his strength and weakness: it served to make and to undo him. That he was sensible of its defect we may infer from his sarcasm to Sherlock: ‘If it had pleased God, sir, to make you a wit, what would you have done?’

Of his mode of delivery, we know little; but his peculiar style would not need the graces of enunciation. He was never misty

and never tedious. That he understood the secret of avoiding the latter fault was shewn by his remarkable observation to Queen Anne. 'I wish, Dr. South, you had had time to make your sermon a little longer.' 'May it please your Majesty, if I had had more time, it would have been shorter.' His taste was never perfect, and sometimes execrable. Burke is said to have mingled with his beauties something of the 'Venus of whiskey,' and South is often mean, and sometimes grovelling. We allow something for the grossness of the age; but no apology can extenuate such grossnesses as Swift and South were guilty of perpetrating. If South never, like Howe, made you 'despair of dinner by the time he took in laying the cloth,' he was below him in the nature of the viands he set upon the table. If, he never, with Taylor, was tempted into poetical expatiation, which, indeed, he hated and preached down, he had no pretence to his piety and lovely holiness. If, he never, with Baxter, was loose and careless, he was incapable of reasoning like him with the consciences of men, and was not for an instant pathetic. If, he never, with Barrow, was scholastically dull and tedious, he did not, like him, present so large and comprehensive a view of his whole theme. He seizes at once upon the point of his subject, and developes it gradually and fully. His style is eminently simple and Saxon, with little of musical cadence, but full of force. When it is held up as an example, it should be borne in mind how much of its power arises from wit, and is by many therefore unattainable. He is a faithful and terrible reprover of sin, a full Calvinist, a firmasserter of man's depravity, and of salvation through Christ. On the doctrine of justification, however, we fear he was not far from preaching salvation by works. His discourses lack no denunciations drawn from the terrors of hell, though he seldom paints the happiness of heaven. In short, his *forte* was onslaught, not persuasion; he could not win; he drove with the lash of a fury. Few, indeed, are the discourses in which he does not preach his own spleen,—

' You know his nature
That he's revengeful, and I know his sword
Hath a sharp edge; it's long, and may be said
It reaches far; and where 'twill not extend,
Thither he darts it.'

If we wished to give a favourable specimen of South, we could select nothing nobler than some passages of his sermon on 'Man Created in the Image of God.' But it has been often

quoted, and we forbear. We take the following from the sermon on 'The Pleasantness of Religion:—

'Religion is a pleasure to the mind as it respects practice, and so sustains the name of conscience. And conscience, undoubtedly, is the great repository and magazine of all those pleasures that can afford any solid refreshment to the soul. For when this is calm and serene and absolving, then, properly, a man enjoys all things—and, what is more, himself; for that he must do before he can enjoy any thing else. But it is only a pious life, led exactly by the ruler of a severe religion, that can authorise a man's conscience to speak comfortably to him. It is this that must word the sentence before the conscience can pronounce it, and then it will do it with majesty and authority: it will not whisper, but proclaim a jubilee to the mind; it will not drop, but pour in oil upon the wounded heart. And is there any pleasure comparable to that which springs from hence? The pleasures of conscience are not only greater than all other pleasures, but may also serve instead of them; for they only please and affect the mind *in transitu*, in the pitiful narrow compass of actual fruition; whereas, that of conscience entertains and feeds it a long time after with durable, lasting reflections.

'The second ennobling property of it is that it is such a pleasure as never satiates nor wearies; for it properly affects the spirits, and a spirit feels no weariness, as being privileged from the causes of it. But can the epicure say so of any of the pleasures that he so much dotes upon? Do they not expire while they satisfy, and, after a few minutes' refreshment, determine in loathing and unquietness? How short is the interval between a pleasure and a burden—how indiscernable the transition from one to the other! Pleasure dwells no longer upon the appetite than the necessities of nature, which are quickly and easily provided for, and then all that follows is a load and an oppression. Every morsel to a satisfied hunger is only a new labour to a tired digestion. Every draught to him that has quenched his thirst is but a farther quenching of nature, a provision for rheum and diseases, a drowning of the quickness and activity of the spirits. * * Those that are so fond of applause, while they pursue it, how little do they taste it when they have it! Like lightning, it only flashes upon the face and it is gone; and it is well if it does not hurt the man. * * If it be a pleasure to be envied and shot at, to be maligned *standing* and to be despised *falling*, to endeavour that which is impossible, which is to please all and to suffer for not doing, it then is a pleasure to be great and to be able to dispose of men's fortunes and preferments. * * And then, lastly, for company: though it may relieve a man from his melancholy, yet it cannot secure him from his conscience, nor from sometimes being alone. And what is all that a man enjoys, from a week's, a month's, or a year's converse, comparable to what he feels for one hour, when his conscience shall take him aside and rate him by himself?'

It is somewhat surprising that we have as yet seen no *Southiana*. No author would shine better in such a form:—

‘Aristotle was but the rubbish of Adam, and Athens but the rudiments of Paradise.’

‘Contempt, like the planet Saturn, has first an ill aspect and then a destroying influence.’

‘He that has to do with a liar knows not where he is, nor what he does, nor with whom he deals. He walks upon bogs and whirlpools, wheresoever he treads he sinks, and converses with a bottomless pit where it is impossible for him to fix or to be at any certainty. In fine, he catches at an apple of Sodom, which, though it may entertain his eye with a florid, jolly white and red, yet upon the touch it shall fill his hand only with stench and foulness; fair in look and rotten at heart, as the gayest and most taking things and persons in the world generally are.’

‘The fall of ‘a great man’ by any temptation (be it never so plausible) is like that of a principal stone, or stately pillar, tumbling from a lofty edifice into the deep mire of the street; it does not only plunge and sink into the black dirt itself, but also dashes and bespatters all that are about or near it when it falls.’

‘Can there be a dreadfuller judgment than that which gives a man an universal disposition to all sin; which offers up his soul, as it were, a blank to the devil, to write what he will upon it.’

From the same materials, one might also compile a spiritual jest-book:—

‘Matters have been brought to this pass, that if a man amongst his sons had any blind or disfigured he laid him aside for the ministry, and such an one was presently approved as having a mortified countenance. In short, it was a fiery furnace, which often approved dross and rejected gold. Hence it was that many rushed into the ministry, as being the only calling that they could profess without serving an apprenticeship. I cannot see how to be a butcher, scavenger, or any other such trade, does at all qualify or prepare men for this work.’

Quoting the words of David,—

‘‘My soul thirsteth for thee,’ &c. Much different was his wish from that of our unconforming zealots nowadays, which expresses itself in another kind of dialect, as—When shall I enjoy God as I used to do at a conventicle? When shall I meet with those blessed breathings, those heavenly hummings and hawings, that I used to hear at a private meeting, and at the end of a table?’

‘To expect religion to be taught by force of lungs, is just as if a smith or artist who works in metals should think to frame or shape out his work only with his bellows.’

'To be blind was with them (the Nonconformists) the proper qualification of a spiritual guide, and to be book-learned, as they called it, and to be irreligious, were almost terms convertible. None even were thought fit for the ministry but tradesmen and mechanics, because none else were allowed to have the Spirit. Those only were accounted like St. Paul who could work with their hands, and, in a literal sense, drive the nail home, and be able to make a pulpit before they preached in it.

Poor venomous man! Little did he understand or could he appreciate some of the men whom he thus loaded with obloquy! *He gained his ends; court favour, popular applause, rich preferment:—'He did it for a corruptible crown!' They suffered sorrow, deprivation, and disgrace, so far as this world could secure them:—'But they for an incorruptible!' A future day will reverse their attainder! 'Sit anima mea cum illis!'*

We cannot regard South as a Christian minister without the conviction that there was in him an awful lack of all the genuine elements of that noble character. Whatever of energy or of ability he might possess, of the fire from heaven he was utterly destitute. It almost makes us pale to think that he was more frequently the derider than the asserter of spiritual gifts; that to him internal religion was a delusion, and experimental piety a laughable mockery. When the last tribunal shall exhibit effects in connexion with their true antecedents, who shall guess how much of the shameless profligacy of Charles's debased court may be found to have been fostered by the anti-religious witticisms of the royal preacher, or how much of its persecuting prohibition of the spread of the gospel may be placed in God's Book to his dread account?

ART. II.—*Ballads and other Poems.* By Mary Howitt. Longmans. 1847.

WE have been long looking for this volume. While so many of our popular writers were collecting and publishing their scattered works, we earnestly hoped that those beautiful ballads, which, in the 'high days' of Annuals, were always among their chief attractions, would, ere long, be gathered into what may well be called, to use a quaint but expressive old phrase, 'a garland of dainty delights.' And here they are, all our old favorites, and some we have not seen before, collected into a hand-

some volume, just such an one as we hoped to see, and introduced to us by a most interesting preface—not at all ‘egotistical,’ as the writer fears—but a fragment of delightful personal narrative. It is always pleasant to be told how a poetical mind was first awakened to the consciousness of its powers—how its peculiar direction too was first given; and, although it is indeed ‘needless’ for Mary Howitt to tell us that she has been all her life ‘a passionate lover of ballad poetry;’ it is pleasant, and instructive, too, to learn the circumstances under which that love was fostered, and to trace the early associations which tinged her mind so deeply with a feeling for the wild, and the beautiful. And thus it was:—

‘Brought up, as a child, in a picturesque, old-fashioned part of England, remote from books, and from the world, and under circumstances of almost conventual seclusion, the echoes of this old traditional literature found their way to my ear and my heart. Few books, excepting those of a religious and somewhat mystical character, reached me; but an old domestic, with every requisite for a German *merchen-frau*, who had a memory stored with ballads, old songs, and legends, inflamed my youthful imagination by her wild chants and recitations, and caused it to take very early flights into the regions of romance. When I married, under circumstances the most favourable for a young poetical spirit, the world of literature was at once opened before me; and to mark the still prevailing character of my taste, I may say that the first book I read, when I had my free choice in a large library, was Percy’s ‘Relics of Ancient English Poetry,’ of which I had heard, but till then, had never seen. The first fifteen years of my married life were devoted to poetry.’—p. i.

It was, however, in her own peculiar department, the ballad, that Mary Howitt won no mean name among our modern poets. But it was much more than a mere ‘favorable reception,’ as she modestly terms it, that these spirited compositions received, on their first appearance, for we well remember the warm admiration with which they were met, not by the public alone, but by many a gifted writer.

‘The happiest period, however, of my literary life was when, gladdened by the praise of the public, and encouraged by my husband, on whose taste and judgment I had the greatest dependence, I resolved to put forth my whole strength into one effort, which should afford me free scope for working out character, and for dramatic effect, at which I had always aimed, even in the simplest ballad. My hopes were high, and I thought to achieve a name among the poets of my country. I accordingly wrote the ‘Seven Temptations,’—a poem faulty in many respects, and different to what I would now do, but with which at that time I spared no pains. Authors will, therefore, understand my feelings when I say that the first review I read of this work was so unfavourable, and that without giving a single quotation in proof of this opinion, that I was

cut to the heart. I never experienced a sensation like that before, and I pray that I never may again.'—p. vi.

We can assure Mary Howitt that we deeply sympathize in these disappointed feelings, for the general apathy with which that fine dramatic poem was received by the public was a subject of great astonishment to us at the time. Looking back *now*, however, our surprise is less. The public mind then, although awaking to a sense of poetic beauty, was scarcely prepared to welcome it, unless in the accustomed garb; and thus the fine imagination, and deep feeling which the 'Seven Temptations' exhibit, was lost upon readers who could not admire, simply because they could not appreciate a poem, which, in its force and wild beauty strongly reminded us of Marlow's magnificent 'Faustus.'

We regret that an unjust criticism—for the criticism is essentially unjust that assigns no reason for its sentence—should have power to make Mary Howitt 'tremble at the name of critic,' or, 'feel a peculiar sensation of heart, when public judgment is about to be pronounced.' We wonder at it, too, for have not some of the finest poems of modern times received the same harsh treatment of which she so justly complains? What a burst of ridicule met Wordsworth's delightful lyrics! What angry rebukes did Coleridge receive for his 'unreadable nonsense!' that wondrous tale of the 'Ancient Mariner!' What cool scorn marked the sentence of the 'Quarterly,' on poor Keats's splendid 'Hyperion!' And men who ought to have known better, the early Edinburgh Reviewers—how did they fling ridicule on every poet who scorned the trammels of the so-called 'Augustan Age!'—infusing, perhaps, the first drop of gall into the keenly irritable mind of Byron, and 'driving a cruel ploughshare,' as James Montgomery touchingly said, 'over his poor flowers.' Let Mary Howitt think of this, and she will feel that she belongs to 'a goodly company:' and let her forthwith give us another volume of poetry, as she promises, and a reprint of 'The Seven Temptations.'

We have said that many of the ballads in this volume are old favourites. There are those two delightful ones, each of which might have been sung, according to his varying mood, by the Ancient Mariner himself—the 'Dolores Maris,' and the 'Deliciæ Maris,' and the wondrous 'Voyage with the Nautilus,' so full of wild imagery, combined with exquisite simplicity of style. Our first extract shall, however, be from 'The Isles of the Sea Fairies,' a ballad less known, we think, than the others, and involving a fine moral—just such a poem, indeed, as the earnest preacher of the middle ages would have rejoiced to conclude his address with:—

' Among the Isles of the Golden Mist,
 I lived for many a year ;
 And all that chanced unto me there
 'Tis well that ye should hear.

I dwelt in a hall of silvery pearl,
 With rainbow lights inlaid ;
 I sat on a throne, old as the sea,
 Of the ruby coral made.

The old carbuncle lit the dome,
 Where I was made a king ;
 The crown was wrought of pale sea-gold,
 So was my fairy ring.

And she who on my right hand sate,
 As the morning star, was fair :
 She was clothed in a robe of shadowy light,
 And veiled by her golden hair.

They made me King of the Fairy Isles,
 That lie in the Golden Mist,
 Where the coral rocks and the silvery sand
 By singing waves are kissed.

Far off, in the ocean solitudes
 They lie, a glorious seven ;
 Like a beautiful group of sister stars,
 In the untraced heights of heaven.

* * * * *

For many a year and more, I dwelt
 With neither thought or care,
 'Till I forgot almost my speech—
 Forgot both creed and prayer.

At length it chanced that, as my boat
 Went on its charmed way,
 I came unto the veil of mist
 Which round the Seven Isles lay.

Even then—it was a Sabbath morn—
 A ship was passing by,
 And I heard a hundred voices raise
 A sound of psalmody.

A mighty love came o'er my heart—
 A yearning toward my kind—
 And unwittingly I spoke aloud
 The impulse of my mind :

' Oh, take me hence, ye Christian men !'
 I cried, in spiritual want ;
 Anon the golden mist gave way,
 That had been like adamant !

The little boat wherein I sate
 Seemed all to melt away ;
 And I was left upon the sea,
 Like Peter, in dismay !"—pp. 113—19.

He is, however, rescued by the mariners, who refuse to believe his story, but its truth soon proves itself to him, for he finds himself 'old and grey.'

' I trembled at the fearful work
 Of threescore years and ten ;
 I asked for love, but I had grown
 An alien among men.

I passed among the busy crowds :
 I marked their care and pain,
 And how they spent their manhood's strength
 To make but little gain.

I saw besotted men mistake
 For gold unworthy clay ;
 And many more who sell their souls
 For the pleasures of a day.

I saw how years on years roll on,
 As a tale that hath been told,
 And then at last they start, like me,
 To find that they grow old.

Said I, ' These men laugh me to scorn ;
 My wisdom they resist ;
 But they themselves abide, like me,
 Within a golden mist.

' Oh, up and save yourselves ! e'en now
 The ship goes hurrying by ;
 I hear the hymn of souls redeemed,
 Who are bound for eternity !"—p. 121.

We wish we could find room for some passages from the story of 'Willie o'Wyburn,' in which we have monk, and minstrel, and abbot, and pilgrims, and a pleasant glimpse, too, of Robin Hood and his merry men, all ending with Willie's introduction to the king and queen : as genuine a ballad as ever was sung, and, true to its character, so rapid in its details as to forbid extracts.

We must give an extract or two from 'A forest scene in the

days of Wickliffe,' if it were only for the opening picture. How minute and life-like is the painting. The dullest reader, we think, must actually *see* the little child and the pilgrim, and the wide expanse of forest land—all bathed in the summer's sunlight:—

' A little child—she read a book
Beside an open door ;
And, as she read page after page,
She wondered more and more.

Her little finger carefully
Went pointing out the place ;
Her golden locks hung drooping down,
And shadowed half her face.

The open book lay on her knee,
Her eyes on it were bent ;
And, as she read page after page,
Her colour came and went.

She sate upon a mossy stone,
An open door beside ;
And round for miles, on every hand,
Stretched out a forest wide.

The summer sun shone on the trees ;
The deer lay in the shade ;
And overhead the singing birds
Their pleasant clamour made.

There was no garden round the house,
And it was low and small ;
The forest sward grew to the door,
And lichens on the wall.

There was no garden round about,—
Yet flowers were growing free ;
The cowslips and the daffodil
Upon the forest-lea.

The butterfly went flitting by,
The bees were on the flowers ;
But the little child sat stedfastly,
As she had sat for hours.

' Why sit you here, my little maid ?'
An aged pilgrim spake ;
The child looked upward from her book,
Like one but just awake.

Back fell her locks of golden hair,
And solemn was her look,
As thus she answered, witlessly,

' Oh ! sir, I read this book.'—pp. 173—175.

'And what is there within that book, to win a child like thee?'
is the next question :—

' Oh ! sir, it is a wondrous book,
Better than Charlemagne ;
And, be you pleased to leave me now,
I'll read in it again.'

' Nay, read to me,' the pilgrim said ;
And the little child went on
To read of CHRIST, as was set forth
In the Gospel of St. John.

On, on she read, and gentle tears
Adown her cheeks did slide ;
The pilgrim sate, with bended head,
And he wept at her side.

' I've heard,' said he, ' the archbishop,
I've heard the pope at Rome ;
But never did their spoken words
Thus to my spirit come.

The book—it is a blessed book ;
Its name—what may it be ?'
Said she, ' They are the words of CHRIST
That I have read to thee,
Now done into the English tongue
For folk unlearned as we.'

* * * * *

The little girl gave up the book ;
And the pilgrim, old and brown,
With reverent lips did kiss the page,
Then on the stone sate down.

And on he read, page after page ;
Page after page he turned ;
And, as he read their blessed words,
His heart within him burned.

Still, still the book the old man read,
As he would ne'er have done ;
From the hour of noon he read the book
Unto the set of sun.

The little child she brought him out
A cake of wheaten bread,
But it lay unbroke at eventide ;
Nor did he raise his head
Until he every written page
Within the book had read.'—pp. 177—180.

'The Boy of Heaven,' and 'The Three Guests,' are both admirable adaptations of old ballads: while 'Carlovan' is another delightful fairy tale, just fit to be sung on 'a green hill top,' while

'The fair round moon comes up the sky, and the stars pale overhead.'

The second part consists of miscellaneous poems; some of which are old favourites, together with others which we do not recollect having seen before. The following is in 'a higher mood,' and might be well placed beside any of Mrs. Hemans's finest lyrics. It is a part of an address to 'the Spirit of Poetry.'

' They build to thee no shrine,
Yet every holy place is filled with thee;
Dim groves and mountain-tops alike are thine,
Spirit of Poetry!
Island and ocean-peak;
Seas where the keel of ships shall never go;
Cots, palaces, and groves; whate'er can speak
Of human love or woe;

All are the shrines where thou
Broodest with power, not visible, yet strong;
Like odour from the rose, we know not how
Borne to the sense along.
Oh! spirit, which art pure,
Mighty, and holy, and of God art sprung;
Which teachest to aspire and to endure,
As ne'er taught human tongue;

What art thou? A glad spirit,
Sent down, like Hope, when Eden was no more,
From the high heavenly place thou didst inherit,
An Eden to restore;
Sent down to teach as never
Taught worldly wisdom; to make known the right,—
And the strong armour of sublime endeavour
To gird on for the fight.'—p. 265.

'The Rich and the Poor,' is in Mary Howitt's more accustomed manner, and tells a stern, but too true tale of the miseries arising from the unequal distribution of wealth. For pathos, simple, and therefore, irresistible, pathos, we think Mary Howitt is surpassed by no one.

The most correct censure that has been passed on Mary Howitt's poetry, and more especially on her ballads, is, we think, careless versification. For this, we can readily find excuse, in the exceeding facility of the ballad measure—a facility which doubtless occasioned its general adoption for the purposes of

narrative, through full six centuries. That this pleasant facility has been the chief cause of occasional carelessness in the construction of her verses, is proved by the greater finish, and, in consequence, the greater condensation, which her poems, in more difficult metres, present. When constrained—we cannot use the harsh term ‘trammelled,’ in connexion with so beautiful a species of versification—by the strict limits of the Spenserian stanza, nothing can exceed the graceful finish, and condensed beauty of her style.

We give the following specimen from a poem entitled, ‘The Preacher’s Story;’ first told, if we do not mistake, by worthy Dr. Cotton Mather, whose curious work, ‘Magnalia Christi Americana,’ is indeed a storehouse of wild, and often beautiful stories of perils, and dangers, and utmost need, together with those wonderful deliverances, which, though delayed almost beyond hope, never came too late.

‘Bonds unto death my pious fathers bore,’ says the narrative, but —

‘ God saw his little band in their distress,
And heard their cry rise from the prison cell :
For them he oped the pathless wilderness,
And led them from captivity, to dwell
In a broad land of summer rest, where fell
On them no bigot fury, no behest
Of king, or priest, their conscience to compel.
No ! in the wide, free forests of the West,
Fearless they worshipped God as they believed it best.

Hemmed by the mountains and the forests round,
Beside the margin of a mighty lake,
How quiet was the heritage they found !
How tranquilly each morning did they wake !
How tranquilly when day was done, betake
Themselves to rest ! and on the genial air
What holy sounds of psalmody did break
Forth from the silence of the forest, where
Those humble people met for fervent praise and prayer !

They laid their dead beneath the spreading trees,
Making the place about them holy ground.
Years passed ; the men grew old, and on their knees
Seated their children’s children, and the sound
Of prosperous human life rang gaily round.
No storms had been within their homes of peace ;
God’s blessing went with them ; and they had found,
In flocks, and herds, and stores, a vast increase ;
In daughters and in sons, as though the blessing would not cease.’

An invasion of the Indians ere long brings ruin and desolation ; and then the long winter comes on, with its attendant famine, and the starving flock in the wilderness meet one Sabbath night with their minister, for especial prayer ; but we must omit what follows, referring our readers to the poem itself.

With this extract, we close Mary Howitt's pleasant volume, again reminding her of her promise to give us another, which, we trust, will contain many fine poems like this, and many delightful ballads too.

ART. III.—*The Railway Shareholders' Manual, or Practical Guide to all the Railways in the World.* By Henry TUCK. Wilson, Royal Exchange. 1847.

LAST year, both Houses of Parliament were overwhelmed with applications for new railway schemes ; this year, they have chiefly to deal with the consolidation of old ones. In 1846, the railway world contended for competition and independence ; in 1847, the strong side of the contest is with monopoly and amalgamation. When the London and Birmingham stretched itself to Liverpool, and, like Aaron's rod, swallowed up the Grand Junction, every body called alarm ; but now that it aims at an extension to John o'Groat's, most men praise its boldness, and no one seems to dread oppression from its iron-hearted rule. These are anomalous-looking facts. But they must be dealt with, and a system of railway economics, thence constructed, that shall work in harmony for the public good. To facilitate this object, we shall exhibit a faithful view of the present state, in detail and in consolidation, of the principal lines in the kingdom, give a summary of such projects as may appear to maintain an independent position—and suggest a new system of railway administration.

The London and North-Western was originally the London and Birmingham, representing, latterly, a capital of five millions, and paying a dividend of ten per cent. There was a violent antagonism between the London and Birmingham, and Grand Junction for years ; but, in 1844, when opposition projects were started, they united, and since then have gone on augmenting their power and territory until they now represent a capital equal to a fourth part of the total railway capital of England. The details of this progress stand thus :—

	Miles.	Capital.
1845 Capital and mileage	378½	£21,047,686
1846 Bills were obtained for lines from—		
Rugby to Stamford	34¾	600,000
West London Extension	1	15,000
Weedon and Northampton branch	5½	125,000
Coventry and Nuneaton branch ..	10½	270,000
Birmingham Extension and Station	½	350,000
And the Company leased or purchased—		
The Birmingham, Lichfield, and Manchester	14	260,000
The Buckinghamshire (1)	29¼	595,000
The Buckinghamshire (2)	12	200,000
Huddersfield and Manchester branch	6	189,000
East and West India Dock Exten.	8½	600,000
Manchester and Birmingham (br.)	2	25,000
Rugby, Leamington, and Warwick	14½	360,000
Shropshire Union	155¼	3,800,000
Scottish Midland	16	300,000
Scottish Central	20	400,000
Total in stock and mileage	708½	£28,636,686
1847 Negotiations have been conducted or are in progress for the purchase, or lease, or forming of an alliance with—		
The Shrewsbury and Birmingham and Stour Valley	44	2,410,000
The Lancaster and Carlisle	70	1,300,000
The Caledonian and its adjuncts ..	120	4,500,000
The Aberdeen and Great North of Scotland, &c.	200	2,400,000
Chester and Holyhead	70	2,000,000
Sundry other lines, say	50	1,000,000
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Miles	1,262¼	£42,246,686

Enormous although this amount appears, it is considerably within the real value of mileage and capital which the London and North-Western either represents or is likely to command. The negotiations with the various companies specified, may, in some cases, go off; but others, such as the North-Staffordshire, are notoriously contemplated, and if the whole are ultimately consolidated, we shall have this company swaying a power either for good or evil which no pen can describe.

Let us now state the case of the Great Western.

	Miles.	Capital.
1845 Mileage and capital	240	£8,885,605
1846 Bills were obtained for—		
Great Western and Wycombe (branch)	9½	150,000
Great Western and Uxbridge (branch)	2½	50,000
And the Company purchased or leased—		
The Birmingham and Oxford Junction	44	1,000,000
The Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and Dudley	14½	700,000
The Bristol and Exeter (branch)..	8½	120,000
The Bristol and South Wales Junction	14½	250,000
The Cornwall—Plymouth to Fal- mouth	81	1,600,000
The Gloucester and Dean Forest	18	320,000
The Oxford, Worcester, and Wol- verhampton (branches)	13¾	220,000
The Portbury Pier Branch	8½	200,000
The South Wales (branches)	18¾	200,000
The South Devon Atmospheric..	20	500,000
Tenby and South Wales (branch)	7½	140,000
The Vale of Neath	28½	550,000
The West Cornwall	31	500,000
The Wilts, Somerset, &c.	17½	250,000
Sundry others, say	50	1,000,000
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Miles	627½	£16,635,605

This company has given notice of bills for several branches next session, and in furtherance of a few amalgamations, which, if granted, will increase its capital to above twenty millions, and its mileage to about a thousand. The Great Western has also made an offer to lease the Shrewsbury and Birmingham and Shrewsbury and Chester, with the view of getting north in that direction, and thus secure for itself the whole of the traffic lying west of Crewe, as well as, if possible, a share of the traffic to Liverpool and Holyhead. To promote this, the Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, has given notice that application will be made to alter the level on which the present line is being constructed, so as to enter Wolverhampton on the same level as the Shrewsbury and Birmingham, and if the Great Western should succeed in getting possession of the line from Wolverhampton to Shrewsbury, and Shrewsbury to Chester, it

will increase its mileage a fourth, and its capital stock in proportion, that amount falling to be deducted from our estimate of the London and North-Western stock in which these lines are entered.

Having disposed of the centre and western districts, we shall now take the Midland.

	Miles.	Capital.
1845 This Company had stock and mileage	329 $\frac{3}{4}$	£7,557,712
1846 It obtained bills to construct—		
Syston and Peterborough Branch..	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	85,000
Leicester and Swannington	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	461,000
Erewash Valley Extension	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	230,000
Erewash Valley Branches	9	90,000
Claycross to Newark	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	580,000
Nottingham to Mansfield.....	16 $\frac{3}{4}$	275,000
Burton-on-Trent to Nuneaton....	28 $\frac{1}{4}$	766,000
Hales Owen (branch)	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	130,000
Burton, Stamford, and Birmingham	22	252,000
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Miles	477 $\frac{1}{4}$	£10,426,712
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The Midland has also made an offer for the South-Staffordshire Junction, which would connect it with the west side in a very advantageous manner, and as the London and North-Western would there join it by its Portobello and Show-hill branch, the Midland and London and North-Western, after parting company at Rugby, would meet again at Wolverhampton on very friendly terms. Taking this fact into account, and looking at the number of notices given by the Midland for next session, the prospective capital and mileage may be safely set down at fifteen millions of pounds, and six hundred and fifty miles.

Under Mr. Hudson's management, we have also to include the York and North-Midland, York and Newcastle, &c., the statistics of which stand thus:—

	Miles.	Capital.
1845 Capital in stock and mileage	162 $\frac{1}{2}$	£2,092,979
York and Newcastle	128	2,334,599
1846 Bills obtained for—		
Whitby and Pickering Extension..	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	90,000
Leeds to York.....	17	360,000
East Riding Branches	35	435,000
Selby to Market Weighton.. ..	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	265,000
Newcastle and Berwick	150	1,400,000
Branches from ditto.....	15	98,000
Newcastle and Carlisle.....	65	1,137,385
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Miles	509	£8,212,963
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In addition to these, we may safely add the North-British—one or other of the lines northward by the coast from Edinburgh, and it is understood Mr. Hudson will join Mr. Glyn in working some of the Scotch lines; so that on this issue of projects, he may be said to command the direction in whole or in part of about eight hundred miles of railway, and a capital of upwards of ten millions.

The Eastern Counties' Railway comes naturally under review here as another important link in Mr. Hudson's great chain. The state of this line stands thus:—

	Miles.	Capital.
1845 Capital and mileage	161 $\frac{1}{4}$	£4,036,404
1846 It got bills for—		
Epping Extension	10	220,000
Stratford Station	$\frac{1}{4}$	40,000
And leased or purchased—		
Newmarket and Chesterfield	23	350,000
Wisbeach to St. Ives	29	475,300
Maldon and Braintree	12	200,000
Enfield and Edmonton	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	26,000
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Miles	238 $\frac{1}{4}$	£5,347,704
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Thus it appears that the lord mayor of York presides over the government of railway mileage and capital of fifteen hundred and ninety miles, and thirty millions of pounds!

Among the leading lines in the manufacturing districts that have augmented themselves greatly by the legislation of 1846, is the Manchester and Leeds. It now maintains a strong position:—

	Miles.	Capital.
1845 Mileage and capital	117	£3,770,750
1846 Bills were granted for—		
Station at Manchester and branches	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	400,000
Wakefield and Poole	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	250,000
And it leased—		
West Riding Union	45 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,000,000
Liverpool and Bury Branch	2	300,000
Fleetwood, Preston, &c.	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	270,000
Sheffield, Rotherham, &c.	27	800,000
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Miles	237 $\frac{1}{4}$	£7,790,750
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An increased responsibility which the notices for new branches will materially augment.

While in this district, we may as well dispose of the East Lancashire, thus :—

	Miles.	Capital.
1845 Capital and mileage.....	28	£1,340,000
1846 Amalgamations—		
Liverpool and Ormskirk	35 $\frac{3}{4}$	750,000
Blackburn and Preston Extension	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	330,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Miles	72	£2,420,000
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The next company, in the order of power and influence, we take to be the South-Eastern, whose figures are not numerous but expressive :—

	Miles.	Capital.
1845 Capital and mileage.....	140	£5,260,816
1846 It got bills for—		
Greenwich and Gravesend line ..	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	800,000
Tunbridge Wells to Rye	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	640,000
Rye to Harbour	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	20,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Miles	195 $\frac{3}{4}$	£6,720,816
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The applications to Parliament for the present session are not important, but the total capital may be estimated at eight millions, and the length of rails two hundred and fifty miles.

The London and Brighton, and South Coast has also become great, through recent amalgamations. The facts of this line's progress are these :—

	Miles.	Capital.
1845 Mileage and capital	112	£3,399,230
1846 Bills were obtained for—		
Branch to East Grinstead	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	80,000
Branch to Croydon	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	140,000
Thames Junction Branch.....	1	40,000
And it has leased or purchased—		
Brighton, Lewis, and Hastings..	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	182,000
Brighton and Chichester Branch..	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	44,000
Direct London and Portsmouth..	40 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,500,000
Littlehampton Branch	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	12,000
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Miles	188 $\frac{1}{4}$	£5,397,230
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which, with the bills likely to be obtained, and fresh amalgamations this year, will give a capital to this company of seven millions, and a permanent line of two hundred and fifty miles.

The session of 1846 did much to extend the territory and influence of the London and South-Western.

	Miles.	Capital.
1845 Capital and mileage.	106	£3,466,554
1846 It got bills for lines—		
Basingstoke to Salisbury.	33½	700,000
Farnham to Alton (branch).	19	300,000
Chertsey to Staines Branch.	6½	100,000
Hampton Court Branch.	1½	40,000
Extension to London Bridge	1½	500,000
And it purchased—		
The Guildford Extension.	12	500,000
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Miles	179½	£5,606,554
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The idea of the main trunk here is well sustained. The notices for next session are pretty much on the same principle, and altogether it would appear, that in 1847 the London and South-Western will stand on an equal footing with the London, Brighton, and South coast.

The Eastern Union has attracted much notice of late, and appears to be growing into goodly dimensions:—

	Miles.	Capital.
1845 Miles and capital	43½	£1,247,770
1846 Got bills for—		
Ardleigh and Colchester Branch . .	2½	20,000
Hadleigh Junction	7½	75,000
Ipswich and Bury	32	550,000
Colchester and Halstead	19	250,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Miles	104	£2,142,770
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On this line the most safe and comfortable carriages in England are to be found.

The London and Blackwall, in 1845, had capital expended on four miles, £1,081,273, and has applied for extensions, which, if granted, will materially add to this amount.

The only other lines now established in England that remain to be noticed before we proceed to the new projects are, the Sheffield and Manchester, the Shrewsbury and Chester, the South Devon, the Taff Vale, the Norfolk, and the Mary Port and Carlisle, whose united capital amounts to £4,832,957, and mileage two hundred and six; but, individually, they present no feature calling for particular notice.

Now let us sum up these consolidations.

	1845. Miles.	1845. Capital.	1846. Miles.	1846. Capital.
London & North Western	378½	£21,047,686	708½	£28,636,686
Great Western	240	8,885,605	627	16,635,605
Midland	329¾	7,557,712	476¾	10,426,712
York and North Midland and Newcastle, &c. . .	162	2,092,978	509	8,212,963
Eastern Counties	161¼	4,036,404	238½	5,347,704
Manchester and Leeds . .	117	3,770,750	237½	7,790,750
South Eastern	140¾	5,260,816	195¾	6,720,816
London and Brighton, &c.	112	3,339,230	188½	5,397,230
London & South Western	106	3,466,554	179½	5,606,554
Eastern Union	43¼	1,247,770	104	2,142,770
London and Blackwall . .	4	1,081,273	4	1,081,273
East Lancashire	28	1,340,000	72	2,420,000
Sundry others	206	4,832,957	300	6,000,000
	2028	£67,959,735	3829	£106,359,063

If we compare the totals of these working lines, and add one-fourth for the projects expected to be sanctioned this session, as calculated above, the general results will be:—

	Miles.	Capital.
1845	2028	£ 67,959,735
1846	3829	106,359,063
1847	4798	132,948,826

The simple truth is here evident, that the main trunk lines in operation will have doubled themselves, generally, in two years, and unless we can show that new projects have been granted that will in some measure compete with these all-powerful undertakings, they must be adjudged consolidations in fact, and have influence sufficiently mighty to control even the government itself. Let us now glance at the new projects:—The first in order and importance of these, to all intents and purposes, is the Great Northern, which was granted last year.

	Miles.	Capital.
1846 Great Northern with branches . .	185½	£5,600,000
1846-7 Leased the East Lincolnshire . . .	48¾	600,000
Purchased the Cambridge & Oxford	13	200,000
Leased Stamford and Spalding . .	5	24,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Miles	252½	£6,424,000

This project will divide the palm with Mr. Hudson on the one hand, and Mr. Glyn on the other, and, like its two great

rivals, is already laying hold of all the petty competitors, and profitable adjuncts it can command. The Great Northern applies for new bills, which, if granted, will increase its mileage to three hundred, and its capital to eight millions.

The Northern Counties' Union, late the York and Carlisle and Yorkshire and Glasgow Union, takes a course from the Lancaster and Carlisle at Tebay to the Darlington line at Bishop Auckland, and from the Leeds and Thirsk at Thirsk to the Lancaster and Carlisle at Clifton. This will serve to divide the traffic with some of the projects in the manufacturing districts, and will in all probability maintain independent ground. Its statistics are these,—

	Miles.	Capital.
1846 Capital and mileage	119	£3,000,000
Amalgamated with—		
Liverpool, Manchester, and New-		
castle-on-Tyne, &c.	56½	1,400,00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Miles	175½	£4,400,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>

and it has applied for some extensions and additional amalgamations.

When the Grand Junction had the undisturbed possession of the field from Birmingham to Liverpool, the teeming population of the potteries district considered themselves very ill-used. Whether this be true or not, it is put forth as the fact in which the North Staffordshire took its rise. It was carried through Parliament in the face of a powerful opposition from the London and North-Western, whose directors, now that the Grand Junction was amalgamated with the London and Birmingham, offered to extend branches to Stoke-upon-Trent and every other place of note in that district. The North Staffordshire consists of

	Miles.	Capital.
1846 Line from Hardcastle to Sandbach .	8½	200,000
Macclesfield to Colwich (Potteries) .	55	1,500,000
Churnet Valley	65½	1,200,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Miles	129	£2,900,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>

The intelligent and indefatigable chairman of this line has again and again declared his determination to do all in his power to keep it independent of the London and North-Western, and thus ensure to the public the benefit of a healthful competition; but the same influence that overcame the scruples of the

directors of the Trent Valley, will, it is thought by most men, succeed also in bringing the North Staffordshire under the control of Mr. Glyn.

The North-Western, from the Leeds and Bradford extension at Skipton to Lancaster, and to the Lancaster and Carlisle at Reton, promises to be an independent concern. This line extends by the Morecombe Bay harbour and railway, and branches to the Lancaster and Carlisle at Bolton-le-Sand, a distance of sixty-nine miles—capital, £1,320,000.

The next line in this district that seeks to keep its own ground is the Leeds and Thirsk. Its figures are these:—

	Miles.	Capital.
1845 Capital and mileage	40	£1,200,000
1846 It got bills for—		
Knaresborough Branch	$\frac{1}{2}$	26,000
St. Helen's Branch	2	55,000
North Eastern Extension	21 $\frac{3}{4}$	400,000
And it leased—		
The Wharfedale Extension	22 $\frac{1}{4}$	420,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	Miles 86 $\frac{1}{2}$	£2,101,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>

There are some notices from this company also.

Among other new projects in this district that have not been taken up by any of the great lines are the Great Grimsby and Sheffield Junction, with which is now amalgamated the Sheffield and Lincolnshire Junction, and which has leased the Sheffield and Lincolnshire Extension, and several other short lines; the united mileage being eighty-five, and capital £1,765,000. This company has purchased the Chesterfield and Gainsborough Canal; and here we may state, once for all, that the various amalgamations completed or in progress, contemplate the possession of about three hundred miles of canal, most of which, if not converted into railway, will be employed in conjunction with railway property.

Passing over a number of small projects, and bills for the purchase of docks on the east coast, we go to the Chester and Birkenhead, which, as yet, also maintains an independent position. This scheme has been amalgamated with the Birkenhead, Lancashire, and Cheshire Junction, but has already had a bid both from the London and North-Western and the Great-Western directors. In connexion with this scheme we may consider the Shrewsbury and Chester and Shrewsbury and Hereford lines, both of which stand out as independent highways, although it is well known that the Great-Western now looks at the Holy-

head terminus over these lines. Little need be said about South Wales; the field is large enough in that direction for either contest or amalgamation. In Cornwall and Devon the Great Western in 1845—46 was threatened with powerful competition; but the session of 1847 will to all appearance see the broad guage under Mr. Russell again supreme.

Now take the sum of these independent projects :—

	Miles.	Capital.
Great Northern	252½	£5,600,000
Northern Counties Union	175½	4,400,000
North Western	69	1,320,000
North Staffordshire	129	2,900,000
The Leeds and Thirsk	86½	2,101,000
Various	100	2,125,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Miles	812½	£18,446,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Or in round numbers say, the independent and competing lines measured, in 1846, a thousand miles, and represented a capital of twenty-two millions; while their opponents command, at least, sixty millions of capital, and will run their engines over two thousand, five hundred miles.

These facts and figures, representing as they do, some two-thirds of the capital and mileage of English railways, suggest grave considerations, social, political, and economical. They constitute an institution that can make a parliament of its own; and were it not that it can only live and prosper while trade and population thrives; the millions, who are too poor, or uninclined to seek a place in its constituency might tremble at the thought of its gigantic sway. It is manifest that competition, in the ordinary sense of the term, is practically at an end in railways. The amalgamations that have taken place, and are likely to be sanctioned during the present session of parliament, virtually create the railway system into one grand monopoly, and the question for the public now to consider is, How can that monopoly be abolished, and what system of popular responsibility can we erect in its stead? Let us answer, if we can, the last question first.

There is a large class of political economists who advocate the continental system of management by the state. Economists of this school are extremely liable to fall into the pernicious error, of conceiving legislation to be a specific for all the imperfection and abuses of our social arrangements. They imagine that every little evil that springs up is to be condemned by parliamentary enactment, and rooted out by government officers. They forget that there are other agencies at work amongst

mankind besides commissioners, lawyers, and boards of trade, and they overlook also the glaring fact, that in the removal of one evil by legal machinery the seeds of far more serious evils are frequently sown.

This craving for legislation has lately manifested itself in various attempts at railway enactment. We shall not take upon ourselves to assert that government has no right to interfere in the matter. Unfortunately, railways are founded on acts of parliament, and their projectors having sought state authority for infringing private rights in their formation, cannot now claim exemption from state control. In asserting this right, it does not thence follow that state interference is necessary; but simply that it may be called into exercise when circumstances show that its application would be just. Had it ever been found that government business was transacted in a manner superior to other business; that state officers were more zealous, more skilful, or more economical, than other men; that less chicanery and corruption crept into government establishments than into private ones; and that the various branches of the executive were of all bodies the most ready to adopt improvements both mechanical and administrative; then might it have been argued with some show of truth, that the public would be better served were railways bought up by the legislature and managed by functionaries. But as the truth happens to be the reverse of this—as government undertakings are never managed with the same efficiency as private ones—as public officials are notoriously idle and corrupt, and as the national authorities are usually the last to adopt improvements of any kind, we think that faulty and imperfect as our railway system is, it would be anything but good policy to change it for a scheme of state management and proprietorship. Even assuming that railways would be managed to greater public advantage by being placed in the hands of the government, it does not by any means follow that the total result, moral as well as commercial, would be of necessity beneficial.

Passing over the enormous increase of government patronage and the great extension of political machinery that would be required—points of no small importance—we may remark that the indubitable effect produced upon the national character by this species of policy, ought alone to deter us from adopting it. It invariably happens that wherever social requirements which are capable of being fulfilled by individuals or joint enterprise are fulfilled by state agency, a deteriorating influence is exercised upon the people that more than neutralises the direct benefit obtained. A helpless, inert, unenterprising state of mind is gradually induced; the people get into the habit of looking to

their rulers to do every thing for them ; self-dependence is discouraged, vigorous thought and action uncalled for, and a sluggish condition of mind is brought about, which directly tends to national degeneracy. Supposing it true then that greater commercial advantages would accrue to the public under a governmental administration of railways, than under the present system, we should still consider the benefit dearly purchased by the sacrifice of moral character, which the general adoption of such a system would involve.

But while we thus deprecate government interference, we see enormous evils in the present system, social, moral, and political, that loudly call for remedy. Even in the best managed lines the conduct of directors is oftentimes more directed to the advancement of such measures as will promote their own aggrandisement than the public good, or the benefit of their constituents ; and, in many cases, there is too much reason to believe that a system of dealing with railway property prevails which is utterly subversive of moral virtue and Christian truth. In the share-market, again, we find a spirit of gambling speculation excited, that no well regulated mind could brook. And yet amongst the worshippers at this shrine, how often do we see men whom we dare not unchristianise, but whose Christianity must have greatly lost its spiritual essence before they could be thus engaged. A system that would ensure a full and practical sense of responsibility on the part of directors, and provide a stock which could be dealt in with safety and satisfaction, is a desideratum yet to be realised.

Without committing ourselves to the details of the project, we incline to think that the best mode of railway administration yet suggested is that of Mr. Cubitt, the civil engineer. His plan was thus suggested to the railway commissioners on the broad guage.

‘ It would be very desirable to take a certain number of railways that have been in existence a given number of years, and to amalgamate them by turning their shares into common stock at its then value, so as to combine all in one common stock at its then value, instead of forming a fresh company ; that the same proprietors should hold as proprietors of the common stock, instead of holding as members of this or that company ; and that then, as time ran on, every railway which had been at work a certain number of years, and upon which a fusion or amalgamation would take place, would then merge into the common stock, and exchange their shares for stock receipts at a certain number of years’ purchase, say twenty years’ purchase, of their profits. That would bring every shareholder into the concern without loss ; it would bring all the property into a common stock or railway fund, and there would be a set of proprietors from

whom might be elected men of great weight and knowledge and responsibility, to form a central board of management.'

In support of this plan Mr. Cubitt argues thus :—

' It would prevent a great deal of jobbing and management or mismanagement such as exists in some boards of directors under the present system. It would be the finest investment of money that could possibly be found ; an investment in which all monies might be as safely invested, in trust and in settlement, as the funds, and be as easily transferable, and more easily obtained when required.'

And he concludes :—

' I think the companies' amalgamations now going on are one step towards this thing. I think things are getting into that state that they would be easily made to do it ; they must soon come under control ; they cannot go on as now.' *

Mr. Cubitt, in addition to the amalgamated companies' board of management, proposes a parliamentary board of control. This part of his scheme seems quite unnecessary. If the shares were reduced in amount, so that the constituency might comprise the great bulk of the people, and if the board of management and its branches were elected on the broad basis of popular representation, Mr. Cubitt's plan would be more perfect. So long as the shareholders in railways are, from the high price of single shares, necessarily composed of the middle and wealthier classes, the real advantages of a good national system cannot be obtained. The secret of the success of the Scotch joint stock banks lies in the fact of their five pound shares, and the direct responsibility of the directors to the shareholders. Almost every man worth five pounds in Scotland purchases a bank share ; he has thus an interest in seeing that the bank is well managed, and the result is seen in the general prosperity of these institutions.

To further some such scheme as Mr. Cubitt's, the interference of parliament might be invoked ; but, though this might be necessary, we are strongly impressed with the conviction that some such beneficial change will be superinduced by railway proprietors themselves. Railways are essentially democratic institutions ; the people made them, and come what will, by the people they will eventually be controlled. The elaborate work whose title we have quoted, appears to be carefully compiled, and must be exceedingly useful to all who take an interest in railway prosperity.

* Report Guage Commission, p. 102.

ART. IV.—*Travels in Peru during the years 1838-1842, on the Coast, in the Sierra, across the Cordilleras, and the Andes, into the Primeval Forests.*
By Dr. J. J. Von Tschudi. Translated from the German by Thomasina Ross. 8vo. London. David Bogue.

Books of travels have multiplied so greatly of late years, as to become somewhat of a drug in the literary market. Their interest has worn out and their originality been wholly lost. They are no longer the books they once were. They have nothing new to tell—no fresh department of human life to open up, or any phases of our common nature to exhibit from which instruction, or a deeper philosophy, may be gathered. Our summer tourists are, for the most part, easy jaunting folks, who are content with passing over the well beaten roads of Europe, and satisfy themselves with a hasty and superficial glance at the characters and institutions of the people whom they visit. The vanity which prompts, or the friendship which solicits, the publication of their travels, is a weakness that misleads rather than a noble enthusiasm impelling to a worthy service. Their productions are consequently wanting, save to their immediate circle, in all the elements of interest or power. They fail to attract attention, and only in rare cases, make any real addition to the stock of human knowledge. It is somewhat of a drudgery to read them through, and, when accomplished, it is mortifying to reflect on the little which has been gained by the expenditure of time required for their perusal. As journalists, we are bound to this servitude, and the public, for whom we cater, would frequently commiserate our lot, if they were but acquainted with its dull and grievous character. We would gladly, on many occasions, avoid the service. Volumes rich in outward embellishment, and got up with every aid of type and paper, are often mere collections of dull common-place, the feeble utterance of minds incapable of strong feeling, and wholly wanting the power to comprehend, and much more to describe, the inner life or divine philosophy of human things. It would be something if we were supplied with a simple, clear, and natural exposition of facts; if men would bring home to us an accurate record of what they had seen and heard. This, however, is rarely done. There is a straining after effect, an attempt to say something new; an effort, sometimes ludicrous and always reprehensible, to treat old and familiar things as though they had never been known before; to report as discoveries, or to dilate on as marvels, what reflecting and well informed men have long been acquainted with, and have seen in clearer lights. Feebleness

and inanity, or the worse qualities of a meretricious style, both of thought and expression, are, in consequence, the frequent characteristics of this class of books. We are often tempted to throw them aside in very weariness or disgust, but having no option, we continue our task and faithfully report to our readers.

It must not be supposed that these remarks are suggested, save in the way of contrast, by the volume before us. It is one of the few books of travels which we have read with pleasure, and from which we have gained valuable information. The author has evidently something to tell us, and he does this in his own special way. The countries visited are, to a great extent, unknown, the views taken of the facts observed are natural and direct, and the mode of communication adopted, though not without marks of the German intellect, is lucid and inartificial. 'Disclaiming any intention of making one of those travelling romances, with which the tourist literature of the day is overstocked, the author has confined himself to a plain description of facts and things as they came within the sphere of his own observation.' Throughout the volume, the intelligent reader will discover proofs of extensive information, conveyed in a style well adapted to the purpose of the author. Some will probably complain of the uniform sobriety of the composition. There is nothing of the liveliness and picturesque character of French authorship; but the impressions left on the reader are more true to nature, as the ideas communicated are more distinct and better retained. After an extended description of Lima, the capital of Peru, Dr. Tschudi introduces us to scenes previously untrodden by European travellers. 'He visited,' says his translator, 'the western Sierra, the mighty chain of the Cordilleras, the boundless level heights, the deep mountain valleys on the eastern declivity of the Andes, and the vast primeval forests. Whilst recounting his wanderings in those distant regions, he describes not only the country and the people, but every object of novelty and interest in the animal, vegetable, and mineral creations.' But our readers shall judge for themselves of the nature and value of his labours.

Dr. Tschudi sailed from Havre-de-Grace, on board of a French merchant ship, in February, 1838, and arrived at San Carlos, on the coast of Chili, South America, on the 5th of June. As there was no tavern in the place, the passengers gladly availed themselves of the accommodation furnished by an old Corsican named Filippi, who, knowing one of the party, 'received us,' says our author, 'very kindly, and showed us to apartments which certainly had no claim to the merits of either cleanliness or convenience. They were long, dark, quadrangular rooms,

without windows, and were destitute of any article of furniture; except a bed in a kind of recess.' San Carlos is an island possessing few attractions to the mercantile adventurer, and still less to the scientific traveller. The climate is moist and cool. During the winter months, the sun is seldom seen, and rain is almost continuous.

'The town of San Carlos is dirty; the streets unpaved, narrow, and crooked. The houses, with few exceptions, are wretched wooden huts, for the most part without windows; but there is a board divided in the middle horizontally, the upper part of which being open, it serves for a window, and when both parts are open, it forms a door. The flooring usually consists merely of hard-trodden clay, covered with straw matting. The furniture, like the apartments, is rude and inconvenient. These remarks of course apply to the habitations of the very poor class of people. The richer families live in more comfortable style. Of the public buildings, the custom-house and the governor's residence are the most considerable, but both make a very indifferent appearance. In front of the governor's house, which occupies a tolerably large space of ground, in the upper part of the town, a sentinel is constantly stationed. This sentinel parades to and fro, without shoes or stockings, and not unfrequently without a coat, his arms being covered only by his shirt-sleeves. As to a cap, —that seems to be considered as unnecessary a part of a well-conditioned uniform, as shoes and stockings. After sunset every person who passes the governor's house is challenged. 'Who goes there?' is the first question; the second is *Que gente?* (what country?) The sailors amuse themselves by returning jocular answers to these challenges; and the sentinel, irritated by their jeers, sometimes runs after them through part of the town, and when weary of the chase returns to his post.'—pp. 12, 13.

From this island Dr. Tschudi proceeded to Valparaiso, the moveable prison of which constitutes one of its most remarkable objects.

'It consists of a number of large covered waggons, not unlike those used for the conveyance of wild beasts. In the inside of each waggon planks are fixed up like the board bedsteads in a guard-house, affording resting-places for eight or ten prisoners. A guard is stationed at the door, which is at the back of the waggon; and in the front a sort of kitchen is constructed. These waggons are drawn by the prisoners themselves, who are for the most part destined to work in the streets and roads, and accordingly they take their prison with them when they are ordered to any considerable distance from the town. To a country in which there may be said to be no winter, this sort of nomad prison is exceedingly well-suited, and the prisoners may be conveyed from place to place at very little expense.'—p. 31.

The town is yearly increasing in its extent and in the number

of its inhabitants; but very slow progress is made in its improvement, or in the social advance of its people. 'The exclusively mercantile occupations of the inhabitants, together with the poverty of the adjacent country, leave little to interest the attention of a mere transient visitor.' Sailing thence, they arrived in thirty-six hours at the island of Juan Fernandez, which our readers will recognize as the scene of De Foe's inimitable tale: and in a few days afterwards, cast anchor in the fine bay of Callao, where they received intelligence of the successful issue of the Chilian expedition which had recently been directed against Peru. The whole of this part of the coast of South America bears obvious marks of the effects of earthquakes, which have been of frequent occurrence, and some of them of a very disastrous nature. The observations of our traveller on the appearances of the coast are distinguished by sobriety, and call for attention. They differ, in some important respects, from Mr. Darwin, the most recent Englishman who has written on the subject, and on a fitting occasion we shall be glad to weigh the comparative merit of their views. At present, we have other objects in view, and therefore pass on.

'The existing town of Callao is small, and by no means pleasant. In winter it is damp and dirty, and in summer so dusty that in passing through the streets one is almost choked. Most of the houses are very slightly built, and they are usually only one story high. The walls are constructed of reeds, plastered over with loam or red clay. All the roofs are flat, being made of straw mats laid on a frame-work of reeds, which is also plastered with loam on the under side. The windows are in the roof, and consist of wooden trap-doors, which look very much like bird-cages. They have no glass panes, but gratings made of wooden spars. On the inside there is a window-shutter, and a string hangs down into the apartment, by means of which the shutter can be opened or closed.'—p. 47.

Callao is the port of Lima, the capital of Peru, and at the time of our author's arrival, was besieged by the Chilians, which he represents as a very feeble and somewhat ludicrous affair. Birds of the vulture species abound in the neighbourhood, and the following description of their habits will be much more interesting to our readers than any account we could quote of the wretched engineering or defective discipline of either of the combatants.

'Foreigners, when they visit the coast of Peru for the first time, are much surprised at the immense number of birds of the vulture species which they meet with about the roads and on the roofs of the houses. In Callao and in all other ports, the Turkey vulture (*Cathartes aura*, Illig.) is frequently seen. It is called by the Spaniards *Gallinazo á cabeza colorada* (red-headed vulture.) Further

in the interior of the country it is frequently seen, though there it is less common than the black gallinazo (*Cathartes fætens*, Illig.) The colour of the former is dark brownish-black; the unplumed head and throat are red; the throat is full of wrinkles and warts. The latter is very like it in size and colour, only the head and neck are greyish-black. These birds are the size of a turkey-cock; but they are lanker and more angular in form. The black-headed gallinazo is inactive, heavy, and seldom flies far. When seeking food he hops about on the ground in short regular springs. When he wishes to move faster forward, he helps himself with his wings, but without flying. Its cry is seldom heard, and never long continued. At noon, sometimes from sixty to eighty of these birds perch themselves on the tops of the houses or on the adjoining walls, and with the heads under the wing they all go to roost. They are extremely voracious, and devour every sort of animal substance they can find, however filthy it may be. They are not in the least degree shy, for they hop about among men and cattle in the most populous places. The Turkey vulture is far more lively, and its movements are more light. It flies faster, and continues longer on the wing than the black-headed gallinazo. It is, however, more timid. It nestles in sandy rocks and uninhabited islands. The female lays three or four whitish eggs, which are hatched in February and March. The common gallinazo usually builds its nest on the tops of houses, churches, ruins, and high walls. The female lays three or four eggs, which are whitish brown and speckled, and are hatched in the same months as the eggs of the Turkey vulture.'—pp. 53—55.

Lima is only six miles distant from Callao, and to the historical student it possesses many attractions. We have, however, to do with the modern city, and the contrast between the ideal and the actual,—the scene of ancient magnificence, and of modern superstition and decrepitude, is most humiliating and mournful. The tale of Spanish daring, of Pizarro and his adventurous followers, stimulates the imagination of our youth, and peoples, in consequence, the whole region of Peru with objects of magnificence and splendour, which ill prepare the traveller for what he meets. The impression produced on entering the town is unfavourable, as the quarter first seen contains only old and dilapidated houses. The scene changes as the vicinity of the principal square is reached. Although the imagination may not be gratified by the realization of its *beau idéal*, the judgment is assured that both wealth and power have resided in the city which Pizarro founded. The place abounds in churches and convents, as if superstition held its carnival amidst the tokens of decay and wretchedness. The population of the city has greatly declined. In 1820, it is stated to have been 87,000; in 1826, 70,000; in 1836, 54,600; and, in 1842, 53,000. These numbers are to be received with some degree of doubt. They

are evidently approximations only; but, as Dr. Tschudi remarks, the diminished population of the place 'is sufficiently proved by the fact, that several parts of the city are now totally uninhabited'; the houses falling to decay, and the gardens lying waste.' The white Creoles constitute the most important section of the community, and the account given of them is not adapted to raise our estimate of their character.

'The white Creoles, who, with very few exceptions, are the descendants of Spaniards, constitute somewhat less than a third part of the population of Lima. They are slender in figure, and of middling height. Their features are strongly marked, their complexions fair and pale, and their hair is of the darkest black. The men are feeble and look prematurely old. Their countenances, though not devoid of dignity, have a sort of sensual expression. They are effeminate, and disinclined to any kind of active exertion. If they ride the distance of ten miles, they think they have performed a feat of heroism worthy to be recorded in the state archives. If the white Creoles are inferior to the Spaniards in physical organization, they are no less beneath them in qualities of mind. They shrink from anything that demands intellectual exertion. In short, they are sworn enemies to business of every kind, and those who are obliged to work for their own support, make choice of some occupation which, like that of a shopman, affords them ample time to smoke cigars and to gossip with their neighbours. The richer classes give themselves up wholly to idleness. They walk about and visit their acquaintances, or they lounge in shops or at the corners of streets, and in that manner they often amuse themselves for half a day. Those who are owners of plantations, occasionally ride through them to receive reports from their mayordomos. Their afternoons are usually spent in the *Coliseo de gallos*, in the coffee-houses, or at the gaming table.

'The intellectual culture of the white Creole of Lima is exceedingly defective. He is not wanting in talent; but an imperfect system of education affords him no opportunity for the development of his faculties, and innate indolence is a bar to his self-improvement by study. He seldom rises above the level of every-day life, and is ignorant of everything beyond the boundary of the city, or, at all events, of the province in which he was born. I have often been amazed at the monstrous ignorance of so-called, educated Peruvians, respecting the situation, the extent, the physical formation, and the productions of their native country.'—pp. 92, 93.

A far more favourable description is given of the women of Lima, who are represented as very superior, both mentally and physically, to the men. Their household qualities, however, as the following extract shows, are not equal to their personal attractions.

'If we follow the Limena (the white Creole, be it understood,)

into the retirement of domestic life, we find that she is an affectionate mother, but not a very clever housekeeper. Every lady has at her command a great many more domestics than are necessary: some are servants, but most of them slaves. The establishment usually consists of a cook, a nurse-maid, one or two house-maids, a needle-woman, several men servants, and a little negro or Indian, whose chief business is to carry a carpet behind his mistress when she goes to church. These servants all do as they please, and the lady of the house concerns herself very little about the indolence which her want of vigilance encourages. She rises at a late hour, and having dressed herself and decorated her hair with sprigs of jasmine and orange blossom, she takes her breakfast. That meal being ended, she goes out to make visits. During the sultry hours of mid-day she reposes, either by swinging in a hammock or reclining on a sofa, and meanwhile smokes a cigar. After dinner she again makes visits, and the evening is spent in the theatre, on the plaza, or on the bridge. Some few ladies employ themselves in needlework, in which they are often most accomplished adepts; they especially excel in embroidery and fancy work; but they never pursue these employments before company.

‘The ladies of Lima are passionately fond of music. Most of them play the pianoforte or the guitar, and also sing; but, for want of good instruction, neither their playing nor their singing is above mediocrity. Smoking is pretty general among females, at least those of mature age; but they indulge in this practice only in their own apartments. Of late years the custom of smoking has been on the decline in Lima, in proportion as it has been increasing on the continent of the old world. Though snuff-taking is prohibited in the convents, yet the nuns practise it to a great extent. They use an exceedingly fine kind of red snuff, which has the effect of closing the breathing passage through the nostrils, and of producing a peculiar nasal tone of voice.’—pp. 99—101.

Like the women of China, the Limeñas pride themselves on the smallness of their feet. ‘Their shoes are usually made of embroidered velvet or satin, or of very fine kid, and are so exceedingly small, that they cannot be drawn on and off without difficulty. It is usual to have two new pairs every week, and the expense of a lady’s shoes not unfrequently amounts to two hundred dollars per month. A large foot is a thing held in horror by the Limeñas.’ This no doubt is very ridiculous; but it would be well for some amongst us, who will be loudest in censuring the folly of the Peruvian lady, to ask if there are not habits amongst ourselves equally absurd, and even more pernicious. The small waists to which health, and, in many cases, life itself, is sacrificed, may well shame the English lady to silence. While indulging in such absurd and injurious habits,

they are not in a condition to take the seat of judgment, and pronounce sentence on their Peruvian sisters.

Negro slavery unhappily exists in Peru, and about 4,800 of its victims reside in Lima. The Charter of Independence declares that 'in Peru no person is born a slave;' but the National Congress has failed to carry out the noble statement. Like the declaration of the North American States, though not to an equal extent, its operation has been suspended in the case of the negro race, and we believe their offspring may now be retained in bondage until they attain the age of fifty years. The cupidity and selfishness of the dominant race have overruled, and rendered inoperative the more honest sentiments which patriotism engendered. The slave trade, however, is prohibited, and, with the exception of runaway slaves, every one brought from another country is entitled to his liberty. The slaves are generally employed as household servants, and their treatment is consequently mild. The system, however, bears its appropriate fruit. The class is degraded; it is rendered immoral and brutalized. Provident habits are, of course, unknown, and the last stage of human debasement,—an acquiescence in a state that annihilates all the distinctive characteristics of manhood, is attained. We should have been glad to meet with an honest and unsparing condemnation of this monstrous system. It was due to the facts of the case, and might have been looked for from a German philosopher. Nothing of the sort, however, occurs; on the contrary, there is a taint of false reasoning—an unhealthy sentiment throughout our author's references to the subject, which has pained us. He argues the inferiority of the African to the European intellect—which we are not disposed to contest—and without stating his conclusion, leaves the reader to infer that he is favourable rather than otherwise to the existing system. There is nothing of the rabid violence which American writers commonly display; but his indifference to the condition of the African, his utter want of sympathy with these outcasts of the human family, is most evident and reprehensible. His heart never kindles with one generous emotion. He is phlegmatic as a German, and contemptuously indifferent to the sufferings of this section of the common human family. His facts ought to have stirred his indignation; but he narrates them with the cold indifference of a spectator, who has no affinity either of blood or sympathy with the sufferers. Had the following incidents occurred to a white princess, how different would have been the painting of the artist!

'A gentleman of Old Spain bought a young negro princess, who not without the greatest difficulty could be brought to perform the

duties of servitude. When she was directed to go to market, she set her basket down on the ground, and signified that she had been accustomed to be served, and not to serve. Some chastisement was resorted to, with the view of compelling her to do the duty allotted to her; but in vain. Her pride and obstinacy remained unconquerable. Sometimes she would sit for hours gloomily, with her eyes fixed on the ground, and muttering between her teeth, in her broken Spanish, the words "*Yo clavita! yo clavita!*"* Then suddenly springing up, she would strike her head against the wall until she became almost senseless. As she showed a fondness for the children of the family, she was relieved from household work, and became the nursery-maid. In that way she discharged the duties which devolved on her with the most touching affection and fidelity; but she never would do anything, however trivial, which she considered to be menial service, and her master and mistress were reasonable enough not to require it.—p. 109.

Schools for primary instruction are numerous in Lima, but the range of education is very limited, and the higher institutions possess little more than the name of universities. We need not therefore be surprised at the prevalence of superstition. It revels in perfect security, exacting its dues with merciless cupidity, from an ignorant and besotted people. The capital is overrun with monks, who freely avail themselves of the license which such a state of society permits. 'Many of these ecclesiastics are remarkable for their disregard of personal cleanliness; indeed, it would be difficult to meet with a more slovenly, ignorant, and common-place class of men. They frequent all places of public entertainment, the coffee-houses, the chichereas, the bull-fights, and the theatres: these two last-mentioned places of amusement they visit in disguise.'

An established church, however, compasses all which is truly within its province. Dealing exclusively with the outer man, it induces the semblance of respect. It demands and is satisfied with mere bodily homage. Its processions being crowded, its rites being observed, its temples filled, it does not trouble itself about the inner and spiritual. Immorality and ungodliness may flourish if there be but the external air and appearance of devotion. The following extracts might, with little alteration, be received as descriptive of a Mohammedan city.

'Every morning, at a quarter to nine, the great bell of the cathedral announces the raising of the host, during the performance of high mass. Immediately every sound is hushed in the streets and squares. Coachmen stop the carriages, riders check their horses, and foot passengers stand motionless. Every one suspends his occu-

* "Meaning *Yo esclavita!* (I, a slave!) *Esclavita* being the diminutive of *Esclava*."

pation or his conversation, and kneeling down, with head uncovered, mutters a prayer. But scarcely has the third solemn stroke of the bell ceased to vibrate, when the noise and movement are resumed; the brief but solemn stillness of the few preceding moments being thus rendered the more impressive by contrast. The same incident is renewed in the evening, between six and seven o'clock, when the bell sounds for the Angelus (Oraciones). The cathedral bell gives the signal, by three slow measured sounds, which are immediately repeated from the belfreys of all the churches in Lima. Life and action are then, as if by an invisible hand, suddenly suspended; nothing moves but the lips of the pious, whispering their prayers.

'The effect produced by the three strokes of the cathedral bell is truly astonishing. The half-uttered oath dies on the lips of the uncouth negro; the arm of the cruel Zambo, unmercifully beating his ass, drops, as if paralysed; the chattering mulatto seems as if suddenly struck dumb; the smart repartee of the lively Tapada is cut short in its delivery; the shopkeeper lays down his measure; the artizan drops his tool; and the monk suspends his move on the draught-board: all, with one accord, join in the inaudible prayer. Here and there the sight of a foreigner walking along indifferently, and without raising his hat, makes a painful impression on the minds of the people.'—pp. 130—132.

From Lima, Dr. Tschudi proceeded to the great mountain chain known to Europeans as the Cordillera or Andes. In the course of his journey, various incidents occurred, and the narrative supplies us with much interesting information respecting a country seldom visited by Europeans. There are other matters, however, in the volume which claim notice, and we shall therefore pass over these details. In strict definition, he says that these two terms, Cordillera and Andes, should be distinguished, the former term applying to the western, and the latter to the eastern range. A singular fact, of which the cause is yet unknown, is pointed out in the following passage, and may well serve to exercise the ingenuity of scientific men:—

'These two great mountain chains stand in respect to height in an inverse relation one to the other; that is to say, the greater the elevation of the Cordillera, the more considerable is the depression of the Andes. In South Peru the ridge of the Cordillera is considerably lower than that portion of the Andes which stretches through Bolivia. The medium height of the Cordillera in South Peru is 15,000 feet above the sea; but here and there particular points rise to a much more considerable elevation. The medium height of the Andes is 17,000 feet above the sea. In central Peru the Cordillera is higher than the Andes. There the altitude of the latter along the body of the chain is 13,000 feet above the sea: on the ridge there are a few points some hundred feet higher. Between Pasco and

Loxas the average height of the Cordillera is between 11,000 and 12,000 feet above the sea; and the average elevation of the Andes at the corresponding point is about 2,000 feet lower.'

In these vast mountains, where storms are nursed, nature appears in her scantiest dress, and most living things fly from her dreary and shelterless wilds. There is a magnificence in the natural productions of the new world which may well excuse the marvels of ancient Spanish chroniclers. Their imaginations were stimulated by the vast range and amplitude of what they witnessed, and the distance from which they looked at some of these prodigies, heightened greatly the effect upon their susceptible and superstitious minds. It was as though the God of the Christians had reserved to their day the revelation of his greatest and most magnificent productions. There was, consequently, a basis of truth in their reports, and whilst the light of modern geography enables us to correct their statements, we should avoid pouring contempt on their intellect. Life, however, is not wholly banished even from these mountain ranges, and the professional ardour and scientific attainments of Dr. Tschudi are favourably shown in some of the sketches he has given of the inhabitants of this stormy region. The following description of the condor may be taken as a specimen:—

'The condor alone finds itself in its native element amidst these mountain deserts. On the inaccessible summits of the Cordillera that bird builds its nest, and hatches its young in the months of April and May. Few animals have attained so universal a celebrity as the condor. That bird was known in Europe, at a period when his native land was numbered among those fabulous regions which are regarded as the scenes of imaginary wonders. The most extravagant accounts of the condor were written and read, and general credence was granted to every story which travellers brought from the fairy land of gold and silver. It was only at the commencement of the present century that Humboldt overthrew the extravagant notions that previously prevailed respecting the size, strength, and habits of that extraordinary bird.

'The full-grown condor measures, from the point of the beak to the end of the tail, from four feet ten inches to five feet; and from the tip of one wing to the other, from twelve to thirteen feet. This bird feeds chiefly on carrion: it is only when impelled by hunger that he seizes living animals, and even then only the small and defenceless, such as the young of sheep, vicunas, and llamas. He cannot raise great weights with his feet, which, however, he uses to aid the power of his beak. The principal strength of the condor lies in his neck and in his feet; yet he cannot, when flying, carry a weight exceeding eight or ten pounds. All accounts of sheep and calves being carried off by condors are mere exaggerations. This

bird passes a great part of the day in sleep, and hovers in quest of prey chiefly in the morning and evening. Whilst soaring at a height beyond the reach of human eyes, the sharp-sighted condor discerns his prey on the level heights beneath him, and darts down upon it with the swiftness of lightning. When a bait is laid, it is curious to observe the number of condors which assemble in a quarter of an hour, in a spot near which not one had been previously visible. These birds possess the senses of sight and smell in a singularly powerful degree.

Some old travellers, Ulloa among others, have affirmed that the plumage of the condor is invulnerable to a musket-ball. This absurdity is scarcely worthy of contradiction, but it is nevertheless true that the bird has a singular tenacity of life, and that it is seldom killed by firearms, unless when shot in some vital part. Its plumage, particularly on the wings, is very strong and thick. The natives, therefore, seldom attempt to shoot the condor: they usually catch him by traps or by the *laso*, or kill him by stones flung from slings, or by the *Bolas*. A curious method of capturing the condor alive is practised in the province of Abancay. A fresh cow-hide, with some fragments of flesh adhering to it, is spread out on one of the level heights, and an Indian provided with ropes creeps beneath it, whilst some others station themselves in ambush near the spot, ready to assist him. Presently a condor, attracted by the smell of the flesh, darts down upon the cow-hide, and then the Indian, who is concealed under it, seizes the bird by the legs, and binds them fast in the skin, as if in a bag. The captured condor flaps his wings, and makes ineffectual attempts to fly; but he is speedily secured, and carried in triumph to the nearest village.—pp. 300—302.

At an elevation of 13,673 feet above the level of the sea is the city of Cerro de Pasco, famed throughout the world for its silver mines. Our author visited it on his route, and furnishes valuable details illustrative of the character, habits, and occupation of its inhabitants. They are gathered from all regions, and present every variety of national visage. The city is now become one of the most important of the Peruvian republic, and under a judicious system of mining, would contribute greatly to the national wealth. But it would be difficult to conceive of a more wretched system than that which is adopted. Human life is recklessly sacrificed, the works carried on are miserably planned and feebly executed, the want of communication and the insecurity of transit check enterprise, whilst the cupidity and short-sightedness of the government perpetually rob the capitalist of the return on which he had relied. Such of our readers as are interested in mining operations, will find their advantage in an attentive examination of our author's details. We content ourselves with noticing the not unnatural aversion of the Indians to these labours of their European visitants. The

utmost reluctance is evinced to discover the existence of their hidden treasures, at which no reader of their history will be surprised. 'It is,' remarks Dr. Tschudi, 'a well-known fact, that the Indians are aware of the existence of many rich mines, the situation of which they will never disclose to the whites, nor to the detested mestizos. Heretofore, mining has been to them all toil and little profit, and it has bound them in chains from which they will not easily emancipate themselves. For centuries past, the knowledge of some of the richest silver mines has been with inviolable secrecy transmitted from father to son. All endeavours to prevail on them to divulge these secrets have hitherto been fruitless.'

Several anecdotes are related in illustration of this feeling, which is one of the most intense and most operative known to the Indians. Where discovery has been effected, they do not hesitate to sacrifice life in order to prevent the communication of their secret. The following incident sufficiently exhibits this feature of their character:—

'In the village of Huancayo, there lived, a few years ago, two brothers, Don Jose and Don Pedro Yriarte, two of the most eminent mineros of Peru. Having obtained certain intelligence that in the neighbouring mountains there existed some veins of pure silver, they sent a young man, their agent, to endeavour to gain further information on the subject. The agent took up his abode in the cottage of a shepherd, to whom, however, he gave not the slightest intimation of the object of his mission. After a little time, an attachment arose between the young man and the shepherd's daughter, and the girl promised to disclose to her lover the position of a very rich mine. On a certain day, when she was going out to tend her sheep, she told him to follow her at a distance, and to notice the spot where she would let fall her *manta*; by turning up the earth on that spot, she assured him he would find the mouth of a mine. The young man did as he was directed, and after digging for a little time, he discovered a mine of considerable depth, containing rich ore. Whilst busily engaged in breaking out the metal, he was joined by the girl's father, who expressed himself delighted at the discovery, and offered to assist him. After they had been at work for some hours, the old Indian handed to his companion a cup of chicha, which the young man thankfully accepted. But he had no sooner tasted the liquor than he felt ill, and he soon became convinced that poison had been mixed with the beverage. He snatched up the bag containing the metal he had collected, mounted his horse, and with the utmost speed galloped off to Huancayo. There he related to Yriarte all that had occurred, described as accurately as he could the situation of the mine, and died on the following night. Active measures were immediately set on foot to trace out the mine, but without effect. The Indian and all his family had disappeared, and the mine was never discovered.'—pp. 345, 346.

The roads are infested with robbers, who resort to any violence which may be needful for the accomplishment of their purpose. Travelling is therefore as hazardous as it is difficult, and he who seeks shelter in any of the Indian huts which may lie in his way, incurs great danger of being assassinated before morning. Only three years since, three travellers were thus murdered in the house of the Alcalde of Junin, the principal authority of the village, under whose roof they had solicited shelter for the night. These occurrences are frequent, and they indicate the character of the region, and the ruthless temper of its inhabitants.

Between the Cordillera and the Andes there are vast tracts of uninhabited table land, at a height of 12,000 feet above the sea. These lands, termed Puna by the natives, form the upper mountain region of the South American Highlands, and spread over the whole extent of Peru, from north-west to south-east. Our traveller penetrated into this wild region, and nearly perished in doing so. The account of his journey is interesting, and part of it we shall extract for the benefit of our readers. On the 12th of January, 1840, he passed the night at the hut of a Puna shepherd, and early in the morning, saddled his mule, and having provided a small supply of food, proceeded on his perilous adventure. The sky was overhung by a thick mist, and the ground was covered with snow. His road lay along a gentle acclivity, in which were numerous swamps, which threatened the safety both of himself and mule. 'It seemed,' he tells us, 'as though here in the snow plains of the Cordillera, nature had breathed out her last breath. Here life and death meet together, as it were to maintain the eternal struggle between being and annihilation.' What follows must be told in the author's own words, and few readers will envy him the pleasure of such an excursion.

'I had wandered for some hours admiring the varieties of life in this peculiar alpine region, when I stumbled against a dead mule. The poor animal had probably sunk beneath his burthen, and had been left by his driver to perish of cold and hunger. My presence startled three voracious condors, which were feeding on the dead carcass. These kings of the air proudly shook their crowned heads, and darted at me furious glances with their blood-red eyes. Two of them rose on their giant wings, and in narrowing circles hovered threateningly above my head, whilst the third, croaking fiercely, kept guard over the booty. I cocked my gun in readiness for defence, and cautiously rode past the menacing group, without the least desire of further disturbing their banquet. These condors were the only hostile animals I encountered in this part of the Puna.

'It was now two o'clock in the afternoon, and I had ridden on a

continuous though gradual ascent since sunrise. My panting mule slackened his pace, and seemed unwilling to mount a rather steep ascent which we had now arrived at. To relieve him I dismounted, and began walking at a rapid pace. But I soon felt the influence of the rarefied atmosphere, and I experienced an oppressive sensation which I had never known before. I stood still for a few moments to recover myself, and then tried to advance; but an indescribable oppression overcame me. My heart throbbed audibly; my breathing was short and interrupted. A world's weight seemed to lie upon my chest; my lips swelled and burst; the capillary vessels of my eyelids gave way, and blood flowed from them. In a few moments my senses began to leave me. I could neither see, hear, nor feel distinctly. A grey mist floated before my eyes, and I felt myself involved in that struggle between life and death which, a short time before, I fancied I could discern on the face of nature. Had all the riches of earth, or the glories of heaven awaited me a hundred feet higher, I could not have stretched out my hand towards them.

' In this half senseless state I lay stretched on the ground, until I felt sufficiently recovered to remount my mule. One of the Puna storms was now gathering; thunder and lightning accompanied a heavy fall of snow, which very soon lay a foot deep on the ground. In a short time I discovered that I had missed my way. Had I then known the Puna as well as I afterwards did, I should have shaped my course by the flight of birds. But unluckily I pursued the fresh track of a herd of vicunas, which led me directly into a swamp. My mule sank, and was unable to extricate himself. I was almost in despair. Nevertheless I cautiously alighted, and with incredible difficulty I succeeded in digging out with a dagger the mud in which the animal's legs were firmly fixed, and at length I got him back to a solid footing. After wandering about in various directions, I at length recovered the right path, which was marked by numerous skeletons protruding above the snow. These were the remains of beasts of burthen, which had perished on their journeys; a welcome though an ominous guide to the wandering traveller. The clouds now suddenly separated, and the blazing light of the tropical sun glared dazzlingly on the white plain of snow. In a moment I felt my eyes stricken with *surumpe*.

' Suffering the most violent pain, and tormented by the apprehension of blindness, I with great difficulty pursued my way. My mule could scarcely wade through the sward, which was becoming more and more thick; and night was advancing. I had lost all feeling in my feet, my benumbed fingers could scarcely hold the bridle, and I well knew that the nearest point at which I could obtain the shelter of a human habitation was eight German miles distant. I was beginning to give myself up for lost when I observed a cave beneath an overhanging rock. Mother Nature, in whose service I had undertaken my long and perilous wanderings, at that critical juncture, provided for me a retreat, though in one of her rudest sheltering places. I entered the cave, which protected me securely against the

ART.V.—*The Baptist Irish Society : its Origin, History, and Prospects : with an Outline of the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, and a Lecture, enforcing its Claims on the Sympathy and Efforts of Missions in England.* London: Houlston and Stoneman. 1845.

WHY has no Luther or Rongé ever risen in Ireland? Why has Protestantism never produced a perceptible effect on the mass of its native population, while in other lands it has roused the national mind to shake off the papal yoke in the face of the most formidable difficulties? Why have the multiplied efforts put forth from age to age, in order to extirpate Romanism, been there for the most part mortifying failures, so that (we do not say in reality, but to the mind of British Christians) no missionary field in the world lies under a heavier cloud of despondency?

Such questions as these are often put by the friends of Ireland, and various answers have been returned, more or less unsatisfactory. It appears clearly to us that the *rationale* of Protestant failure in that country is this:—The Reformation came there as the ally of conquest and tyranny, and the irreconcilable foe of nationality; whereas, in every other country, it blew loudly the trumpet of liberty, and preached religion in the impassioned and thrilling tones of patriotism. In friendly alliance with justice and freedom, truth is all-powerful; *against* them, it never could prevail, even if it would be their enemy, which is impossible. When secular power would force it to curse them, it utters only blessings.

The native Irish were always religiously inclined, and tenacious of ancient customs. Hence their resistance to Rome in former ages, and their fidelity to it in our own times. But both the former resistance and the present fidelity are to be ascribed to a cause more powerful in their hearts than religion itself, and that is, love of country. Only a few months ago, a Roman Catholic merchant in Dublin, an intelligent and thinking man, who has the best opportunities of knowing the fact, assured us, as the result of his own intimate acquaintance with the people, that they would sacrifice even their catholicity for their nationality. Accordingly, about two years ago, some of the most venerable of their bishops, who were charged with betraying their country to the Tories, were in the north and south hissed at public meetings, and hooted in the streets. The bitterest denunciations, the most injurious aspersions, were freely dealt out by the people against their chief pastors; and but for the sudden and abject submission of O'Connell to the primate, a religious insurrection would probably have been the result of the agitation against the Bequests' Bill.

If Romanism itself, with all its fascination, had come to the people as Protestantism did, it would have utterly failed; and it *did* fail under similar circumstances, when introduced by Henry II.; for it was never cordially received beyond the pale, as we showed on a former occasion, until, at the Reformation, it forsook the English court, and sided with the Irish patriots. This is the grand secret of its power; and great as that power is, it would perish speedily if, by any arts, it could be turned against the national instinct. The following remarks, in the concluding chapter of the 'History' before us, are as profoundly true as they are eloquent and beautiful:—

'Much is said of the influence of the priesthood in controlling the popular mind—a power which it would be folly to deny, or under-rate; but does not this very influence owe its existence to another, before which it is compelled, from day to day, to bend its plastic form—an authority, which is more or less acknowledged in all countries, but in none more than in Ireland—the sympathy and will of the people?

'That which in more educated countries is known by the appellation of public opinion, may be denominated in this land *public feeling*. If in other places it finds the potent vehicles of the press and platform, through which to exert its power, it flows here through the more subtle and electric channel of a *national instinct*. The modes by which mind is acted on in this extraordinary land, are in themselves a perfect phenomenon. The mountain, the rath, and the cabin, are the mysterious channels of universal communication; nor is there a district under the sun where the sympathy of thought and purpose are so entire. It is this that has made the Irish priesthood, and this can and will unmake it.'—p. 54.

If ever Protestantism should put forth its power on a large scale, steadily and permanently on the side of national right, freedom, and humanity, so as to make its beneficent agency palpable to the body of the people, their prejudices against it will melt as rapidly as snow in the sunshine. While writing, the newspaper press brings us a pleasing proof of the truth of this opinion:—'The Rev. W. Caulfield was cheered by the people last Sunday week on his return from church, in consequence of the liberal part he has taken in the relief committee at Killarney, as also for his letters in the local papers on behalf of the labouring classes. On last Sunday, again, this inestimable gentleman was met by the people returning from the chapel of Firries and Ballyhar, when they took his horses from his carriage, and dragged it all the way to his house. Mr. Caulfield is advocating voluntary taxation on all species of property, and has himself laid down five per cent. on his livings in Kerry for the assistance of the poor.' What would the curses of a covetous priest avail against such a

man as this, if it be seen that he is *honest* in his liberality, and does not mean to bribe the people into a profession of Protestantism?

Protestantism has never been *itself* in Ireland. It has forgotten honesty and consistency. Not only has it occasionally done evil that good might come, but it has never aimed at doing good, except by an evil process. It has opposed Jesuitism jesuitically, resisted tyranny tyrannically, and freed conscience by destroying conscientiousness. It must be baptized in the spirit of Christ, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance, before Ireland can trust it.

We are glad to see that the *Baptist Irish Society* are aware of this. They say:—‘The condition of society in Ireland, which had to some extent *limited to a Protestant field* exertions *designed* to bear on the Catholic population, has now so much changed, as to throw the agents of this institution into more direct sympathy with the masses of the people; and those who once identified the labours of the Irish society with *the iniquitous practices of nominal Protestantism*, are beginning to recognize in us the stern foes of oppression and monopoly, by whatever name they may call themselves. They are no strangers to the fact that this society, dissociated, in the Providence of God, from a *confederacy* in the organization of its schools, which must always have more or less crippled its energies, is now bracing up its agency to a more vigorous exercise of the principles of nonconformity.’—p. 55.

The necessity of this change of policy will be seen by glancing at the leading facts in the history of Irish Protestantism. Half the present volume is occupied with an excellent outline of this history, written by the Rev. George Gould, a work which is truly described as highly creditable to the industry and talents of the author. The information it contains is selected with impartial judgment from the best authorities, and is condensed with remarkable skill, without any of the flippancy with which conceited ignorance so often deals with Irish topics. This valuable epitome furnishes ample proofs of the truth of our position in regard to Irish Protestantism, and the causes of its failure. It may be profitably read by the friends and conductors of other Irish societies, and will, we hope, induce in them a similar change of policy. ‘Too long have labours ‘designed to bear on the catholic population,’ been ‘limited to a Protestant field,’ while English Nonconformity tamely succumbed to Irish Orangeism.

The Reformation began in Ireland by proscribing the language of the country—by depriving the truth of the only vehicle by which it could be conveyed to the Irish heart! By an

act of Henry VIII. all spiritual promotions were to be given to persons who could speak English, and to 'none other,' unless, after four proclamations had been made four several market days in the next market town, no person speaking English came forward to take the same; in that case, after the lapse of five weeks, the patron might present 'any honest, able man, albeit, he could not speak English.' But he was required to swear that he 'would endeavour himself to learn the English tongue and language, if he may learn and attain the same by possibility,' and also that 'he would preach the word of God in English, if he could preach.' This act signally failed. There was little or no preaching, and the native language flourished even within the bounds of the English colony commonly known as 'the Pale.'

Soon after the accession of Elizabeth, an interesting fact gave the Dublin authorities a hint of what might be accomplished in protestantising the people, if the word of God had been given to them in the tongue wherein they were born. Dr. Heath, Archbishop of York, sent over two bibles for the two cathedrals, where the people generally might come and read them. To peruse them crowds resorted to St. Patrick's and Christ's Church, and so great was the desire to become acquainted with the Scriptures, that a bookseller in Dublin of the name of John Dale, in 1566, imported bibles from England, and sold seven thousand copies within two years. But law was preferred to reason, and coercion to kindness. In 1560 the queen's supremacy was established by the Irish parliament, and the reformed liturgy enforced, with heavy penalties. But it was enacted that where the English language was not understood, the service should be conducted in *Latin*. Any language for the queen but Irish! Hence, to adopt the words of Hallam, 'the disciples of the Reformation were in the most inconsiderable proportion among the Anglo-Irish colony as well as among the nation; their church was a government without subjects—a college of shepherds without sheep.' The Irish language was universally spoken without the pale; it had even made great progress within it. The clergy were principally of that nation; yet no translation of the Scriptures, the chief means through which the Reformation had been effected in England and Germany, nor even of the regular liturgy, was made into that tongue (Constitutional Hist., c. 18).

Proceeding on a principle so radically false and absurd, the Reformation made no progress. It was known only for its barbarous animosity to every thing native and national. The people were fined and imprisoned for not attending a worship which was to them a mockery—'mere dumb show and noise.'

They could not hear gladly what they did not understand ; and besides, they naturally resented the compulsion which made them attend against their own convictions of duty. Hence religion was driven into the ranks of rebellion. The nation was conquered ; the populous and fertile districts of the country were cleared of man and beast, and crops, so 'that whosoever did travel from one end to the other of all Munster, even from Waterford to the head of Limerick, which is about six score miles, he should not meet any man, woman, or child, saving in towns or cities ; nor yet see any beast, but the very wolves, the foxes, and other like ravening beasts' (Hollingshed, quoted in Hallam, c. 18). When the storm of war had subsided, the established church appeared again, like the angel of death, to the miserable remnant of the population, to enforce their attendance on her worship, with pains and penalties. In vain—the people remained ignorant, or drank in more eagerly and trustingly the instructions of their own hunted priests, in mountain recesses, wooded glens, and caves of the earth.

Ulster, too, was confiscated, and planted chiefly with Scotch Presbyterians, who had to maintain a hard struggle with prelacy to keep their faith and their crown. Their ministers laboured diligently and nobly in darkest times to preserve their own flocks in the truth, but they seemed to have neither time nor inclination to instruct the natives, who, being plundered, and therefore longing for restitution or revenge, were regarded as the common enemy :—

' We search in vain,' says Mr. Gould, ' the records of the Presbyterian church, in this hour of its triumph, for any evidence of a holy and enlightened zeal for the conversion of the catholic population. The intolerance that had been manifested towards themselves, they now manifested towards the native Irish. At a meeting held in April 1645, 'the Presbytery unto the army,' 'made an act that they should be dealt with by the several ministers to convince them of their idolatry and errors, and bring them to own the truth, or otherwise to enter into process against them, in order to excommunication. And they appointed some of their number to speak to the general-major, that he use that authority he hath for forcing them out of this part, and wholly out of the army, if they remain obstinate.' Yet the native Irish, whom the Presbytery thus pitied and provided for, either had not been in the rebellion, or 'had come under protection' to the Protestant forces !'

The example of Bedell should have taught them a different lesson. He sought to instruct the people in their own language ;—sympathised with them in their afflictions, and, though a Protestant bishop, his home was sacred in the great rebellion :—he was loved by the natives while he lived, and honoured at his

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death. A similar example of conduct on the Irish was exhibited to the Quakers whose peace and humanity appreciated; for amidst the smoke of the Friends' houses stood while the sword perished by the sword.

During the commonwealth many Independent and Baptist ministers went over to Ireland as chaplains in the army or as missionaries, all of them being well-paid stipendiaries of the state, against whose money few had any scruples in those days. Mr. Gould seems disposed to bear hard on the Independents; and it must be owned that in Ireland, at all events, they were no better than their neighbours, except that they used their power more zealously to promote education. But Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopahans, all alike relied on the civil power in the fulfilment of their mission. The Independents and Baptists particularly, who had no people in the country, were as much agents of the Government then, as the same classes are now the agents of the London committees who employ them on about a tenth of the salary allowed to his evangelists by the liberal Protector.

'The Independents,' says Dr. Reid, in his History of the Irish Presbyterians, 'eagerly availed themselves of republican ascendancy to advance the interests of their party in Ireland; but though during the space of ten years they enjoyed, without interruption, a state endowment and the support of the civil power, they utterly failed in establishing themselves as a religious sect in the kingdom. They relied wholly on the patronage of the government as then administered; their *teachers* resided exclusively in the garrison towns or within military quarters; and when at the restoration the power of the usurpers was overthrown, almost all the ministers fled and their congregations dispersed; and in a few years, with the exception of one or two in Dublin, and perhaps a like number in Munster, not an Independent church existed throughout the kingdom.' This learned professor has no love for the Independent 'teachers.'

The following facts will perhaps be new to most of our readers.

'Cromwell, who was largely indebted to the Independents for his elevated position—first, at the head of the army, next of the commonwealth—was desirous to evince his gratitude to them no less than his zeal for religion, by endeavouring to give them paramount influence in Ireland. Accordingly, soon after his arrival in the country, he invited ministers to come from New England and settle in it, promising to encourage (*i. e.*, well remunerate them). A reply to these 'noble proposals' (reprinted in Ellis's 'Letters Illustrative of English History,' 2nd series, v. 8, No. 300), intimated to him that if

he would establish their worship and church government as they were established in New England, and would give them houses and lands in a healthy part of the country, would enable their people to cross over with them, would give them a right to choose the governor of their settlement, and exempt them from taxes for several years, they would comply with his invitation! How well must such men have understood our Lord's language, 'My kingdom is not of this world;' or Paul's constraining motive to exertion, 'the love of Christ constraineth us,' &c. But if Cromwell could not meet such modest demands, he was not the less anxious to favour the progress of Independency by such means and agents as were at his disposal. Rightly judging that the Irish Presbyterians sympathised with their Scottish brethren, who had crowned Charles the Second at Scone on the 1st of January, 1651, he allowed the commissioners, who, during his absence in Scotland administered the government of Ireland in conjunction with Henry Ireton, to shut out Presbyterian ministers from their pulpits, to withhold their salaries, and even to banish them from the kingdom. In their stead the Independents were encouraged by his patronage and support to an extent which most persons might deem incredible, if evidence to prove the statement were not existing. In the year 1655, the ministers belonging to that body and the Baptists, shared among them about 10,000*l.* of the public money as their salaries. The total amount paid to ministers of religion that year was 12,911*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*, whilst the whole charge of the civil establishment of the country was only 29,800*l.*—Gould, viii.

This was Church and State connexion with a vengeance.

Yet Mr. Gould shows us that the Independents had not all the good [or the bad] things to themselves. Nothing is more amusing in ecclesiastical history than the way in which the favour of the ruling powers is regarded by those who have it and those who have it not. If conferred on our own sect, it is merely on account of its pre-eminent merits: if, unluckily, it falls to the lot of others, it must have come upon them for their sins!

'A large number of Baptist ministers was employed in various parts of the country, preaching; and as they were *held in repute by the ruling powers*,' says Mr. Gould, 'they excited the envy and animosity of the Presbyterian and Independent parties. Their success in the ministry and in the propagation of their peculiar opinions, occasioned complaints of their 'horrible schisms.' 'And yet alas!' complains Dr. Harrison (and by his complaint, he furnishes us with an idea of the influence of the body) 'how is this land shared out among persons of (this) persuasion; *governors of towns and cities, twelve at least; colonels, ten; lieutenant-colonels, three or four; majors, ten; captains, nineteen or twenty; preachers in salary (i. e. to the army) two; officers in the civil list, twenty-three; and many of whom I never heard*' (Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 91.) So great, indeed, was their influence, even in 1654, that when Cromwell declared himself Lord Protector of the commonwealth, it was with difficulty

Fleetwood and other Baptists composing the Irish council were induced to proclaim him. . . . In July, 1655, Henry Cromwell was sent by his father to 'reside at Dublin, ostensibly to command the army, in which he had formerly served under his father; but in reality, to watch the motions of Fleetwood and to control the selfishness and bigotry of the baptists, *who still composed the majority of the council.*'—Gould, lxi.

Truly, no wonder that Presbyterians and Independents were jealous when they saw their Baptist brethren thus faring sumptuously every day at the public expense! Mr. Gould sensibly adds:—

'It is to this state-support that much of the suspicion, not to say direct hostility, with which they had to contend, must be ascribed. The Presbyterians saw the Baptists receiving monies which had flowed into the government treasury from the collection of tithes which they themselves had formerly possessed; whilst they and their brethren were discountenanced by that government. The Independents, mortified at their influence in the council, and being unable, as they had wished, to effect a union with them (so that, in fact, the Baptists might be merged in their body), though sharing in these state payments, yet looked with unfriendly eyes upon the vigorous efforts which the Baptists made (as was manifest from the number of ministers employed and supported) to diffuse their opinions among the people.'

Amidst all this zeal and rivalry among Christians so nearly agreeing in doctrine and discipline, we should have been glad to discover traces of an anxiety to diffuse the light of salvation among the conquered and crushed natives of the country. But nothing of the kind has been recorded; at least, nothing was effectually done, though, as in our own times, there may have been a great deal said and sung and sighed and prayed upon the subject. If Cromwell had come to terms with the New Englanders, how different might have been the destiny of Ireland! A little New England in the south of the sister isle; Tipperary converted into the garden of Ireland; the 'golden vale' made worthy of the name, not only from the fertility of its soil, but from the beauty, peace, and prosperity reigning there; Independent Munster rivalling Presbyterian Ulster in the march of social improvement: what a happy country Ireland would have been! And then if the Baptists had made the Shannon their Jordan, and converted Connaught into a land of promise, bringing its wide tracts of waste land into cultivation, and setting to the world an example of the power of Christianity to bless a land, when fully carried out in all the relations of life! There was a time when the Episcopalians would perhaps have been satisfied with Leinster; and its advantages

would have been little enough to compensate for the inferiority of their system. In that case, Galway or Cork might have become the metropolis of Ireland, as Belfast promises to do ; or the parliament might have sat in these four great cities in rotation. Imagine the vast resources of that country thus developed—the English aspect of the whole country—trade flourishing along all its rivers, commerce crowding all its harbours, the shipping of America anchored in its western bays ! A pure and peaceful Protestantism would indeed have made that land great, glorious, and free.

But what would become of the Catholic population all this time ? Who cared what became of them ? What sect or party thought of asking ? What has become of the Red Americans ? what of the black Africans ? or of any other race of men who might have the hardihood to hinder the saints of the seventeenth century from possessing the earth ? They were shot, hanged, famished, banished, or enslaved, and there was an end of the matter. But in the case we have supposed, the native Irish (though robbed of their land) might have been educated in their own language, civilized, elevated, incorporated, so as to produce a better race than either the Saxon or the Celtic ; aye, and a better Christianity than either Presbyterianism or Catholicism : a religion with a creed less dogmatic, a piety more cheerful, a morality more benevolent, a social life more free, genial, and happy.

But instead of this or anything like it, sect fought sect, church damned church, party struggled against party for secular ascendancy ;—till the most despotic and least protestant section of protestantism won the day, and has reigned supreme ever since. And even in their adversity, the ‘ three denominations,’ instead of uniting for strength and usefulness, have not ceased to strive against one another ! Our excellent friend Mr. Gould, has been somewhat influenced by this sectarian spirit in drawing up his sketch of Irish ecclesiastical history. The reader will bear in mind the state of things already described in our author’s own words, which may well be denominated *Baptist ascendancy* ; for in 1655, Baptists composed the majority of the council in Dublin Castle, and almost monopolized the government and the army.

Well, it so happened that in that same year the Quakers, who were in reality the most prosperous sect in the kingdom, were greatly persecuted, seventy-seven were imprisoned in Ulster alone, and much money was extorted from them in fines, &c. Mr. Gould, forgetting for the moment his own account of those ‘ who ruled all’ in Dublin Castle, (see p. lxxi.) the Baptist governors of towns, colonels, &c. &c., says, ‘ These (per-

secuting) orders (of Henry Cromwell) were obeyed with a readiness which excites our sorrowful indignation against — *the Independents.*'

Alas the sin of persecution rests upon the head of all sects that ever had power, but the Quakers alone. They were spared by none, and they did not retaliate. The Independents and Baptists were far from carrying out their own principles perfectly; but that their principles and practice too, were much better than those which the age counted orthodox, ought to be cheerfully admitted by men of both denominations mutually.

Let us turn now to the religious condition of the catholics. Cromwell's 'decisive but cruel' proceedings, of which, says Mr. Gould, one cannot read 'without the deepest horror and indignation,—horror at the excesses which he permitted, indignation at his scandalous violation of the principles which he avowed,'—struck terror into the hearts of the catholics, and deprived them of all hope. They had previously two-thirds of the kingdom, and they now lost more than one half of their possessions by forfeiture, and their numbers were diminished by much more than one-third during the calamities of that period. The priests however continued to labour secretly in towns, and openly in the mountains, bogs, and woods of the country, by their followers loved and trusted as confessors and martyrs. The restoration revived their hopes, and when James came they fondly thought their church was about to sit as a queen once more; but Derry, and the Boyne, and Aughrim, and Limerick, convinced them of their mistake. Then, with the 'glorious revolution,' and the protestant settlement, came the penal code, whose substance and scope may be given in the words of Hallam :—'The penal laws against papists have scarce a parallel in European history, unless it be that of the protestants in France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantz, who yet were but a feeble minority of the whole people. No papist was allowed to keep a school, or to teach any in private houses, except the children of the family. Severe penalties were denounced against such as should go themselves, or send others for education beyond seas in the Romish religion; and on probable information given to a magistrate, the burden of proving the contrary was thrown on the accused; the offence not to be tried by a jury, but by justices at the quarter sessions. Intermarriages between persons of different religion, and possessing any estates in Ireland were forbidden; the children, in case of either parent being protestant, might be taken from the other to be educated in that faith. No papist could be a guardian to any child; but the Court of Chancery might appoint some relation or other person, to bring up the ward in the Protestant

religion. The eldest son being a protestant, might turn his father's estate in fee simple into a tenancy for life, and thus secure his own inheritance. But if the children were all papists, the father's lands were to be of the nature of gavel-kind, and descend equally among them. Papists were disabled from purchasing lands, except for terms of not more than thirty-one years, at a rent not less than two-thirds of the full value. They were even to conform within six months after any title should accrue by descent, devise, or settlement, on pain of forfeiture to the next protestant heir; a provision which seems intended to exclude them from real property altogether, and to render the other almost supererogatory. Arms, says the poet, remain to be plundered; but the Irish legislature knew that the plunder would be imperfect and insecure while the arms remained; no papist was permitted to retain them, and search might be made by any two justices. The bare celebration of catholic rites was not subjected to any fresh penalties; but regular priests, bishops, and others claiming jurisdiction, and all who should come into the kingdom from foreign parts, were banished, in pain of transportation, in case of neglecting to comply, and of high treason, in case of returning from banishment. Lest these provisions should be evaded, priests were required to be registered; they were forbidden to leave their own parishes; and rewards were held out to informers, who should detect the violation of these statutes, to be levied on the popish inhabitants of the country. To have exterminated the catholics with the sword, or expelled them like the Moriscoes of Spain, would have been a little more repugnant to justice and humanity, but incomparably more politic.' (Const. Hist. ch. 18.)

Such was the grand scheme which the collective wisdom of two parliaments devised for the evangelization of a kingdom, after the light of Christianity had been shining on the nations for 1600 years. There is not a base propensity in our fallen nature to which it did not minister temptation; not a virtue in the human heart which it did not strive to undermine; nor a noble passion which it did not aim to reduce. It loosened the tenderest ties of life, and poisoned the vital springs of society. It rooted up confidence, and planted suspicion in the family, in the neighbourhood, everywhere. It made mammon, perfidy and ingratitude, household gods, which children were taught to worship; and it brought to the altars of protestantism feigned consciences and rotten hearts. Where it won a convert, it ruined a soul; for if natural religion be destroyed, what foundation have you left for Christianity?

During the whole century that this system reigned, both the established and Presbyterian churches were in the lowest state,

the former especially. The penal laws gained about four thousand converts, while they were in force, but they were the cause of losing many more. Primate Boulter, writing to the Bishop of London to get his aid in founding the Charter Schools, declared that papists were increasing, and that great numbers of 'the meaner sort' of protestants were 'going off to popery.' Of the adults he had no hope; but he thought the ranks of the establishment might be recruited by the education of deserted children and orphans, and the children of parents of whom one was a Protestant, in which case the law allowed their offspring to be removed from them, for the purpose of protestant education.

The Charter School Society was accordingly founded, and amply endowed. It was, of necessity, a *boarding* establishment; for if the children lived with their parents or friends, their conversion would be impossible. Every catholic they met on the road would feel it a meritorious duty to whisper the catechism into their ears; and natural affection would plead too powerfully against protestantism. Therefore, neither parent, nor friend, nor priest, nor stranger, was allowed to speak to them except in the presence of the master, and they were absolutely cut off from all the sympathies of home, and all a mother's love and care. Besides, the system was most viciously administered. The history of the world does not afford an instance of children treated more cruelly, on pretence of educating them; and never has ill usage more completely degraded the moral nature of its victims. There is an able discourse by Dr. Massie appended to this volume, in which he states that each child brought up in these schools cost the public, on an average, £126 annually! This system was upheld for ninety years, at the rate of £17,901 a year, and producing, in all, only 12,745 apprentices, who did not generally do well in the world. They were greatly persecuted on account of their education; for there never were institutions of any kind in Ireland execrated so much as the *Charter Schools*.

The established church had other educational funds, to a large amount, under its management; but so far as the spiritual or temporal interests of the people at large were concerned, all her resources were unprofitable. She was unfaithful in her stewardship, and whenever she did attempt any thing in earnest for the benefit of the people, she miserably failed. Therefore, in the early part of the present century, 'it was powerfully felt by many British Christians that Ireland could only be evangelized under God, by voluntary efforts made by Christians unconnected with established churches' (p. 2).

In 1806 the London Hibernian Society was established, 'to

extend Divine knowledge in Ireland by the ministry of the gospel, by the dispersion of the holy Scriptures and religious tracts, by the formation and support of schools, and by every other lawful and prudent measure calculated to promote pure religion, morality, and loyalty.' This society was strongly anti-popish, politically as well as religiously. It was opposed to catholic emancipation, and being founded on the 'catholic' or comprehensive principle, like most other evangelical societies of those times, it embraced a good many churchmen, and chimed in with the usual cries of protestant ascendancy. Still, as education was very much needed in the country, and as it disclaimed proselytism in its schools, though many of its teachers and some of its pupils were actually converted, and this was admitted to be the desired result of its labours, and boasted of in Britain, though denied in Ireland; it was enabled to do a considerable amount of good. In 1814 it gave up the work of preaching, and this led to or was occasioned by, the formation of the *Irish Evangelical*, and *Baptist Irish Societies*; the Baptists adding education in the *Irish* language to their other agencies, and confining their labours chiefly to Connaught. They soon found that the time for *educating* the people in their native language had gone by for ever. It is not the language of business, of modern civilisation, and it will not enable a man to get on in the world. However we may regret that any language, especially one so primitive, so expressive, so powerful, as the Gaelic, should cease to live; its doom is inevitable—die it must; and the present generation will see the last of it. Had it been the vehicle of education and of modern literature, its fate would have been different; or had protestants taken it up a century ago in a kindly and national spirit, it would have greatly aided their religion; but to take it up now when its owners have laid it aside as a cast-off instrument, is preposterous. In the rudest districts reading in English can be just as well taught as reading in Irish; while, in the former case, you open to the mind all the treasures of knowledge, and all the mighty resources of civilization; and in the latter, only shadowy reminiscences of a by-gone state of existence, and of an imperfect civilization which has perished, and will never know a resurrection. Much, however, may be done by *preaching* in that language to adults, who understand it better than English; and it is to be lamented that several agents of this and of other societies, converts from Romanism, born in the west, and speaking Irish as their vernacular, have been allowed to labour for years in districts where there is not a word of Irish spoken, while the valuable talent they possess, whose utility is so much talked of, remains wholly unemployed.

When the 'Irish Society' was formed, the Baptist churches were few and small. Out of *eleven*, which existed in high prosperity one hundred and fifty years before that period, *five* only remained. Of these, it was said by a deputation at the time, 'there is much to deplore; yet there are those in their communion who are desiring and praying for better days.' We believe their communion was very limited, and that their little more than nominal existence was preserved, in most cases, by endowments, which helped to support their ministers, when they had them. They, in common with many other protestants in the south, had their theology tainted with Sandemanianism—with a decidedly antinomian tendency; and we have remarked with pain that these views have been in many cases, perhaps generally, taken up and carried out in a controversial spirit by scripture-readers and schoolmasters employed by the various societies. This evil, for obvious reasons, has been more perceptible in converts from the church of Rome than in others. This, with their selfish habits, narrow sympathies, ignorance, and bigotry, has made the dissenting *churches* of Ireland rather obstructions than auxiliaries in the work of evangelizing that country.

Of these little churches, some belong to the Separatists, or Christian Brethren, and Kellyites. Dr. Massie calculates that about sixty are Independents and Baptists. We fear there are few of these in a prosperous state, especially in the large cities, where the cause of dissent has of late years been steadily declining. Even Wesleyanism is not able to hold its ground. All this retrogression is owing, in a great measure, to the activity and influence of the established clergy, who are now, from the highest to the lowest, resolved that, so far as in them lies, no protestantism shall live in Ireland but their own.

This lamentable weakness of dissent—its want of root in the soul, and the absence of respect and confidence towards it in the Roman Catholic population, have been in a great measure caused by its subserviency to the established church, and sympathy with Orangeism in all anti-catholic movements. Hence the labours of the dissenting societies have been identified 'with the iniquitous practices of nominal protestantism;' and their managers allowed the impression to exist on the minds of their people that the Establishment was 'the bulwark of the Reformation.' Hence, as a natural consequence, the existence of the feeblest evangelical preaching in 'the church,' or the least approach towards 'political dissent,' out of it, afforded a pretext to 'spiritually-minded' church members to seek a more fashionable sanctuary; to which they have been indeed constantly solicited by the now indefatigable clergy of that communion—*indefatigable*,

we mean, wherever dissent stands in their way; but elsewhere taking matters very easy.

The Rev. Dr. Carlile, formerly a commissioner of education in Ireland, and once a member of every committee in Dublin, connected with the religious improvement of the country, in a *speech* delivered before the General Assembly of the Free Church, and lately published, gives it as the result of his large experience, that all these means were sadly inefficient so far as the *Catholic* population were concerned. We are afraid that the same must be said with regard to our Irish Missionary Societies. There is a serious fault somewhere. The right plans, we fear, have not yet been adopted. We, therefore, recommend Dr. Carlile's pamphlet to the prayerful attention of our readers.*

The neat little volume which has suggested these remarks, contains an interesting narrative of the operations of the Baptist Society. But how little is recorded in the shape of statistical results, compared with what might have been expected, especially in the *preaching* department! The schools, however, have done great good. We have had the pleasure of visiting some of them in the west, and seeing them crowded with Roman Catholic children. Yet, though justly proud of their own schools, it is in no grudging spirit the committee have borne testimony to the utility of the national system, which they regard as 'a means of diffusing light more powerful than any other in existence.'—p. 50.

'It must not, however, be supposed that the system of education, in the national schools, is capable of accomplishing the objects immediately contemplated in the schools of this society. Free as the latter are from denominational bias, they do not pretend to be free from evangelical peculiarity in their examinations, and that to a greater extent than the platform of the national schools will admit. And *without disparagement to those noble institutions, which afford as much facility for evangelical instruction, as under the circumstances of the case could possibly be looked for*, it must not be concealed that, to the catholic population, the means of saving knowledge and impression in our schools are such, as the committee feel it their solemn duty to cherish and cultivate to the utmost of their power.'—p. 51.

We find here a list of the various officers of the society in London from its foundation. We are disappointed at not seeing the same honour done to its missionaries. In such a permanent record, they and the churches which they have planted should not have been forgotten. Shall we be pardoned, if we hint that this intimates a state of things which requires a remedy, though

* It is entitled, 'Justice in Spiritual Things to Ireland.'

we believe the Baptist Society needs it less than others, namely, the miserably dependent and needy circumstances in which they leave their agents in Ireland, where, above all other countries, poverty and the want of 'respectability,' deprive a minister of moral influence. Andrew Fuller was a wise man. He advised the first secretary, Mr. Ivimey, 'to be more anxious to do the work than to get money—to be choice in the selection of itinerants, and to be less eager to do much, than to do it well.' Choice men for itinerants cannot be had unless they are properly paid and properly treated. Hitherto, Irish missionary societies have been guided by a wretched parsimony, which has caused them to be burdened with a number of inefficient men,—who enjoyed the same remuneration as the most talented, useful, and successful. Then the ruling body, besides being virtually irresponsible, self-appointed, and acting secretly, could of necessity know very little of the actual state of their agencies,—the most worthless often making them believe by his reports, that he was the most useful. Depending for information on private communications, often so contradictory in their character, as to leave the committees in doubt what to do, they generally did nothing; but left things to take their course. 'The old system of management (we hope we may call it so—) was certainly not very creditable to us as nonconformists. Some remarks on this subject appeared lately from an English correspondent in the 'New England Puritan,' to which, in closing these observations, we beg the attention of our readers. It is time for us to look our anomalies in the face, and remove them if we can:—

'Nearly all these voluntary societies are ruled despotically by a perpetual oligarchy! Such a state of things among episcopalians should not surprise us, because it accords with the genius of their system. But among congregationalists—among those who are the foremost champions of civil and religious liberty—it is certainly a startling anomaly. Consider for a moment the constitution and working of one of these bodies. Any person may become a member by subscribing a guinea a year. The anniversary is held in London, where the committee sits. This committee was appointed at the first general meeting, thirty or forty years ago, and it has perpetuated itself ever since! It consists of some pastors and deacons of the London churches. They draw up their report, and resolutions, one of which embraces a list of the officers for the ensuing year; *i. e.*, a list of themselves, and any friends they may choose to add to their number.

'The subscribers, or constituents, know nothing of the report or resolutions till they are read and proposed at the public meeting. But does not this proceeding involve responsibility? Not at all. The assembly is composed chiefly of the flocks of the respective pastors on the committee, with a few friends from the country, and

as many of the general public as can be attracted by placards and advertisements. The great object of the anniversary is to give information to the public, so as to excite interest and get funds. Suppose some person were to rise and move an amendment to any of the resolutions; what would be the consequence? Why, either he would not get a hearing at all, or some popular speaker would rise to assail him with wit and ridicule, as an enemy to the cause, so that he should be overwhelmed with the hisses and jeers of the meeting. Therefore, no one ever attempts such a thing on the platform of a missionary society.'

Notwithstanding, however, the remarks which we have felt constrained by a sense of duty to make, we entirely concur in the following conclusion as to the general result of evangelical labours in Ireland,—and surely it is sufficient to lead all the friends of that country to thank God, and take courage!

'The present changes in the aspect of society in Ireland, and the universal thirst for the acquisition of knowledge, are unquestionably in a great degree owing to the efforts of this and kindred societies, especially in the educational department, during the last thirty years. A vast number of the present generation of the men and women of Ireland have passed through their schools, and have there imbibed a taste for the reading of the Scriptures, and a habit of thinking for themselves. It is not too much therefore to say, that to such an agency, under God, is owing in a great degree the success even of those institutions, which, on a more extended scale, are conducting the rising youth of Ireland to mental independence and social prosperity, and paving the way for their ultimate redemption from the double thralldom, that so long has held its interesting and noble people.'—p. 55.

We cordially recommend this instructive and interesting volume to the attention of our readers. Nearly all our blunders about Ireland, religious and political, may be ascribed to our ignorance of her history. We have chosen to remain in the dark, and so we have been stumbling on till we are now arrived at the brink of a precipice. May the inhabitants of both islands learn righteousness from the judgments that are abroad.

ART. VI.—*Memoirs of the late Christmas Evans, of Wales.* By David Rhys Stephen. 12mo. London: Aylott and Jones.

WE have frequently had occasion to regret the tame and spiritless character of religious biographies. With every disposition to do them justice, and with many feelings which incline to a very charitable view both of their subjects and of their authors, we are yet at a loss to discover an adequate cause for their publication, or to conjecture any possible benefit which can accrue from them. In many cases, the personal qualities of the subjects of these memoirs present no points of strong interest; while in others, their position and services are exaggerated by a partial friendship, in order to make out a case for the publicity which is sought. Nor is this all. The fact is bad enough, but it is significant of something worse. It is a morbid symptom, and can be corrected only by a more healthy condition of the religious world. The mediocre character of the men whose biographies load our table, is proof of the low standard both of religious and of intellectual worth, which obtains amongst us. Their authors, of course, regard them as above the ordinary level—as distinguished by qualities which merit record—as deserving to live in the memory of others on account of the eminent services they rendered, or the bright example of Christian virtue which their lives furnished. In a vast number of cases, this is pure delusion—a mere fiction—which would provoke reproof, were not a deeper and more sober feeling induced by the moral bearings of the case. In such instances, the biographers are more open to censure than their heroes. The latter lived through their years, worthy and estimable it may be, without thinking of notoriety, or even dreaming that they would be held up to the generation after them as rare patterns of Christian excellence. They fulfilled their vocation according to their own view of it, and there the matter would have ended. But their biographers officiously step in, to prevent so desirable a termination; and the religious world is in consequence flooded with books, which had better never have been written, as their whole influence serves to deteriorate the intelligence and the piety of the age. A correcter view of the Christian life, a deeper knowledge of its nature, a more earnest sympathy with its large and practical bearings, would have disclosed deficiencies in the character of their heroes which must have restrained the love of authorship, and saved religious people a large expenditure of money and of time. Their labours, however, are but the proof of their ignorance, whilst the

reception given to them is one of the worst indications of the intelligence and religion of the day. It is impossible to follow the influence of this species of religious literature without a painful impression of the injury which is done. Constituting, as such works do, a large proportion of the reading of many of our young people, they go far to account for the sickly sentimentalism and feeble-mindedness which prevail in the religious world. We attribute greatly to this cause that want of clear and well-defined conclusions on religious truth, that dearth of sterling information, that want of healthful self-reliance, that vague and mystical estimate of practical Christianity, and that morbid shrinking from the more fearless and masculine exhibition of religious principle, with which we are frequently doomed to meet. A hot-house plant, incapable of bearing the sweet breath of heaven, is substituted for the sturdy oak, which the blasts of a thousand winters fail to uproot. And even where a worthy subject is found, the mode of treating it is rarely worthy of the theme. But this is a fruitful topic, and we must not pursue it now. Another opportunity will speedily be supplied, when we may enter on it more fully than other matters permit at present.

We therefore hasten to the volume before us, the subject of which was every way worthy of the distinction conferred on him. The life of Christmas Evans merited record. To have permitted the memory of such a man to die would have been to do wrong to succeeding times. His biography is rich in sentiment—every part of it is suggestive; and if Mr. Stephen has not unfolded them as completely as we could wish, we excuse his brevity, from the rareness of the offence. There are also marks of haste, or rather of the want of completeness and revision in his style, which we hope to see corrected in a future edition.

Christmas Evans was born in Cardiganshire, December 25, 1766. His father was a shoemaker of very humble means, who seems to have cared little about the culture of his son. His boyhood was consequently passed in utter neglect, and when, on the death of his father, he was transferred, in his ninth year, to his maternal uncle, his condition was not improved. 'It would be difficult,' he observes, 'to find a more unconscionable man than James Lewis, in the whole course of a wicked world.' Christmas remained with his uncle six years, and afterwards worked on other farms for his daily subsistence. 'Thus,' says Mr. Stephen, 'did he spend his youth in a servile condition, in the direst poverty, and without either friend or home. Of books he knew nothing; with men of general intelligence he had no acquaintance; and his very condition in life condemned him

to association with whatever was rude, unreflecting, and brutal, in his neighbourhood.' From his boyhood, he appears to have been exercised with 'the fear of death,' an element probably of his future religious character, though not in itself distinctively religious. It preserved him from sinking into the utter thoughtlessness and indifference which prevailed around him, and by keeping the future and spiritual before his mind, prepared him to sympathize with the religious movement which was speedily to occur in his neighbourhood. The philosophy of man's moral nature is deep and mystical, and who shall say what connexion subsisted between the terror of the farmer's boy, and the manly and earnest piety of the future preacher? That there was such a connexion, we do not doubt; but what was its degree, and in what way it contributed to the result, we know not. To trace out and discover such affinities will, probably, be amongst the occupations of a brighter and happier world.

'Of the whole of this period of his life, and of the predisposing causes of his seeking membership in the church under Mr. Davies's care, Christmas Evans says, 'I was disturbed by certain operations of mind, which, I believe, were not common, from my ninth year upwards. The fear of dying in an ungodly state especially affected me, and this apprehension clung to me till I was induced to rest upon Christ. All this was accompanied by some little knowledge of the Redeemer; and now, in my seventieth year, I cannot deny that this concern was the dawn of the day of grace on my spirit, although mingled with much darkness and ignorance. During a revival which took place in the church under the care of Mr. David Davies, many young people united themselves with that people, and I amongst them. What became of the major part of these young converts I have never known, but I hope God's grace followed them as it did me, the meanest of the whole. One of the fruits of this awakening was the desire for religious knowledge that fell upon us. Scarcely one person out of ten could, at this time, and in those neighbourhoods, read at all, even in the language of the country. We bought Bibles and candles, and were accustomed to meet together in the evening, in the barn of Penyralltfawr; and thus, in about one month, I was able to read the Bible in my mother tongue. I was vastly delighted with so much learning. This, however, did not satisfy me, but I borrowed books, and learnt a little English. Mr. Davies, my pastor, understood that I thirsted for knowledge, and took me to his school, where I staid for six months. Here I went through the Latin Grammar; but so low were my circumstances that I could stay there no longer.'—p. 5.

The church to which he thus united himself in his sixteenth or seventeenth year, was of the Presbyterian order, and at this period had declined from the Calvinistic theology of its founders, and was in a course of descent towards Unitarianism, in which

it finally rested. The pastor, Mr. David Davies, was an Arian universally respected for his estimable qualities, and evidently solicitous to cultivate the talents which he saw in young Evans. We should have been glad to have some light thrown on the character and history of this religious revival. The occurrence of such an event under an Arian ministry, challenges attention, and could scarcely fail, if candidly examined, to elicit important principles in the conduct of the Divine administration. It was an unusual circumstance, and we counsel Mr. Stephen, in the event of a second edition of his volume, to give the case his best attention. Whatever labour may be involved in the research, will be amply repaid by the instruction obtained on the practical tendencies of the Christian faith.

No sooner had Christmas Evans experienced the power of religious truth on his own mind, than he desired to communicate it to others. This was the natural order of things, and illustrates one of the fixed laws of the moral world. The mystical priesthood, of which ecclesiastical history records so much, is unknown to the authoritative standard. The inspired volume invests the minister of religion with no special virtue, but regards him simply as the exponent and enforcer of truths which his own heart entertains, and by which his life is guided. Such was the view entertained by Christmas Evans, and as the regulations of the church to which he belonged, did not permit any of its members to preach until they had received academical training, his first efforts were unsanctioned by authority, and were therefore somewhat out of order. His own views of Divine truth were, at this time, confused and partial, and he was subjected, in consequence, to great mental distress. Happily for himself and the church at large, he had occasional opportunities of hearing some of the most eminent ministers of the Calvinistic Methodist connexion, from whom he obtained a clearer insight into the mediatorial character of the Christian economy. 'One can conceive,' says his biographer, 'how the clear and unmistakeable manner in which these great men preached the doctrine of justification, must interest, instruct, and expand the mind and heart of the young Presbyterian.' About the same time, he became acquainted with some members of the Baptist denomination, which led to an examination of their distinctive tenet, and resulted in his joining their fellowship in his twenty-first year.

The state of the Nonconformist ministry in Wales at this time, was far from being satisfactory. It possessed the same general characteristics as the ministry of England; was too contracted, stationary, and formal; contented itself with the discharge of a prescribed order of services, and knew nothing of

that intense zeal which made the apostle to the Gentiles exclaim, 'Woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel.' Mr. Stephen alludes to this in the commencement of his second chapter, and while admitting the excellencies, candidly points out the defects, of the existing ministry. He says—and his words, we fear, are not wholly inapplicable at the present day :—

'The condition of the Christian ministry amongst the Welsh Nonconformists, at the time of the introduction of Methodism, it is allowed by all well-informed on the subject, was very feeble and inefficient. Learned men and good preachers they had amongst them, but their labours were, for the most part, confined to their immediate neighbourhoods; and when they went from home, it was to visit other churches of the same order, generally at great distances, and the country lying between they left as it was, scarcely delivering a sermon unless it was at the house of some friend, already a member of one of the churches. As to their preaching at home, we have good reasons for believing it was generally judicious and well prepared—more so, perhaps, than much of the Welsh preaching at this hour—but it was cold, unimpassioned, and comparatively fruitless. It did not abound in popular topics, was not conceived in a popular spirit, and was not addressed to the people at large. Indeed, they knew little of it, and but little of the existence of the dissenting churches; these communities willingly hid the light that was in them, so that they might have quiet, and be let alone to enjoy their own privileges, hear their own preachers, and indulge their own hopes of future happiness. The mass of the people were utterly neglected, alike by the Established church and the Dissenters. In the case of the latter this was a fearful falling off from the practice of the founders of the several churches; all of whom were devoted itinerants—traversing the country with a zeal which no dangers could diminish—'going everywhere preaching the word.' Their descendants, however, had, by the time to which we refer, become satisfied with what had been achieved for them, and seem to have had no ambition beyond that of keeping things as they were. The preaching of the clerical Methodists and of Howel Harris speedily disturbed this 'inglorious ease,' and aroused the country throughout. The difference as to the matter of the sermons delivered by these apostolic men, as compared with those delivered by the Nonconformists, in their meeting-houses, would be very little, and confined principally to the frequency with which the itinerants introduced the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, and exhibited it in its most prominent and obvious aspects; but the distinction of the new ministry was in its manner and spirit. It was not the mere declaration and exposition of certain acknowledged dogmas; but it was a message from God to the conscience and heart of the hearer. It assumed all the directness, clearness, and urgency of a personal communication, so that the hearer was obliged to feel himself immediately interested; the whole business

was so pressing that it commanded attention at once, there, and then; there was no avoiding the personal applicability: the conscience confessed, 'I am the man;' the heart cried out, 'What shall I do to be saved?' God had not given to those great preachers the spirit of fear, but of love, and of power, and of a sound mind. This feeling of intense and accumulating earnestness would gradually gather about the olden Dissenting churches, and at length, by various channels, enter into them, and materially affect their deliberations and proceedings. Still it must not be denied that the more aged pastors exhibited great caution, and no little hesitancy in the matter. As Watts and Doddridge feared for Whitefield, and gave him some very prudent counsel, so 'the regular' Nonconformists of the Principality feared, setting themselves on their guard, and being not disinclined to vaticinate a little. Good men! they had never felt the pressure of such immitigable intensity, that nothing but prodigious labour could give it exercise, and nothing but the salvation of men could give it recompense. The infusion of this zeal into their churches they regarded with some doubt and some jealousy; they called it 'the new fire,' and 'the strange fire,' and tremulously feared the consequences that might ensue.'—pp. 17—19.

One of the pastors of the church at Aberduar, had imbibed the spirit of the new preachers, and his influence on Mr. Evans was eminently beneficial. A revival took place in the church, and a sense of defectiveness, in his mode of exhibiting religious truth, led the young preacher to adopt various expedients for remedying the evil. His own brief account of his mental conflicts will best exhibit his condition at this period:—

'I was brought soon,' he says, 'to preach in company with other preachers, and I found them altogether better and godlier preachers than I was; I could feel no influence, no virtue in my own sermons. It occurred to me that this might be owing to my habit of committing my sermons carefully to memory, and that I thus superseded the Divine aid; while I supposed other preachers had theirs direct from heaven. I accordingly changed my plan, and would take a text and preach from it without preparation, saying whatever would come uppermost at the time; but if it was bad before, it was now still worse, for I had neither sense, nor warmth, nor life; but some weakly intonation of voice that affected no one. It was painful to me to hear my own voice in prayer or in preaching, as it seemed to proceed from a hard heart. I travelled much in this condition, thinking every preacher a true preacher but myself; nor had I any confidence in the light I had upon Scripture. I considered everybody to be before myself, and was frequently tortured with fears that I was still a graceless man. *I have since seen God's goodness in all this, for thus was I kept from falling in love with my own gifts, which has happened to many young men, and has been their ruin.*'

In his twenty-third year he attended an association meeting

in Breconshire, when the brethren urged on him the great need for additional preachers which existed in the north of the principality, and intreated him to accompany them thither. With this request he complied, and settled at Lley, where the Baptists were few and poor. From this period he experienced a remarkable change in his views and feelings. 'I then felt,' he records, 'that I died to the law; abandoned all hope of preparing myself to apply to the Redeemer; and realised the life of faith and dependence on the righteousness of Christ, for my justification.' The effect of these altered views was perceptible in his ministry, and God gave testimony to the word of his grace. Referring to this event, in a memoir of a brother minister, written in 1827, he says, in his own special style:—

'It was in the midst of poverty and discouragement that the red leaves of the rose of his ministry were unfolded; and it is marvellous to the writer to remember that it was in the same place, twenty-eight years before, that the Holy Spirit was pleased to insert the colour, to fix the form, and to mature the fruit of his own ministry. Whatever growth has taken place since, the form and the colour of the flower have remained the same. Difficulties and oppositions are frequently more nutritious than ease and prosperity. 'Is any among you afflicted? let him pray.' The great reason why both of us received this new power to our ministry in the most discouraging place the Baptists have in Wales, was, that it was there the Holy Spirit put the cause of Christ in the heart, till we became distressed for the salvation of souls and the establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom upon earth. It is in proportion as we love Christ, and are jealous for his name, and have love to the souls of men, as two unquenchable flames burning in our bosoms, that we shall pray and wrestle with God for his blessing to give strength and authority to our preaching, and that grace shall be poured upon our lips until our words descend as the dew on the tender grass.'—p. 25.

He did not remain long at Lley. Various circumstances tended to his removal, amongst which it is painful to record, in his own words, 'the want of practical godliness in some of the preachers that have been there; the absence of an humbled evangelical taste in the ministry, and the prominence of a sour, condemnatory temper, burning up everything, like the scorching heat of summer, until not a green blade is to be seen; and, lastly, serious defects of character, both as to mind and heart, in many of the leading members.'

From Lley he removed to Anglesea, December 25, 1792; and it is worthy of remark that the pecuniary temptation held out to him was a salary of seventeen pounds a year. The Baptists of Anglesea were at this time sadly distracted; and Christ-

mas Evans consequently found his new charge in a most discouraging state. Mr. Stephen tells us :—

‘ The hearers had been driven away, and it was found no easy task to regain them, and to re-inspire the people with feelings of respect towards a Baptist minister. His first step was very characteristic : he exhorted all the members to keep a day of fasting and prayer, to humble themselves before God on account of the sin of their divisions, to cry for mercy and the restored light of his countenance. A meeting of this character was held at Llanerchymedd. ‘ After that meeting,’ he observes, ‘ it pleased the Lord to bless us,—to increase our hearers, and to bring many to Christ.’ Mr. Evans then divided the island into four districts, so that by preaching at three places every Lord’s day, he might be able to visit every little band of disciples, and hold a Sabbath service once a month. To this he added untiring labours during the week : visiting the people at these great distances, keeping church-meetings, attending to all the church affairs, and, soon afterwards, looking out for sites for places of worship; getting money—borrowing it, of course—to erect these ‘ houses of prayer,’ and burdening himself with much of the labour connected with the superintendence of such work, and *with all the care*. ‘ The burden of the day ’ he resolutely bore, and ‘ the heat thereof ’ he as courageously endured ; satisfied, yea, more than satisfied, when the Head of the Church vouchsafed to smile upon his spirit, and make his labours a blessing.’—p. 33.

Mr. Evans was accustomed to take frequent journeys to the south, partly with a view of collecting for the chapels he had built, and partly to extend his acquaintance with the churches of his denomination. His preaching talents were thus made known, and his own spirit was refreshed for the more vigorous prosecution of home labours. The following sketch of a Welsh association will be interesting to such of our readers as are not acquainted with the ecclesiastical proceedings of the Principality :—

‘ In 1794, during Christmas Evans’s journey through the south, he attended the Association at Velinfoel, in Caermarthenshire. The English reader, utterly unacquainted with Welsh nonconformist practices, should here be advertised that all bodies of Dissenters in the Principality hold annual meetings, which they call Associations. Among the Independents and Baptists these are unions of a certain number of churches ; and the annual meeting has the double purpose of transacting business in conference, members of churches and ministers alone being present ; and of preaching to the inhabitants of that particular neighbourhood. The preaching is always in the open air, if the weather permits. A large scaffolding is erected in a field, or on the mountain side ; on this the officiating preacher stands, surrounded by the other ministers who attend, and other friends ; and

thence he addresses the congregation. The feeling formerly induced by the approach of such a meeting, in the locality where it was to be held, was thoroughly jubilant; and assiduous preparations were made so as to be able to abstain from labour during the two days of the Association, and 'to entertain strangers.' These hospitalities were not confined to the members of the particular denomination whose forces were to assemble, but were cheerfully exercised by persons of all communities and of none. It was a common thing for the clergyman of the parish to have open house, and readily to entertain those that were sent to him. A truce was now given to all religious differences; and I have been once and again told by a kindly officious brother, directing me to my lodgings, 'Please to remember that your host is a Pæriobaptist,' lest I might inconsiderately introduce the disputed question! On such occasions very large congregations would frequently assemble, the preacher would have to address thousands of human beings; it is keeping quite within compass to say, that John Elias, Ebenezer Morris, William Williams, Christmas Evans, and other excellent men, their contemporaries and coadjutors, many times addressed congregations varying from two to fifteen thousand! This was always at the very beginning of the summer, with the green sward under foot, and the blue heavens above! In this instance, at Velinfoel, Mr. Evans was to preach at the morning meeting, which commenced at ten o'clock. The day was very sultry, and two good brethren were to preach before him; the second in English. The latter was long, or seemed to be long; and when Mr. Evans was to begin his discourse the people seemed wearied and jaded. His subject was the return of the prodigal son; as he proceeded, one man, who had sat down on the grass, got up here, another there; the people closed in together about the platform, looked hard at the preacher, nodded approvingly to each other, wondered, felt, wept, wept aloud, at once with joy and sorrow; powerful emotions were produced that continued through all the remaining services, and remained in many hearts for their everlasting salvation. This was his first introduction to South Wales of so prominent a character; and it made the name of Christmas Evans, 'the one eyed man,' common 'as household words.'—pp. 39—41.

His ministry was now, for a time, enfeebled by the temporary adoption of Sandemanian views, which chilled his ardour and threatened the ruin of his usefulness. Happily, however, he soon recovered. The cold and uncharitable spirit of the system was foreign from his nature, which was eminently warm and catholic. He soon felt that his strength was gone, and this led to a train of reflections which ended in a return to a sounder and more healthy theology. The effects, however, on his people were not so speedily eradicated, and his experience may serve as a warning to others. He says:

'Sandemanianism so affected me that it extinguished the spirit of prayer for the conversion of the ungodly. 'The weightier things'

of the kingdom of heaven became weaker in their influence on my mind than the 'lesser things.' I lost the power that had clothed my mind, consisting in confidence and earnestness in the pulpit (with strong desires) for the conversion of souls to Christ. My heart went back, and I lost the testimony of a good conscience. On Lord's-day evening, when I retired to bed, having been assailing Christians for their errors with all my might, my conscience was dissatisfied, and upbraided me. I had lost nearness to God, and walking with him, and something very precious was absent. I would answer, 'Don't I preach according to the word?' Still it insisted that there was sad deficiency. I was thus deprived of the spirit of prayer and of the spirit of preaching. I refer, secondly, to its effects on our churches. The poison penetrated four counties, Anglesea, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Denbigh. Its first was to send away the hearers of the gospel; for this it prepared the way by alleging that the mass of hearers were 'of Babylon,' &c. I lost in Anglesea almost all my old hearers; many of them attended the ministry with other denominations, and became united with them; there they had rest from the new condemnatory spirit amongst us. We thus almost entirely took down what it had taken fifteen years to raise, and became again a despised people. Much distraction in the churches followed—a spirit of infallibility and worldly wisdom fell on the people and on many of the preachers, until the weakest of them felt himself qualified to govern the church and the world.'—p 56.

His labours in Anglesea were not those of a settled pastor. They were much more onerous and trying, and called for qualities which only few possess. He was more of a primitive bishop than of a pastor. The churches were numerous, but very feeble, and their affairs were administered by a monthly meeting of preachers and deacons, at which he presided. This state of things could not fail to produce some serious evils. It was an anomalous condition, congregational in name, but partaking of the features both of Episcopacy and of Presbyterianism. So long as the churches were in their infancy, it was tolerated; but no sooner were any of them equal to their own support, than they claimed to have the management of their affairs entrusted to themselves. This was not unnatural, and had Mr. Evans clearly perceived the bearings of the case, and been as wise as he was able, he would have yielded gracefully and with pleasure to the request. But the habit of control had moulded his views, and the mode in which the self-government of the churches was claimed, strengthened his disinclination to yield to the new order which was advocated. The result may readily be anticipated. A generation had arisen which knew not Joseph, and mutual criminations widened the breach which already threatened to separate the parties.

'The reader,' says Mr. Stephen, 'will bear in mind, that Christmas

Evans had become, by a kind of necessity, pastor of all the churches in his connexion in Anglesea; the other ordained brethren were, indeed, co-pastors, but co-pastors with him over *all* the churches. In proportion as some of the societies—those in towns, for instance—increased and strengthened, they became solicitous to have separate pastors of their own. To this there could be no objection, but that which arose from considerations of convenience and mutual edification. Many and anxious deliberations ensued, in which it is scarcely possible for the most ardent admirers of Mr. Evans to allege that he was always, and exclusively, in the right. The younger men among the preachers could scarcely sympathise with him at all, in his attachment to the system, or rather no-system, which had obtained amongst the Anglesea Baptists; the middle-aged men would be much divided between their approval of the Congregational system and their deference to the sense of duty and propriety, which, under the then present circumstances of the interest there, Mr. Evans keenly felt and sturdily avowed. He maintained, that with numerous but feeble churches, it was better to proceed with the modified Congregationalism he had been obliged to adopt, than to carry out fully, and without qualification, the entire Independent platform. Thus he would seek to prove by reference to the success of the Methodist economy in England and Wales; admitting, the while, that the New Testament economy unequivocally favoured the separate existence and separate government of each Christian church. The first result was a kind of compromise—not avowed on either hand to be one—which resulted in the settlement of a pastor over the church at Holyhead.—p. 105, 6.

To the alienation consequent on these discussions may probably be attributed the charge of Arminianism, which about the same time was extensively preferred against Mr. Evans. His views had unquestionably undergone some modification. His Calvinism became milder and more liberal, less exclusive in its aspect, and more catholic in its temper. This gave great offence, and was aggravated into a serious charge by the unrelenting spirit of his accusers. He experienced in consequence much personal unkindness, and resolved at length to vacate his post. This resolution was not formed without bitter conflicts. His heart clung to Anglesea. He had resided and laboured there upwards of thirty years. His ministry had been eminently successful, and he had hoped to close his days amongst the people to whose welfare the strength of his manhood had been devoted.

‘It was an affecting sight,’ says Mr. Morgan, his Welsh biographer, ‘to see the aged man who had laboured so long, and with such happy effects, leaving the sphere of his exertions under these circumstances. Having laboured so much to pay for their meeting-houses, having performed so many journeys to South Wales for their

benefit, having served them so diligently in the island, and passed through so many dangers,—now (some of the people) withheld their contributions to avenge themselves on their own father in the gospel; others, professing to be his friends, did little more; while he, like David, was obliged to leave his 'city,' not knowing whether he should ever return to see 'the ark of God and his tabernacle' in Anglesea again. A dark cloud hung henceforth on the Baptists in the island. But God is good to his cause, and permits nothing to befall his people that is not for their good. He was merciful to Mr. Evans, and protected him in his troubles; and we find room to hope in his mercy, that for the sake of Christ, and his name in the world, he will not permit the cloud to pour forth judgments on those who were misled, and whose arrows were bitter against his aged servant.'—pp. 111, 12.

Such events constitute the opprobrium of dissent, but let those who refer to them in disproof of our church system bear in mind, that they closely resemble the evils which existed in apostolic churches, while nothing can be traced in the early history of those societies at all resembling what is of daily occurrence within the pale of the establishment. The evils existing with us are to be deplored, and strongly censured; but they obviously arise from the imperfect state of human nature, and may therefore be looked for, under any system, however scriptural. We are not so simple as to expect an eradication of the evil tendencies which are universally characteristic of our race. All we ask is that there should be nothing in the system adapted to nurture them, or to call them forth in forms, and with a degree of intensity, which would not otherwise exist. Let us not be misunderstood. We do not plead the evils existing amongst us in proof of our system, but when those evils are adduced as witnesses against us, we say their evidence fails, inasmuch as analogous evils existed in the churches, and at the very time, of the apostles. Not so, however, with the evils of an establishment. They bear no analogy to the evils of primitive times, but grow out of the artificial legislation which human policy has substituted for the simple institutions of the Lord.

Mr. Evans was in his sixtieth year when he removed from Anglesea, and took the pastoral charge of the church at Caerphilly. His labours had hitherto been of a somewhat itinerant order, and many of his friends were apprehensive that his mental habits would scarcely accord with the engagements of a settled pastorate. In this however they were mistaken. His ministry was clothed with power, and about one hundred and fifty persons were in a short time added to the church.

'Eloquent and mighty,' says Mr. Stephen, 'as Mr. Evans's preaching had always been, those who had heard him oftenest, and were

STEPHEN'S MEMOIRS

best fitted to form a sound opinion, thought he now surpassed himself at any former period. By preaching every Lord's-day to the same congregation—a hard task to begin with at his age—he was committed to extraordinary labour, which, however, he resolutely encountered and successfully achieved. It now became apparent, contrary to a pretty prevalent opinion, that his good preaching was not confined to a few sermons, slowly prepared and often repeated; but that he was quite capable, from week to week, to get up discourses quite equal to his greatest and most celebrated single efforts. Mr. J. P. Davies, of Tredegar, spent some four or five months at Caerphilly, under medical care, soon after Mr. Evans's settlement, and they spent much time together. In their almost daily conversations, he was most struck with the old preacher's insatiable thirst for knowledge, as well as with the really extensive and varied stores of information he had acquired in his busy and hard-working life. Mr. Davies excelled as a theologian and expositor, and he vastly delighted, from day to day, to compare notes with his aged friend, to whom every hint and intimation of improved construction of a text, or a new definition of a principle, was right heartily welcome. Nor was Mr. Davies less gratified at Mr. Evans's preaching, which he was generally able to attend on the Sabbath morning. It was not the vivid flashes of his eloquence—with these he was of old acquainted—but it was the fulness and variety of his matter, from Sabbath to Sabbath, that astonished this most amiable and able critic—giving him quite a new impression as to the order of Mr. Evans's mind.'—p. 114, 15.

From Caerphilly he removed to Cardiff, where, however, he did not remain long, 'as the circumstances of the church of which he took the oversight were far from being comfortable or encouraging.' He removed thence about Midsummer, 1832, to Caernarvon, where, in the neighbourhood of his old charge, and amidst the scenes of his former ministry, he found much to cheer him under the growing infirmities of age. He had only to cross the Menai Straits to be again 'in his own Anglesea;' and the warm greetings with which he was welcomed reanimated his spirits. He attended the first association meeting that was held after his arrival, and his biographer gives the following account of his reception:—

'He had earnestly besought his Lord that he might not be humbled in the presence of his former charge, and that the field of former achievement might not be the scene of weakness and confusion. The desire of his heart was granted him; and He who holds in his hand the seven stars, sustained, preserved, and graciously caused to shine forth through this his servant, the light of saving knowledge again, as in former times, thus honouring that servant and blessing His heritage. The feelings of the older members of all the churches in Anglesea were those of intense delectation and joy.

Greetings and gratulations were exchanged throughout the large assembly, and Christians loved each other the more sensibly in the very act of loving anew their old pastor and father in Christ. Such gratifications does the Redeemer give to his servants, leading them 'from strength to strength;' alternating their deep humiliations with periods of holy delight, alike compensating his faithful ones for former sorrows, and preparing them for future difficulties, by giving them, at favoured periods, powerful manifestations of his loving-kindness. Henceforth they 'remember Him from the hill Mizar and from beyond the Jordan.'

'Mr. Evans made himself very useful while at Caernarvon, in frequently visiting the monthly meetings of the ministers in the county. The brethren joyfully welcomed him to every place; at once consulted him as to when he would preach, and how all the arrangements would best suit his convenience. In all these respects the closing years of his life were singularly happy, free from the troubles and sorenesses which had annoyed him during a great portion of his days. All denominations of Christians treated him with the utmost respect in the town; many respectable members of the established church vied with the Dissenters in readiness to serve him; while the Rev. William Williams, the Independent minister, became his daily visitor and companion. There was something wrong on the day Mr. Williams did not come at the usual hour: 'Mary, *fach*,' he would say, addressing Mrs. Evans, 'where is Williams to-day?'—p. 147.

With characteristic earnestness he devoted himself to the welfare of the churches, and though his health was greatly impaired, he resolved once more to visit the south, in order to make an appeal to the liberality of the richer brethren. 'We have received,' he says, 'notice to pay up £300. My lease of life, 'three score years and ten,' has expired; I am very unwell; and have determined to offer myself to this work, though I fear I may die during my journey, and may not succeed in my message for Christ.' His anticipation was realized. The journey was too much for his strength, and he died at Swansea, July 19th, 1838, 'full of years, labours, and honours.' His religious confidence was clear, firm, and triumphant:—

'This is the gospel,' he remarked at Tredegar, where he was detained by illness, 'this is the gospel: he that believeth shall be saved. Now in order to the truth of this declaration, every believer must be saved. If, in the last day, the great enemy find one single soul not saved who ever believed the gospel, he would take that individual up, present him to the Judge, and to the immense assembly, and say, 'The gospel is not true;' *he would then take the LOST believer all through the regions of Pandemonium, and exhibit him in triumph to devils and the damned!*' 'But that shall never be,' it was replied. 'No,' planting the fore-finger of his right hand on his knee, as was his wont,

and, in a shrill tone of triumphant gratulation ; ' no,—*never*, NEVER, NEVER !'—p. 153.

Of the mental character of Mr. Evans, we have left ourselves no room to speak. His special attribute was imagination. 'It was the one power of his soul, holding all others in daily servitude, using them all, controlling them all, absorbing them all.' The reports of all who knew him concur on this point, and those who had the pleasure of hearing him—even in what, to him, was a foreign tongue—will not easily forget the affluence and splendour of his imagery. The following passage, forming part of a sermon on Romans iii. 25, is one of the most beautiful and best sustained specimens of imagery, in our language:—

' When our world fell from its first estate, it became one vast prison. Its walls were adamant, and unscaleable ; its gate was brass, and impregnable. Within, the people sat in darkness and in the shadow of death ; without, inflexible justice guarded the brazen gate, brandishing the flaming sword of the eternal law. Mercy, as she winged her flight of love through the worlds of the universe, paused to mark the prison aspect of our once paradisaic world. Her eye affected her heart. Her heart melted and bled, as the shriek of misery and the yell of despair rose upon the four winds of heaven. She could not pass by nor pass on. She descended before the gate, and requested admittance. Justice waving the flaming sword in awful majesty, exclaimed, ' No one can enter here, and *live* !'—and the thunder of his voice outspoke the wailings within.

' Mercy expanded her wings to renew her flight amongst the unfallen worlds. She re-ascended into the mid-air, but could not proceed ; because she could not forget the piercing cries from the prison. She, therefore, returned to her native throne in the heaven of heavens. It was ' a glorious high throne from everlasting ;' and both unshaken and untarnished by the fallen fate of man and angels. But even there, she could not *forget* the scene which she had witnessed and wept over. She sat and weighed the claims of all the judicial perfections of Jehovah, and of all the principles of eternal law ; but although they arose upon her view in all their vastness, she could not *forget* the prison. She re-descended with a more rapid and radiant flight, and approached the gate with an aspect of equal solicitude and determination ; but again she was denied admission. She stood still—her emotion was visible. Justice ceased to brandish the sword—there was silence in heaven !

' ' Is there admission on no terms whatever ?' she asked.—' Yes,' said Justice, ' but only on terms which no finite being can fulfil. I demand an atoning death for their eternal life—blood Divine for their ransom.' ' And I,' said Mercy, at once, ' *accept* the terms.' It was asked, with amazement, ' on what *security* ?' ' Here,' said Mercy, ' is my bond ; and four thousand years from this time, demand its payment on Calvary—for, to redeem man, I will appear in the incarnate form of the Son of God, and be the lamb slain for the sin of this world !'

'The bond was accepted without hesitation, and the gate opened at once. Mercy entered, leaning on the arm of Justice. She spoke kindly to the prisoners, and gave them some hints of her high undertaking on their behalf. All were amazed, and many melted, by this timely and tender interference: and, to confirm their hopes, Mercy, from time to time, led the 'captivity' of some 'captive,'—that their salvation might be the pledge and prelude of her eventual triumphs.

'Thus the gathering of 'first-fruits,' in the field of redemption, went on for ages; and at last the clock of prophecy struck the 'fulness of the time.' Then, Mercy became incarnate in the person of the Son of God, who appeared in the form of a servant, publishing his intention and determination to pay the mighty bond. And soon the awful day of payment arrived: then the whole array of the judicial attributes of Jehovah took their stand on Calvary, with Justice at their head, bearing the bond of redemption. Angels and archangels, cherubim and seraphim, principalities and powers, left their thrones and mansions of glory, and bent over the battlements of heaven, gazing in mute amazement and breathless suspense upon the solemn scene;—for now the Mediator appeared, 'without the gates of Jerusalem—crowned with thorns and followed by the weeping church. As he passed along the awful array of the judicial perfections of the Divine character, none of them uttered a word of encouragement—none of them glanced a look of sympathy to him. It was 'the hour and power of darkness.' Above him were all the vials of Divine wrath, and the thunders of the eternal law, ready to burst on his devoted head; around him were all the 'powers of darkness,' on the tiptoe of infernal expectation, waiting for his failure. But none of these things moved him from the purpose or the spirit of redemption. He took the bond from the hand of Justice, and moved on to the cross, 'as a lamb to the slaughter.' He resigned himself to that altar of ignominy.

'Then Justice unsheathed the flaming sword, and marshalling all his terrors, went up to the altar to enforce his claims. The rocks rent under his tread—the sun shrank from the glance of his eye. He lifted his right hand to the eternal throne, and exclaimed in thunder—'Fires of heaven! descend, and consume this sacrifice.' The fires of heaven, animated with living spirit by the call, answered, 'We come! we come!—and when we have consumed that victim, we will burn the universe!' They burst—blazed—devoured, until the *humanity* of Immanuel 'gave up the ghost;' but the moment they touched his divinity, they expired. That moment Justice dropped his flaming sword at the foot of the cross; and the law joined the prophets in witnessing to 'the righteousness which is by faith;' for all had heard the dying Redeemer exclaim in triumph, 'It is finished!'

'The weeping church heard it, and lifting up her head, cried—'It is finished.' The attending angels caught the shout of victory, and winged their flight to the eternal throne, singing—'It is finished.' The powers of darkness heard the acclamations of the universe, and hurried away from the scene in all the agony of disappointment and despair;—for the bond was paid, and eternal redemption obtained.'—pp. 168—171.

Would that we had more of such preachers,—men of high en-

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

dowments and of religious
age requires such, the church
there must be something wrong
or in our modes of proceeding.
We thank Mr. Stephen
the noble example he has been
some worthy successors.

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- ART. VII.—1. *The Times*, February 6th and 8th.
2. *The Leeds Mercury*, February 13th and 20th.
3. *A Letter to the Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdowne, President of the Council, on the Government Plan of Education; with an Appendix, containing the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, in August and December, 1846; presented to both houses of parliament, Feb. 5, 1847.* By Edward Baines, Jun. London: Ward & Co.
4. *Two Letters to Dr. Vaughan, showing the illogical character of his arguments in favour of State Education, and that the people can educate themselves, and therefore have no need to send the Bible from the day school for the sake of government aid.* By the Rev. B. Parsons. London: J. Snow.
5. *An Analysis and Exposure of the new Government Scheme of Education, showing its precise nature, its objectionable character, and its mischievous tendencies.* By John Middleton Hare, author of the 'Analytical Digest of Sir James Graham's Factories' Education Bill.' London: J. Snow.

THE present intentions of government, on the subject of education, have at length been officially announced. The silence maintained in the queen's speech on the opening of the session, gave rise to various speculations; some regarded it as a mere feint, designed to divert attention; others believed it to indicate a want of unanimity in the cabinet; while a third class received it as evidence that, for the present at least, no material alteration from recent practice would be attempted in this department of legislation. The truth, however, is now divulged. All reserve has been abandoned, a present plan has been broached, and intentions and hopes respecting the future have been indicated, which admit of no doubt. Whatever differences may exist amongst us on the general question, no diversity of opinion can prevail as to the substantive character of the government plan. It is no longer a matter of conjecture, a thing of rumour, a mere phantom, devised by fear, and em-

ployed by ignorance or craft for the promotion of its end. It is clearly a reality, a scheme fully arranged, and put before us in the shape of a tentative device, which is to determine how much the public mind will bear. Neither are we left to infer its character from isolated statements, however high their source, or from general and vague professions of regard to social interests, or of concern for the culture of the national intellect. The scheme has been defined, has been laid out in all its parts, has been put before the intelligence of the nation, and is about to be reduced to immediate practice. A minister of the crown has expounded its provisions, in the upper house, and noble barons, both spiritual and temporal, have recorded their approval of the plan. So far we rejoice. In such matters we hate mystery above all other things. Let us know what we have to deal with, and our common sense, and honesty of purpose, will aid us to arrive at a sound conclusion. In the present instance we are now furnished with such knowledge, and in our examination of the plan submitted, we shall endeavour to do justice to its framers, while we record our earnest protest.

One preliminary remark occurs to us, and its practical importance demands attention. The scheme propounded by the Marquis of Lansdowne on the 5th of February does not profess to be complete. It is proposed only as an instalment, and that, too, not from any doubt or hesitancy on the part of the government, but simply because the public mind is now hostile to any more perfected scheme. This was distinctly stated by Lord Lansdowne in the opening of his speech, and should be borne in mind, in order that the significancy of the measure may be understood. We say nothing now of the view given by his lordship of the state of education in some other countries, or of the value of the book learning communicated to their inhabitants. We adduce simply his words, with a view of awakening our readers to an accurate estimate of what is before us.

‘It would have been,’ said his lordship ‘a source of the greatest pleasure and satisfaction to him if he had been enabled to state that her Majesty’s government were prepared with a plan for public education in this country, so large and so comprehensive in its character, as to put the population of this country, with respect to education, in that condition in which the population of some parts of Europe were placed, where an uneducated child was an almost solitary exception, and where among the great mass of the people education was universal. But he was bound at the outset to say, that, after the fullest consideration, her Majesty’s government had come to the conclusion that it would not be practicable to carry into effect the extension of education on so large a scale. It might have been attempted, but the difficulties at present in the way were overwhelming.’

Let it not then be imagined by any of our readers, that the plan developed by Lord Lansdowne realizes all which the government contemplates. It would be the sheerest folly—credulity amounting to idiocy—were we to rest in such a notion. It is no such thing. The very reverse is the case. The farthest point of public endurance is reached in what is done, and the whole tenor of the statements and reasonings accompanying the plan go to prove, that the scheme will be extended in the exact degree that existing difficulties are removed out of the way. In the meantime, under the guise of apparent concession, a most important point is gained. The principle of government interference is assumed, the public mind is accustomed to governmental control of education, educational stipendiaries are created without number, and a machinery is put in action capable of indefinite expansion. Thus, at the very moment that a deferential regard to public feeling is professed, measures are adopted to debase and contravene it. The voluntary principle is at present vigorous and healthy. It has already effected vast things, and is in steady progress towards the full accomplishment of its design. But by the government measure it will be enfeebled and undermined, whilst a race of teachers will be raised up habituated to government support, and indebted to its exchequer for their daily bread. The effect of all this cannot be misapprehended. To dwell on its illustration would be to insult the intelligence of our readers.

‘The plan of government,’ says one of the ablest of our contemporaries, ‘is not the less to be dreaded on account of the modesty of its pretensions. It is, in our view, alarmingly insidious. There is plausibility on the face of it—there is centralization, in its most mischievous form, in the heart of it. The ministry take nothing openly and directly—tread upon no prejudices—violate no constitutional principles; but they set on foot a system which, when developed, will ensure the transference of everything into their own hands. Twenty years will not elapse, after the adoption of their new scheme, before the educational training of the masses will, by a silent process, slide as effectually under government control as if they had enacted a law to forbid all instruction which they had not themselves previously and formally licensed.’—*Nonconformist, February 10th.*

The plan embraces four main points, which are skilfully constructed so as to insure the ultimate adoption of the whole theory of government education. First, an additional number of inspectors is to be appointed, so as to insure, if possible, an annual report on each school. This inspection is, of course, to be obligatory in the case of schools receiving government pay, but an invitation is held out to others to submit to it, and, when the secular inducements to do so are considered,

no great doubt can exist as to the probabilities of the case. The public mind will thus be familiarized to the presence of a government official in the educational establishments of the country ; a connexion will be maintained between the executive and the instructors of the rising generation ; the influence of the rulers will be brought readily to bear on any given point of the vast educational field, and the hopes and professional ambition of its cultivators will be diverted from their legitimate aim, and be turned into a channel unfriendly to mental independence, and ultimately disastrous to English freedom. These objections to government inspection are fatal, in our judgment, to the whole system of government grants for education. Admit the latter, however, and the former must follow as a natural sequence. Public money ought never to be voted without the right of seeing to its application being maintained, and we therefore deny, apart from other considerations, on the grounds now noted, the rightfulness or safety of the legislature interfering in the matter of education.

Another feature of the government plan, most adroitly suited to its end, is giving to the masters the right of taking apprentices, to be trained as future masters, or, in the event of their proving unqualified for this, 'who should receive employment in the great revenue departments.' To this part of his measure, Lord Lansdowne avowed that 'he attached the greatest importance,' and, if he be earnest in his approval of the scheme, we are by no means surprised at his doing so. The pupils are to be paid for by the state, so as to be a source of pecuniary gain to the masters, and are to be allotted only to those who commend themselves to the favour of their superiors. The usual terms of diplomacy are, of course, employed. The masters are to be reported as 'qualified to receive such apprentices,' and the apprentices are to be 'selected from among the best scholars.' All this looks very well on paper, but those who have noted the exercise of government patronage in other departments will be at no loss to estimate its worth. In the meantime, according to his lordship's own statement, a material secular advantage, derived immediately from the government, will accrue both to master and to pupil. 'He apprehended,' said his lordship, 'that this was a provision which would not only afford to the apprentice the means of learning his future duties, but would also operate as a reward to the schoolmaster, whose acknowledged zeal and good conduct in his station entitled him to be selected as the instructor of such apprentices. So that, in proportion as the schoolmaster was reported to be qualified to give such instruction, and the pupil to receive it, each would derive an advantage under this arrangement.' But this is not all. From

the apprentices to be supported at the public expense, some are to be selected as 'exhibitioners to the normal schools.' This is termed 'a second step in their progress,' and will operate by a necessary law to bind them still further to the conservative spirit of their patrons. What a host of stipendiaries will thus be created! and who shall say what will be their influence in the course of two generations? All their sympathies will be with the powers by whom they are paid, on whose favour they live, and from whose growing patronage their hopes of improving their condition are derived. As constitutional Englishmen, we tremble at the result. The danger is too imminent, the hazard too great, to be incurred, for any temporary stimulus which government interference can minister to education. We eschew it as alike disastrous in its results and unsound in its theory—the criminal attempt of short-sighted or flagitious politicians, to mould the intellect of the people to their pleasure.

Thirdly, the government provides a system of retiring pensions and gratuities for schoolmasters and mistresses who have conducted 'a normal or elementary school for fifteen years, during seven at least of which such school shall have been under inspection.'

'It was proposed,' said Lord Lansdowne, 'that a provision, small, undoubtedly, at first, but still which would be considered a very great object as a provision, however small, for old age, should be made for well-conducted schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, who should be reported as having for fifteen years conducted unexceptionably schools of a certain size. Besides these retiring pensions, if he might so call them, it was proposed that a certain number of gratuities should, on the report of the inspectors, be given to schoolmasters who had not retired, but who should have been declared to have exercised their vocation creditably to themselves. This, no doubt, would prove a useful stimulus.'

Let it be borne in mind that we raise no objection and entertain no repugnance to the pecuniary reward of teachers. We admit their claims, and regret, in common with others, the inadequate recompense they have hitherto received for their self-denying labours. All that we are at present concerned about is, to point out the dependence on the government thus created. It is complete and total, embracing at once the support of manhood and the comforts of old age. A more perfect scheme for insuring the conservative policy of the class, without openly assailing the free spirit of Englishmen, could not have been devised by a Laud or a Strafford. Let it gain a permanent footing, and its legitimate fruits be produced, and our children will have again to fight the battle of English liberty.

Fourthly, an entirely new machinery is to be instituted, by

which the children, in connexion with their mental training, are to be instructed in various trades, which may be advantageous to them in future life. This feature of the plan will be best exhibited in his lordship's own words. He says—

‘It had often been made the subject of application to the Privy Council that the schools should be provided with a species of industrial apparatus, including that which was necessary for the cultivation of the soil, and by means of which instruction might be conveyed to the scholar on subjects not usually included in any system of education. Those plans of the government it was proposed to follow but in the same spirit in which they had been commenced, and only to make the proposed advances where the local aid bore a due proportion to the government grants. But at the same time to make advances freely to those schools which maintain a system of industry in connexion with their school system. In towns it would necessarily be the most convenient course to supply the schools with industrial apparatus and to hire workshops for their use—in agricultural districts to hire fields for the exercise of industry and the cultivation of skill during the leisure hours of the pupils. This would be not only a great and important and a beneficial stimulus to great numbers of the children themselves, but a great benefit to the country at large.’

To the latter part of this statement we seriously demur, but our objection, as in former cases, is to government interference in the case, rather than to the plan suggested. That it might be useful to engraft some such apparatus on our educational institutions, we are not prepared to deny ; but to the interference of the executive in this matter, we strongly object, as fraught with most serious danger to the free spirit and self-reliance of our countrymen. These qualities have hitherto constituted our glory, but they will most certainly decline as the people are habituated to rely on their rulers rather than on themselves. In Austria, Prussia, France, and elsewhere, the government is everything, and the people nothing. The latter are merged in the omnipresence of the former, and habits of forethought, self-respect, and personal dependence, which are essential to national virtue, are, in consequence, extinguished or undermined. Such will be the case with ourselves, if this meddling spirit, on the part of our rulers, be not resisted. Let the system, of which the measure before us forms part, be once established, and a more fatal blow will be given to the growth of popular liberty than the Tory dynasty of the past fifty years was able to inflict.

Such, then, are the main features of the plan on which the Whig government has resolved, and for the support of which all their daily and weekly organs are zealously labouring. That it should be welcomed by Lord Brougham and the dignitaries of

the church awakens no surprise. Their eulogy was natural, though not quite wise. The plan conceded more, probably, than they anticipated, and contains the germ of all they can desire. But their praise was suspicious, and must have been regretted by the government, if at all solicitous to retain the confidence and support of the more liberal portion of the community.

But we turn to other parties, and first to the liberal members of the Commons' House. Where are they, and what are they doing to meet the crisis which has arisen?

'A few years since,' says the editor of the '*Leeds Mercury*,' in his journal of the 20th of February, 'and when the tories were in office, if a measure one-fiftieth part so dangerous as this had been proposed, the country would have rung with constitutional warnings from the Whigs in parliament and from their organs out of parliament. Yet now, because the Whigs are in place, they see this outrageous attack on the constitution,—this measure for placing near two millions a year at the disposal of the government, in precisely the forms and amounts that will go furthest in the way of enchaining the very mind of the country—and they are all 'dumb dogs,' who only murmur that the government is not usurping, taxing, and controlling enough! A quarter of a century back the stock-piece of the Whigs, the great party motion of every session, was a motion in the House of Commons to reduce two of the junior Lords of the Admiralty, whose salaries were some £1,500 or £2,500 each! and the plea was, that the offices were superfluous, and not only wasted the public money, but unduly increased the influence of the crown. And here, when education is in a state of unparalleled extension, activity, and improvement, is this Whig administration, at the call of a few pedantic *doctrinaires*, thrusting in its audacious hand to grasp the entire machinery of education, and that at an expense of near two millions sterling, and by the creation of eighty-eight thousand pensioners! Straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel, is a feeble image for so monstrous and shameful an inversion of all their old constitutional principles.'

Is it, indeed, come to this, that such a measure, fraught with the direst peril to our common freedom, multiplying, beyond precedent, the stipendiaries of government, spreading those stipendiaries over the whole land, locating them in every village, and entrusting to their charge the young intellect of England, can be put into operation under the authority of a Committee of Council on Education, without the sanction of parliament being specifically applied for or obtained? If it can, we are indeed a debased and recreant people, unworthy of the ancestry from which we spring. We neither deserve, nor shall we long retain, the freedom which is our glory. The hour of our decline has dawned, and history will soon class us with other nations, from whose soil liberty has indignantly

withdrawn. But we will not entertain so discreditable a judgment. Defective as is the constitution of the Lower House, there are yet men in it who, to use the words of South, can 'see consequents yet dormant in their principles, and effects yet unborn, and in the womb of their causes.' These men, however few their number, will be ready at the appointed hour. They are biding their time, to speak with more effect, when the voice of the people is heard. To these, then, we must address ourselves. Here is our vocation, and on the diligence and consistency we display, will depend the issue of the struggle. It is a favourable omen that we have such a coadjutor as Mr. Edward Baines. His former services are a pledge for the worth of his present labours, and we hail his reappearance as an enlightened, able, and earnest opponent of government interference in general, and of the pending measures in particular.* His letter to the Marquis of Lausdowne, in the 'Leeds Mercury' of February 13th, is a vigorous and triumphant exposure of the projected scheme, which ought to receive immediate and universal circulation. It has been promptly republished, at a price which admits of gratuitous distribution, and we strongly recommend it with this view. Let it be placed in the hand of every member of parliament, of every dissenting and methodist minister, and of every Sunday-school teacher in the kingdom. Let our ministers recommend it to the attentive perusal of their people, especially the more influential, and let these communicate on its contents, and in its spirit, with their representatives. Let this be done instantly, and with a vigour befitting the interests at stake, and we do not fear the result. Men who care little about us or our principles, may yet hesitate, in the immediate prospect of an election, to sanction the wrong with which we are threatened.

'Until within the last few months,' says Mr. Baines, 'I should have supposed that parliament and people would with one voice have assented to this proposition, namely, that if the nation could and would educate itself, without interference on the part of government, it were infinitely better that it should do so; not merely because perfect freedom of education has been the practice in England, but because it is in itself most desirable—as being congenial with civil liberty, favourable to the most vigorous growth and action of the public mind, and conducive to that inestimable quality in individuals or communities—self-reliance. I myself, in my profound sense of the value of liberty,

* We are glad to see that Mr. Baines's Letters to Lord John Russell have been issued in a cheap form, and we earnestly advise our readers to do their utmost to circulate them in their respective neighbourhoods.

should have gone much further, and have maintained that, even though education were less extensive than was to be desired, and theoretically less perfect than under a great government system, yet that freedom of education was to be guarded as a sacred thing, because forming an essential branch of civil freedom. But I had at least believed that every man in England would have assented to the former proposition, and have regarded a self-educated people as occupying the highest ground among free and civilized nations.

‘It was a great mistake. There are, it now appears, many members of parliament and many writers who love government *surveillance* for its own sake; or, at least, who have got so much of the *police spirit* that characterizes the statesmen of Germany, as not to be satisfied without something like a universal *espionage*—a system of inspection, dictation, and control by public functionaries, of clockwork regularity, and of dependence on public funds, characteristic of the continental despotisms. These persons, many of them able and distinguished men, but forgetting, in their zeal for mechanical completeness, the much higher value of a living spirit, demand that we should imitate the Prussian or some similar system, and place the education of the whole people under the care and control of the government. It is true there are not many writers who as yet avowedly go this length; but there are many who manifestly admire compulsory and state education, and who only shrink from recommending its immediate adoption, because they believe the nation is not prepared for and would not endure it.’—p. 3.

After giving a summary of his former statements on the condition of popular education in England, showing that there were,—

					Day Scholars.
In 1818	-	-	-	-	674,883
In 1833	-	-	-	-	1,276,947
In 1846	-	-	-	-	1,876,947.

Mr. Baines proceeds to point out the probable expense of the government plan, which he estimates at £1,742,500. For the details we refer to the ‘Letter’ itself, while we call the special attention of our readers to the following remarks on the financial and constitutional bearings of the scheme:—

‘And this vast amount of £1,742,500 a year, be it more or less, is proposed by your lordship to be levied yearly on the tax-payers of this country, for the sake of improving education certainly, but also for the sake of putting the education of the people into the hands of the government!! Surely, the friends of state education will ‘pay too dear for their whistle!’ You create this enormous expenditure unnecessarily, at a time when the people are with unexampled rapidity extending and improving their own means of education. Assuredly you will leave behind you, when the present epidemic passion for

state education shall have subsided, a reputation for extravagance not honourable to your characters as statesmen.

‘ But the cost of the new school establishment, heavy as it will be, is not the most serious objection to your plan. I am not aware that a measure was ever proposed that would lead to so enormous an extension of government patronage and influence. Every schoolmaster in the country, teaching a public school, will become an expectant of grants, gratuities, or a pension ; and inasmuch as he will be unable to obtain it without the favourable report of the government inspectors, he will lay himself out to win that favourable report. In the same way the pupil-teachers and stipendiary monitors will become dependent on the inspectors, whose report will make or mar their fortunes. But as government appoints the inspectors, it will be the fountain-head of all the influence which they exert. Let us form a rough estimate of the number of persons who will, by your new plan, when fully carried out, be brought into dependence on the government :—

Schoolmasters	15,000
Do. receiving pensions	1,500
Pupil Teachers	30,000
Stipendiary Monitors	30,000
Students in Normal Schools	4,500
Workhouse Schoolmasters, &c.	1,000
Employed to assist in field gardens, work-shops, washhouses, kitchens, &c., Inspectors, Clerks, &c. &c. (say)	6,000
Total	88,000

‘ Thus 88,000 persons, and perhaps nearly 88,000 families, will become directly dependent on the government, which, reckoning four and a half to the family, brings 396,000 persons under government influence ! But if these 88,000 are actually employed, it is needless to say that a far greater number must be in the position of aspirants to the various situations. Unless the people of England should have drunk the cup of oblivion as to all constitutional jealousy, they will surely arouse themselves at the prospect of this new *army of government functionaries*. But if we are to imitate Prussia and France in our state education, we may well imitate them in their degrading and enslaving system of *functionarism* ! * *

‘ Did it never occur to your lordship to doubt the effect on our social system, on education itself, and on the literature of England, of converting all the schoolmasters in the country into state-dependants ? Had you no misgivings as to the effect it might have on the spirit which the schoolmasters will breathe into their scholars ? Did you not remember that though Lord John Russell was in office now, we might next year have a Stanley and Bentinck administration ? Did you not remember the days of Pitt and Perceval, of Sidmouth, and Castlereagh ! Had you forgot the days when the motion was

repeatedly made in the House of Commons, and supported by Fox and Burke, 'that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished?' When I look at the patronage to be created by this measure, and see it brought forward by a ministry containing such men as Lord Lansdowne, Lord John Russell, Lord Morpeth, and Sir Charles Wood, I am amazed and confounded. I cannot suppose it possible that such a measure should have received a brief five minutes' consideration in the cabinet.' — pp. 12—14.

Such are the tendencies of the government system as expounded by one who sympathizes with the political party in power, and cannot, therefore, be suspected of ultra views. Mr. Baines, it is well known, has done eminent service to the Whig party. He has been one of its most able and earnest advocates. In defeat, as in triumph, he has been its champion—the unbought, and on that account the more efficient defender of its principles and policy. We say nothing now of the right or the wrong of this; we simply note the fact, as relieving his statements from all suspicion of sinister or party influence. 'Your lordship is aware,' he says, 'that every personal and party feeling would have induced me to regard any proposition of yours with a partial eye.'

But there is another view of the measure which must be taken. *A new establishment, distinctly religious, is to be formed, towards the support of which dissenters will be compelled to contribute.* This is a grave fact, and it merits serious attention. We have been accustomed to suppose that church power was on the decline, and that before another generation passed to the grave, its palmy days would be numbered. This has been the conviction of some of the soundest and most enlightened thinkers amongst us, not of dissenters simply, but of statesmen and philosophers. 'Church power,' said Sir James Mackintosh, 'unless some revolution auspicious to priestcraft, should replunge Europe into ignorance, will certainly not survive the nineteenth century.*' The signs of the times have long predicted this, but the Whig statesmen of our day are labouring to falsify the prediction of their champion, and in the measure now submitted have hazarded an experiment, on the issue of which the matter is suspended. Taking advantage of the state-educational mania of the day, they are seeking to introduce a supplemental establishment which will serve to indoctrinate the youth of England with the dogmas and spirit of a hierarchy, as hostile to popular liberty, as it has uniformly proved injurious to spiritual religion.

* *Vindiciæ Gallicæ.*

Veil the scheme as they may, keep out of sight, however cautiously, its ecclesiastical features, it is nothing less than a skillfully devised machinery, for the recovery of church power over the popular mind. We have seen the initiative of this in the procedure of the Poor Law Commissioners, but another and fearful stride is now attempted, and church dignitaries, hailing the attempt, are anxiously waiting the result. This feature of the plan is pointed out by Mr. Baines with his usual directness and force, and we entreat our dissenting readers to ponder his words.

‘ But, my Lord, it can hardly have escaped your notice—I am sure it was perfectly known to the real concocters of the measure—that in this vast amount of patronage, though government has the chief influence, yet the clergy are made to go partners with them. There can be no doubt that all the national schools will sooner or later be put on the list of recipients of state money. The *parochial clergy* are to attend and assist in every examination, and to give yearly certificates to the pupil-teachers and stipendiary monitors; the whole of the schoolmasters, pupil teachers, and monitors in church schools will be dependant on the parochial clergy, nearly to the same extent as on the government inspectors—dependant for their success in life or their ruin. We shall shortly have *ten or twelve thousand of the clergy exercising this new and vast influence in their respective parishes*. My Lord, I regard this not only as an unseemly, but as a most dangerous extension of ecclesiastical influence in the country,—unfavourable in the highest degree to liberal principles, and to practical religious liberty. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London might well applaud your measure! Lord John Russell has abundantly redeemed the promise he is supposed to have made to the Archbishop!

‘ And whilst you thus load the Church with influence and patronage, *what effect will your measures have on dissenters and their schools?* It professes impartiality. It offers help to all schools alike. But what will be its *practical working?* You know that those who consistently hold the voluntary principle cannot receive any of the money which you so profusely scatter. You know this, because in your speech you alleged the scruples of the voluntaries as one reason for not introducing an entire system of government education. Then if dissenters refuse the grants of money, see the cruel position in which they are placed. You lure away their schoolmasters, by your grants, gratuities, and pensions. You lure away their scholars, by the advantages of pupil-teachers, stipendiary monitors, Queen’s scholars, appointments in the revenue departments, school gardens, workshops, kitchens, and wash-houses, in the Church schools. You lure their school committees to desert their principles, and accept your money. You lure their subscribers to give up their subscriptions, under pretence that government grants ought to be accepted. You may look with composure

on these undermining and sapping processes; but depend upon it, my lord, there are scores of thousands of dissenters, hitherto favourable to your party, who will regard the measure, as I do, with the liveliest indignation.

‘Every dissenter, moreover, will see that this measure is erecting *a new religious establishment*—a school establishment appended to the church establishment. It is not a measure for secular education,—but distinctly a measure for religious education, and, in all Church schools, for *education in the principles of the Church of England*; to which *you will compel the dissenter to pay*, as you now compel him to pay *tithes and church rates*.

‘Why should the Wesleyan, the Independent, the Baptist, the Quaker, and every other Nonconformist, be forced by *a new law* to pay for the teaching of doctrines which they do not believe, and the upholding of a system which they regard as unscriptural?

‘As the Church are in general the richer class, and the dissenters the poorer, your measure is one of aggravated cruelty to the latter. Knowing as you do that they cannot accept of grants for their own schools, you will compel them to pay taxes for the support of Church schools;—that is, you compel the poorer section to support the schools and religious teaching of the richer section,—whilst those poorer communities are struggling to support their own schools, which you are about to undermine and destroy!’—pp. 14, 15.

Will the Dissenters of England be faithful to themselves, or, rather, to their principles, on this occasion? Will they rise to the greatness of the crisis, and by throwing aside all that is little, forgetting their internal divisions, and discarding as unutterably contemptible their several suspicions and antipathies, prove themselves worthy of the occasion? Will they act as religious men on behalf of religious interests, at once calm and earnest, deep in their conviction of the right, and unalterably fixed in their resolve to maintain it? The matter is in their hands. On themselves the issue rests. If worthy of their ancestry, if faithful to their professions, if sincere in their reprobation of soul-destroying heresies, they may yet scatter to the winds the danger which threatens them. We frankly acknowledge that our confidence would be greater, if their ground had been earlier taken, and had been more obviously based on a clear and comprehensive view of the whole bearing of the case. But, waiving this, we are not without hope. The darkness of the sky is passing away. Bright lights are appearing in the heavens. Day is succeeding to night; and the hum of awakening multitudes foretells a period of activity and zeal. We wait the result, not in despondency, but with intense solicitude, and shall be ready to do our part to realize the desired consummation. In the meantime, we note with unfeigned satisfaction the earnestness

with which the 'Patriot' and the 'Nonconformist' are devoting themselves to the special duty of the moment. Their conductors evidently feel the importance of the crisis. Whoever fails, their fidelity is proved. Each in his own manner, and according to their respective views of general principle, is labouring with faithfulness and diligence to arouse the dormant, to instruct the uninformed, and to combine in one holy league the advocates of free education and of an untrammelled Christianity.

'The present plan,' says the former journal, 'differs from Sir James Graham's Factories Education Bill, chiefly as having about it less of the compulsory, and more of bribery. At the same time, it concedes far more to the Established Church, infringes far more upon religious liberty, and proposes to render Dissenters more directly contributory to the teaching of the Church Catechism, by *authority*, from one end of the kingdom to the other. The Bishop of London, who understands the scheme perfectly, is delighted with it. It originated in fact, as Mr. Baines intimates, 'from gentlemen on the staff of the committee of council, who have long been hankering after a great continental system of national education, with government control and a large share of Church influence,'—*Patriot*, Feb. 18.

Various bodies are also moving with every mark of decision and of intense earnestness. The *Congregational Board of Education* has denounced the plan as demanding 'the most energetic opposition of all the friends of free education,' and has summoned a special meeting of its constituency for the 25th of February. The body of London Deputies has met and recorded its protest, and the Baptist Union, the Congregational Board, the Wesleyan body, and other classes of religionists, are also in the field. But the most important and significant event which has occurred, is the meeting held at Leeds on the 18th of February. It was composed of ministers and other gentlemen from various parts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, who are well known to the dissenting community, and was characterized by a clearness of judgment and an earnest resolution, with which, in these times of half-heartedness and expediency, it is refreshing to meet. Did our space permit, we should gladly insert the whole of the resolutions which were passed; but our limits restrict us to the following:—

• 2. That this meeting regards with the strongest disapprobation and alarm, the measure of her Majesty's ministers for bringing the education of the people under government support and direction, contained in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education for December, 1846.

• 5. That it will give to the government of the day a most objectionable and virtually despotic power over the schoolmasters throughout

the country, by the means of grants, gratuities, and pensions, which may either be bestowed or withdrawn on the report of the Inspectors,—a power which may be used tyrannically towards individuals, and the effect of which must be to reduce the schoolmasters into a state of bondage, and thus to produce an influence on their teaching unfavourable to mental independence and the spirit of liberty among the rising race.

‘ 8. That the government measure involves the erection of a new religious establishment, in the form of schools closely allied with the present church establishment, in which the doctrines, principles, and formularies of the Church are expressly required to be taught, and where all the religious examinations are to be carried on in the presence of the parochial clergy, whose attestation is rendered necessary to the bestowing of salaries or grants on the masters, pupil-teachers, and monitors: that although government assistance will not be confined to church schools, yet it will in practice be nearly so, as Dissenters will for the most part conscientiously decline to accept the grants: that thus a new injustice and a new burden will be imposed on Dissenters, who will be compelled to pay for the support of a religious teaching which they do not approve.

‘ 12. That the ministerial plan affords a new and striking illustration of the danger of government stepping out of its legitimate province, to undertake the training of the national mind: that in the view of this meeting it is inconsistent with the principles of civil and religious liberty, that a government should undertake the instruction of the people, either in general knowledge or in religion: that the present plan, whilst it professes only to aid education, necessarily involves inspection and control, and even prescribes with minuteness the system of education for all the pupil-teachers and stipendiary monitors: and that, acting on the same principles, government may proceed to take the entire education of the country into its management, and to make it compulsory: that all experience proves the unfitness of government to direct the education of the people: that whatever zeal or activity might be manifested in the outset, it can scarcely be doubted that a great government system, once established, would become inert, the subject of abuse, a field for patronage and jobbing, and almost incapable of reform or improvement: and that, therefore, this meeting is fully convinced, that principle and true expediency alike condemn the interference of the government in the education of the people.’

A deputation was appointed to wait on her Majesty's ministers, a central committee was constituted, and the friends of voluntary education were invited to form similar organizations, and to hold public meetings, in all parts of the empire. This is as it should be; and we doubt not that London will speedily follow the worthy example.

Amongst the measures to be adopted, we must not forget our parliamentary representatives. Our power here is far greater

than we commonly imagine, and the near prospect of a general election enables us to exert it with effect. The Dissenters of the empire constitute a majority of its liberal electors. This is undoubted. Few will venture to deny it, and the fact is full of encouragement. Even in constituencies where this is not the case, their number is sufficiently great to be decisive of the issue of an electoral contest. It is only for them to withhold their votes from the ministerial candidate, and his failure, in the majority of cases, is inevitable. With this knowledge, then, let the dissenting electors of the kingdom immediately place themselves in communication with their representatives. Let the facts of the case be fairly stated to them, the real nature of the government plan be unfolded, its unconstitutional character be exposed, and the wrong which it contemplates be denounced. Let our representatives see that we are in earnest, that we mean what we say, that we are calm but resolute men, who are determined, come what may, to refuse our votes to every man who does not respect our conscience, and rally to our help at the present crisis. Happily, our members are not yet committed. In the case of the Maynooth grant it was otherwise. Many of them had spoken or voted before our communications were received, and a general election—no trifling consideration in such matters—was not then near. They are yet, however, unpledged. Consistency does not require them to proceed. Personal pride has not come into play. They are free men—so far, at least, as party connexions permit—and may be gained to our righteous cause. But no time must be lost. We have not a moment to spare. The emissaries of government are abroad, and when they see the gathering storm, their policy will be to hasten their measures before its full power is felt. ‘Let the country remember, that there can be no retracing of steps here. The thing once done is irrevocable. An army of inspectors, schoolmasters, pupil-teachers, stipendiary monitors, secretaries, managers of field-gardens, managers of workshops, managers of kitchens and washhouses, with a cloud of other hangers-on, once enrolled and put on state-pay, they cannot be disbanded. Nearly every member of parliament would have his personal reasons for defending the system. Humanity would plead. The cause of education would be invoked. All who had tasted the spoil would hasten to the rescue. If the people of England would defend their liberties and their property, it must be now—it must be instantly.’*

Before closing, we must say two things. From this measure

• Leeds Mercury, Feb. 20th.

we may learn the folly of looking to government for any educational plan which does not violate our most cherished convictions. Theorists may form to themselves a *beau ideal* which would command their approval, and by its advocacy may give an appearance of division to our ranks; but we must come down to the actual world, and deal with things as they are, not as we could imagine them to be. We now see the character of the measure which a Whig government has proposed—a government at the head of which Lord John Russell presides, and of which Lord Lansdowne, Lord Morpeth, and Mr. Macauley are members. We are not surprised. It is as we expected. Government patronage will ever accompany government pay, and the Whig party has been too sedulous in its worship of the hierarchy to permit its leaders to respect our scruples.

Our second observation naturally grows out of this fact, but we prefer, for reasons obvious to our readers, stating it in the language of a member of the Whig party:—

‘ Lord John Russell,’ says the *Leeds Mercury*, ‘ when in opposition, rendered a service to the Dissenters: but we take leave to say, that the connexion was quite as advantageous, politically speaking, to Lord John as it was to the Dissenters. He is now, as premier, doing the most deadly injury to the Dissenters, and pandering to the unjust and arrogant pretensions of the church. He may rely upon it that the Dissenters will not support an administration which does them such cruel wrong. He is destroying his own party, and will, ere long, fall between two stools.’—*Feb. 20th.*

The present aspect of the question has prevented our noticing Mr. Parsons’s pamphlet, which has reached us since our last reference to the subject of national education. It is an able and pungent exposure of many fallacies, somewhat too caustic for our taste, and occasionally wanting in the candour which is due even to the advocate of error. It is, however, well suited to the popular mind. It speaks fearlessly and honestly, gives utterance to important truths in racy language, and shatters into atoms the fabric which a false philosophy and an unsound logic had conspired to raise.

Mr. Hare’s pamphlet has just appeared, and deserves, as we trust it will obtain, a wide circulation. The great value of his analysis of Sir James Graham’s measure leads us to anticipate much benefit from its publication. We can hardly conceive of anything better adapted to facilitate an intelligent and well-grounded opposition to this most insidious measure.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Considerations respecting the Marriage of the Duke of Montpensier, with reference to the Treaty of Utrecht.* Ridgway, Piccadilly.
2. *Correspondence relating to the Marriages of the Queen and Infanta of Spain, with Appendix—Treaty of Utrecht—presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.* 1847.
3. *Discussion sur l'Adresse, en réponse au discours d'ouverture de la Session, à la Chambre des Pairs et à la Chambre des Députés.* Moniteur Universel.

For the last four months, the daily and weekly press, and nearly all the periodicals of Great Britain and France, have been engaged in hostile controversy on a political parody of an old French play, 'LE MARIAGE FORCÉ LIBRE,' which did not survive the first representation. To a flood of magniloquent leaders and of blundering pamphlets, has succeeded a flood of royal speeches, of diplomatic papers, and of parliamentary debates, calculated to mislead or to deceive three nations upon the main points of the question; but the only result of which may be to impress the public mind with the full conviction of the treachery of modern statesmen in general, and of the superlative incapacity of the managers of the foreign relations of this mighty empire.

During the heat of the controversy in the daily or periodical press, we were found fault with by many of our readers for not entering the lists, and expressing our opinion on those Spanish marriages, which have caused the divorce of all the European alliances. To the gentle and flattering reproof of our friends, we beg to answer, that, our sole object in writing being to forewarn the public against probable or impending evils, in order to avert them, or, if that be impossible, to alleviate them when they pounce upon us,—we feel little disposition to, and see very little benefit in, tardy and useless considerations on *faits accomplis*, lamentations on the wrong done, and vituperations of the wrong-doers. At the time when the question of the marriages of the royal infantas of Spain could be brought forward and discussed with some chance of awakening public opinion, and directing the watchful attention of our politicians on the (now realized) designs of the French King, and thus of counteracting all his plans,—at that proper time, we undertook the task; and, in the fulfilment of our duty, we were rewarded beyond our expectations by the approbation of our readers.

In the *Eclectic* for October, 1843, is an article on a pilot balloon, launched by a discarded diplomatist who wanted to be

restored to favour and office.* We needed not the assistance of the pamphleteer to be aware of the intentions of the French monarch, as we had long been acquainted with the whole of his life, and had, in some sort, witnessed, from the very beginning, his dark but unrelenting advance towards the Spanish throne. But we seized the opportunity of the publication of the pamphlet advocating his claims, to unravel a long series of intrigues and plots, since 1808, to shelter his brow under the crown of Spain, or to obtain it for one of his sons,—this very Montpensier, who now stands next in the actual order of succession. While we were writing, the overthrow and expulsion of Espartero, the return and restoration of Christina, the massacre, the incarceration, or the exile of the Spanish patriots, organised by Louis Philippe, paved the way to the dénouement. And, at the same time that the French king was proclaiming the justice of our denunciation of his participation in those atrocities, by granting the highest titles in the legion of honour to Narvaez, Bravo, and other ruffians of the same kind, he was publicly avowing the ultimate object of those crimes, by rewarding Billing, the pamphleteer, with the appointment of resident minister at the court of Denmark, and his Spanish agent, Carnerero, whom we had also mentioned, by having him nominated a member of the committee for foreign affairs in Madrid.

The consummation, in October, 1845, of the projects so fully detailed in October, 1843, and so openly admitted by their royal author at the same epoch, certainly accuse the blindness or the improvidence of our rulers, and almost imply a guilty connivance, on the part of one, at least, if not more, of our statesmen, in those disgraceful transactions; and, far from offering any justification or extenuation of their conduct, the garbled, in part falsified, contradictory, and unsatisfactory documents submitted to the imperial parliament, establish, in the most uncontrovertible manner, the intellectual and moral unfitness of the late and perhaps of the present minister of foreign affairs for their high and responsible office, as well as that of our representatives at the courts of Paris and Madrid. This we undertake to render evident. We must first give our readers a short, but, nevertheless, complete account of the means employed by the King of the French since September, 1843, to attain his end. We will thus complete our former sketch.

The insurrection which overthrew Espartero, had placed Spain and her government under the absolute control of Louis Philippe; yet the royal alliance, the object of all his aspirations,

* *Des alliances possibles de la Reine d'Espagne.* Par le Baron Billing. Paris, 1843.

was not yet secured ; for, notwithstanding the support given to Christina, he knew too well that he could not trust to that passionate woman, who, in a sudden fit of anger or resentment, would readily break all her promises, and exert all her influence and authority over her daughters to make them take husbands any where but from Paris. Nor was the excitable temper of the profligate widow of Ferdinand the only danger ; another woman, the sister of Christina, but superior both in intelligence and resolution, the wife of Don Francisco de Assis, Donna Carlotta, had determined to have her two sons, Francisco and Enrique, married to the queen and to her sister. These two women hated one another like true Neapolitans ; and, besides, Carlotta entertained, perhaps, an equal hatred against Louis Philippe. As our essay is not a state paper, we must support our statements by facts which were known to us in 1843, but which we were not then at liberty to disclose.

First, with regard to Christina. We stated in our former article, that, in 1837 and 1838, she appeared convinced that the long-trying Spanish patriots alone could, by their influence over the people, support her own authority and the throne of her daughter ; and that, consequently, she readily submitted to the most liberal direction. This brought upon her the anger of the Thuilleries, and such severe remonstrances and even threats, that the indignant Christina resolved to free herself from the overbearing control of her uncle ; and to punish him for his tyrannical and insolent interference, by discarding the candidature of his son, and at once adopting the most unacceptable, the most objectionable of all possible candidates ; namely, Louis Napoleon. Madness ! it is incredible ! our readers will exclaim. We admit it ; yet such is the fact. We cannot assert that the son of the best member of Napoleon's family was cognizant of, or privy to, the scheme ; but we affirm that, not only was such a design entertained, but also that it was attempted to be carried into execution. For that purpose, a French major-general, who assumes the rank of lieutenant-general, was to repair to Spain, receive a most important command in the army, and seize the first opportunity for the realization of the project. Every thing was so far settled, that Christina sent 10,000 francs to the general to hasten his departure from Paris. This sum, however, was soon expended, and the general wrote that he could not go without receiving another viaticum to the same amount with the first. To this Christina objected, and would give nothing more till his arrival at Madrid. During their epistolary discussion, the French police got scent of the plot, and Christina had the mortification of being upbraided by Louis Philippe for her folly as well as for

her treachery. Our readers will now conceive his distrust, and why, at the same time that he was paving the way to Spain for his unscrupulous niece, he was doing his best to deprive her of all authority or direct influence over the government, by urging the emancipation of the infant queen, and the illegal declaration of her majority before the arrival of her mother.

As to Donna Carlotta, her energetic mind, and somewhat masculine and adventurous disposition, further excited by ambition and hatred, made her a match for Louis Philippe and Christina together. It was Donna Carlotta, who, at the death of the first wife of Ferdinand VII., thwarted the court intrigue headed by the patriarch of the Indies, the object of which was to marry the widowed monarch to a bigoted sister of Don Miguel, and who placed her own younger sister on the throne of Spain. It was Carlotta, who, at the birth of the first daughter of her sister, prevailed upon Ferdinand to abolish the salic law. It was Carlotta again who afterwards obtained from the dying king the ratification of his decree, and the testamentary dispositions which gave the regency to Christina during the minority of her royal daughter. The price of so many services, the union of the young queen and of her sister with Don Francisco and Don Enrique, was solemnly promised; but the liaison of Christina with Munoz soon changed her gratitude into hatred. Carlotta, without being more nice in her notions of chastity and morals than any other of her family, could not but find fault with the degrading choice of her sister. Admonitions, reproaches, quarrels, and insults ensued, and resulted in the exile of Carlotta and all her family, and in their deprivation of the greater part of their income.* They re-entered Spain only after the expulsion of Christina; and then Carlotta and her husband openly joined the liberal party, who, with very few exceptions, were convinced that the only chance of a national and liberal government was in the double matrimonial alliance of the young princes with their royal cousins. At the same time that she was pursuing her object in Madrid, Carlotta did not neglect the means of counteracting opposition in Paris. Her agent, Count Parsent, was authorised to accede to any terms proposed by high officials for the furtherance of her projects. According to the treaty, a bond for 1,500,000 francs (£60,000) was given to the principal, the amount payable immediately after the marriage.

* Carlotta, to support herself in Paris, had pawned her diamonds to Lafitte for 300,000 francs. When Lafitte recalled the loan, the princess, finding nobody to advance the sum, applied to her uncle, Louis Philippe, for the same amount, offering the security, but was refused. Parsent succeeded in procuring the sum from a more honest usurer.

To crush or disperse the liberal party, and to get rid, any how, of Donna Carlotta, and thus clear the field for their future operations, was therefore an indispensable preliminary for Louis Philippe and for Christina. The butcheries of Narvaez and his assistants, and a sudden and unaccountable inflammation in the bowels, which was fatal to the princess, soon gratified the most sanguine expectations of the citizen king and of his profligate accomplice. Spain, under martial law, and awed by wholesale massacres and exiles in the name of moderation, seemed completely at their mercy. The work of violence being accomplished, the work of diplomatic duplicity, to deceive the cabinets of Europe, was now to begin.

The better to unravel the political intrigue, on which the official documents throw but a very feeble and uncertain light, we must briefly represent the situation of Spain, with regard to the rest of Europe, at the close of 1843.

The young Queen, Isabella, had just entered her fourteenth year, and her sister was but eleven years old. Louis Philippe had two unmarried sons, the youngest of his family, the Dukes of Aumale and Montpensier.

With the exception of England, France, Portugal, and Belgium, all the European cabinets had refused to acknowledge the government of Christina, and had no diplomatic relations with Spain. This circumstance, which at first sight might be considered as adverse to the matrimonial projects of the French king, was, on the contrary, the principal element of their success. The joint policy of the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, may be very bad, and, in our opinion, is exceedingly bad; but, at all events, it is consistent. Considering the abolition of the salic law as void, and regarding Don Carlos as the lawful king of Spain, they affected to care nothing about the matrimonial alliances of Isabella and her sister; as, in their opinion, such alliances could confer no title, no right whatever. Not that they did not see, with jealousy, the rapid advance of the French ruler towards the accomplishment of his deep designs; not that they did not feel anxious to check the too successful career of the citizen king; but, besides that, in their opinion, they could not, without inconsistency, interfere by opposition or protest, they had another and better reason for appearing unconcerned. We extract this reason from *our own diplomatic papers*, which we would not barter for all the records of Downing street. A letter from Petersburg, of the 28th of September last, says:—‘Nous savions, depuis longtemps, ce qu’Il préparait: nous ne nous sommes pas opposés, et nous ne protestons pas avec l’Angleterre, parceque, si nous le faisons, Il n’oserait p passer outre; et, après quelques mois de bou-

derie, l'entente cordiale serait rétablie, probablement à nos dépens. Que le ministère Anglais goûte le fruit amer de sa quadruple alliance, et que le monde entier voie les égards et la reconnaissance que lui témoigne l'homme qui lui doit son existence politique.'

The *sagacious* and *cautious* Louis Philippe was too intent on the object of his pursuit to discover the trap, and, mistaking for neutrality the skilfully disguised hostility of the three great powers, turned his attention to other quarters, less important in political influence, but whose opposition, if not conciliated, would ruin all his plans. We mean Rome and Naples, whose sovereigns had also refused to acknowledge Isabella as Queen of Spain, and were both interested in the restoration of the Spanish monarchy, on its old legitimate and Catholic basis:—the Pope as the head of Catholicism, and the King of Naples as the guardian of the eventual claims of his family to the crown of Spain.

As to England, the *entente cordiale* not having been disturbed by the overthrow of Espartero, nor by the atrocities instigated and rewarded by the French king, it was not likely that it would be impaired by a marriage to which Victoria could easily be made favourable.

Such was the situation of Europe, with regard to Spain, at the close of 1843 and the beginning of 1844, when Louis Philippe set to work to realize his projects. His first attempt was to ingratiate himself with the Pope, by professing the strongest affection for the church; by restraining the hostility of the French university against the Jesuits; by his toleration of the ultramontane notions of most of the archbishops and bishops, in spite of his Protestant and infidel ministers; and, after explaining all he had done in France for the Catholic church, he proffered his services to re-establish in Spain the authority of the most holy father, *provided His Holiness so far acknowledged the new government as to negotiate with it* for the benefit of religion. An empty exchequer singularly predisposes people to listen to proposals of conciliation. Gregory could not hesitate between captive legitimacy and the wants of the church. He proposed his terms—restitution of the unsold property of the Spanish clergy, compensation for the property sold, a considerable increase of the endowment of the regular clergy, a free trade in holy relics of saints and in papal indulgences, and the supremacy of the pontifical legate over the Spanish church. Such were the conditions on which His Holiness condescended to absolve Christina, to acknowledge her daughter, and to grant her dispensations to marry uncles or cousins of any degree, as she pleased, or as it might please any one else. Of course,

Christina, Isabella, and her ministers, promised every thing; Louis Philippe guaranteed everything; and, of course also, the Pope was cheated. The old Pontiff could hardly ever get any thing beyond mere promises, and died very angry with all of them and with himself.

The opening of the negotiations with His Holiness paved the way for negotiations with the Court of Naples, upon the same principle, *deceit*. The result was equally successful, though surrounded with more difficulties. The King of Naples, after protesting against the will of Ferdinand and all the consequent events, had withdrawn his ambassador, and afterwards had assisted Don Carlos in his attempt to vindicate his rights, arms in hand. How, then, could he be brought to a retractation of his protest. to an acknowledgment of Isabella? The King of Naples had protested against the revolution of July; had provided his sister, the Duchess of Berry, with the means of raising an insurrection in La Vendée. The capture and imprisonment of the duchess, but, above all, the degrading circumstances of her confinement, had filled him with burning indignation at the perfidy and baseness of his royal uncle. How, then, could he entertain any idea of joint and amicable political transactions with him? Finally, the King of Naples had given such a welcome to Christina,—when, flying from Spain, she indignantly rejected the proffered hospitality of Louis Philippe, in the hope of finding a shelter in her own family,—that she felt too happy in suing for forgiveness, and for the protection of the very man whom, two months before, she had openly accused of being the author of her misfortunes. It was not merely the supposed author of the last will of Ferdinand, it was also the harlot of a low-born, low-bred, and despicable menial, whom the King of Naples had repulsed. How, then, could he condescend to have anything to do with such a woman?

All these difficulties are but trifles to play with, for the royal *Macaire* delineated by our friend *Punch*. A few autograph letters soon conquered them all, and the King of Naples yielded to the conviction, that Louis Philippe was secure on his throne; that the cause of Don Carlos was deserted by all the sovereigns of Europe, since they allowed the French king to keep him prisoner with his family; that, supported as he was by England, Louis Philippe was absolute master of Spain; that, far from being detrimental to the royal family of Naples, the abolition of the salic law was advantageous, since it presented an actual opportunity of placing a Neapolitan prince on the Spanish throne, instead of the uncertain eventuality of the extinction of the lineage of Don Carlos and Don Francisco; that, finally, whatever might have been, in other circumstances, the conduct

of Louis Philippe and of Christina, it was impossible not to be grateful to the first, for abandoning his own pretensions to promote those of a Neapolitan candidate; and to the second, for drawing a veil over the past, and proposing her daughter, the queen, to her uncle. Thus Isabella is acknowledged; Trapani, the brother of the king and of Christina, is the future husband of his own niece; and, in anticipation of this fortunate event, the penultimate son of the French king, the Duke d'Aumale, receives the hand of the daughter of the King of Naples,—the first matrimonial alliance, in the Orleans dynasty, at which its head was not ashamed, and of which he did not, in his confidential gossips, lament the heraldic disparity. So much for the Coburgs! *

Such were the diplomatic arrangements entered into, with the assent of Great Britain, for the settlement of that delicate question, *the Spanish marriages*; and of course the diplomatic correspondence now published, both in Paris and in London, refers to them as serious and binding. But there never was anything serious in them on the part of the French king, beyond his earnest anxiety to detach the Bourbons of Naples from the cause of the legitimate Bourbons of France and Spain, and to obtain a Neapolitan princess, *previously refused*, for his son d'Aumale. The proposed candidature of Trapani was merely a bait and a blind. At the very time that it was put forward, the French king, fully intent on having Isabella, or, if this were impossible, her sister, for his youngest son, Montpensier, knew that an alliance with Trapani would be the elimination of the French prince. He knew that the Spaniards of all parties were determined not to have the two royal girls given to two foreigners. He knew that the Liberals, and even all the intelligent Moderados, were favourable to the union of the princesses with the two sons of Don Francisco, and considered it as the only security for the maintenance of Isabella on her throne with a constitutional government. Finally, he had been officially apprized, that, rather than submit to a disgraceful exclusion, Don Francisco and his sons were determined to call the Spaniards to arms, and even, if no other resource were left, to join the Legitimists and proclaim Don Carlos.

If, in our solitude, having no personal interest in political

* When, at the beginning of 1830, Prince Leopold was appointed king of Greece by the great European powers, he asked the Duke of Orleans for the hand of his eldest daughter, Princess Louise, and was refused. This was one of the motives of the prince for rejecting the proffered crown. If Princess Louise was afterwards given to him, it was only to strengthen the northern frontier of France, and the royalty of July, by placing them under British protection.

affairs, or in any business whatever, and too indifferent to write a line, unless urged to it by a few patriotic and perhaps over-indulgent friends, we were regularly informed of all that passed, almost at the very moment that it passed, how is it possible that the British Government, with their ambassadors, plenipotentiaries, envoys, and residents, should have been left in ignorance of facts which were almost public in all the capitals of Europe? If they were not ignorant of the intrigues going on, of their real object, and of the character of the parties implicated in them, how could they allow themselves to be dragged into a disgraceful complicity in transactions in which the honour of two governments and the independence of a nation were disregarded and sacrificed to the most selfish interests? Indeed, the more we consider the matter, and the share taken by our government in those matrimonial conspiracies, since 1843, the more we feel convinced that our ministers have displayed either a simplicity bordering on *cretinisme*, or a duplicity little, if at all short, of national high treason.

The official documents now before us, far from weakening, corroborate our opinion, however severe it may be deemed by some of our readers. No doubt that the published correspondence exhibits in all its baseness the cupidity, cunning, and treachery of the French king and of his worthy minister; but there is nothing which can justify the conduct of our own ministers. It only shows that they were privy to a meditated political wrong; that they were assenting to its infliction on Spain, on terms which, after being agreed upon by the principal wrong-doer, were treacherously violated by him.

Before entering into our examination of the documents, we must fix the attention of our readers on what may be considered the primordial fact in these transactions, so far as the British government is concerned in them: we mean the TREATY OF EU, the violation of which seems to be more galling to our statesmen than the pretended violation of the Treaty of Utrecht. We know very little of the articles of the former mysterious treaty, the sequel to the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance. We are merely told, both by the English and the French minister for foreign affairs, that, during the visit paid by Her Majesty to that residence in 1843, and particularly in 1845, the marriage of the Duke of Montpensier with the Infanta Louisa was agreed upon, to take place after the marriage of the Queen of Spain and the birth of heirs to the throne from the royal marriage. We have no protocols, no manifestos, no memorandums of the conferences at which the matter was settled. All diplomatic forms seem to have been dispensed with. Two royal personages

and two ministers talked over and decided the question, as the French say, '*entre la poire et le fromage.*'

During the last four or five years, we have witnessed many royal and imperial visits; and we were told by all the newspapers that these amicable interviews between the sovereigns of Europe were eminently calculated to strengthen the friendly feelings which animated them, and to secure to all nations the blessings of peace. For our own part, we never entertained such notions. All the records of history, and especially those of our own time, uniformly connect the personal intercourse of sovereigns with subsequent atrocious violations of national or dynastic rights. We therefore could not see without anxiety the example set by foreign crowned heads followed by our own queen; and we particularly deprecated her visits to the King of the French, from which it was the duty of her minister to dissuade her. An intelligent, upright, and moral minister would have done so; and saved his royal mistress and the government from the difficulties which now surround them and threaten Europe with new convulsions.

Lord Aberdeen knew, better perhaps than any body else, that the visit of the Queen of Great Britain to the King of the French would be considered by the great European powers as a censure of their pertinacity in treating Louis Philippe as a usurper; or, at least, as an undue preference; and perhaps as a preliminary to some new league against them. It is well known, that in 1838 their ambassadors had been all on the point of departing from England, on account of the marked difference in the reception given to Marshal Soult, both by the court and by the people. Strong remonstrances and explanations were exchanged between them and Lord Palmerston; and it was not without difficulty that their resentment and that of their masters were allayed. An intelligent secretary for foreign affairs would not have renewed in 1843 the discussions of 1838, by encouraging a still more marked partiality.

Had the subject of that partiality been deserving of it, and had its manifestation been necessary for the public vindication of some great political principle or national interests, no one in England would have found fault with the upright and noble-hearted minister who, at the risk of encountering unjust hostility, should have stood by an injured and faithful ally. Far different, however, was the case with Louis Philippe. Selfish, crafty, ambitious, and avaricious, he has passed the whole of his life in dissembling, lying, and betraying; in the pursuit of crowns and treasures. From 1814 to 1830, all his egotistical efforts were exerted in uprooting the principles of legitimacy, in undermin-

ing the throne of the head of his family, of his benefactor ; till, at last, he succeeded in overthrowing him, and in taking his place. Since 1830, he has been equally indefatigable in assailing all the rights he had sworn to respect ; in destroying all the liberties he was bound to uphold ; in persecuting, entrapping, imprisoning, torturing, and murdering, the patriots who dared to demand the fulfilment of his solemn promises. The greatest and the best of men in France, even those to whom he was mainly indebted for his crown, were successively disgraced and discarded by him. Corruption, terror, and exactions, are at the same time the only means and the only object of his government. To almost the whole population of France he has long been, and remains, an object of deadly hatred and abhorrence ; so much so, that his life is preserved only by his complete seclusion. As to his engagements with foreign nations, he is not more scrupulous than in his domestic policy. From 1835 to 1840, England had constantly been deceived by him, till at last the British government was compelled to cast away his alliance, saying, '*Nous ne pouvons plus vous croire.*' Such is the man to whom our generous and patriotic Queen Victoria was induced to pay a friendly visit, for her first excursion on the continent, with the sanction and the company of the Earl of Aberdeen.

We have yet, however, to disclose the worst feature of this deplorable preference. If a defective intelligence did not allow our minister for foreign affairs to foresee the political consequences of the visit at Eu ; if his toryism and diplomatic habits rendered him indulgent towards the restorer of domestic tyranny and the author of so many diplomatic perfidies,—another consideration ought to have determined a moral man to entreat his Queen to renounce her journey, and even to resign rather than to sanction it by his presence.

In its leader of the 2nd of February, the 'Times' says of the French King, that he has not even the sense of moral dignity. Lord Aberdeen, like every one else who reads, was aware of this. Numerous facts had proclaimed it ; and yet a British minister exposed an exemplary daughter, an exemplary wife, an exemplary mother, the most virtuous of queens, to the embraces of the royal Macaire, who, with the same demonstrations, had pressed to his heart, first, the orange-stall girl of the Haymarket,* whom prostitution had made the arbiter of the life and

* The Prince of CONDE, in order to give a standing to his mistress, had her introduced, as his natural daughter, to Colonel Baron de Feuchères, who accepted her hand, with a handsome marriage portion and a high office in the Prince's household. He soon afterwards discovered the truth, and the continuation of the connexion of his wife with her pretended father. He, though poor, immediately resigned his functions, and his wife, with her fortune, after upbraiding the old Prince for his infamous imposture and depravity.

the dispenser of the fortune of the last of the CONDES, which he wanted to share with her ; and then, that other prostitute, the daughter, the widow of a king, and the mother of a queen, who chose her paramours in the ranks of the guards, but from whom he wished to obtain a share in the succession of Ferdinand, with the hand of her daughter for his own son !

And it was to secure the success of this matrimonial scheme that the crafty king was so urgent in his solicitations—we may say, entreaties—for a second visit of our warm-hearted and unsuspecting sovereign. No positive answer had been given to his demands : only a conditional promise had been made, when her Majesty went over to Germany ; and such was the anxiety of the French monarch, that, though there is a telegraphic line from Calais to Paris, and from Paris to Eu, he had a direct line established from Eu to Boulogne, in order to be the sooner informed of the passage, in the straits, of the royal flotilla and of its direction. This new line was suppressed immediately after the royal visit, and the cost, 300,000*fr.*, was covered by a supplementary credit for the amount, for *courriers extraordinaires*.

The doings of Lord Aberdeen at Eu complete the first act of this disgraceful and mischievous drama. The assent, whether conditional or not, given by him to proposals to marry the Queen of Spain and her sister, without the authorization of his colleagues and of the head of the cabinet, is an act for which he ought to have been instantly dismissed ; for there is no security for a cabinet, if any individual member of it can thus settle as he pleases, under the impulse of the moment, questions involving the international relations of the country as well as its domestic interests.

Even supposing that Lord Aberdeen, on starting for his journey, was fully authorized by the prime minister to act for the best, in any emergency, it is clear that such authorization could not extend to the case in question ; for the whole cabinet had no right to entertain it, without the participation or even the knowledge of the parties the most interested in it, and for the welfare of whom they expressed the utmost solicitude. Lord Aberdeen, transforming a friendly visit into a political intrigue, plotting with M. Guizot, and resolving with him upon the alliance of the Spanish princesses, without any preliminary communication with the Spanish government, in the absence of the Spanish ambassador, without ascertaining the views and feelings of the Spanish people,—has been guilty of a monstrous violation of international laws ; whilst, considering the tender age of the two Infantas, he has outraged public morality, by sanctioning their immolation to the ambition of a profligate woman and to the gratification of a man notorious for his rapacity. The honour

of Great Britain demands that the part taken by the late secretary for foreign affairs in this transaction, should be thoroughly investigated: for, if our statesmen can with impunity share in the violation of national rights, we can no longer claim respect for ourselves, fidelity to treaties, and non-interference in the domestic concerns of independent states.

Though the diplomatic papers now before us throw but very little light on these dark transactions, yet they go further than our readers would expect in justifying our condemnation of Lord Aberdeen's TREATY OF EU. The correspondence of the noble earl himself is the censure of his own acts. The first of the printed documents is a despatch from his lordship to Sir R. Gordon, the British ambassador at Vienna, dated March 16, 1842. The Queen of Spain was not twelve years, and her sister hardly ten years old: yet Louis Philippe had already sent to this country M. Pageot, a late *chargé d'affaires* at Madrid, to explain to the British government the opinion and policy of his sovereign respecting Spain, with the hope of obtaining its concurrence. The great remedy which the King of the French proposed for all the evils of Spain, was an agreement respecting the marriage of the queen. He declared, that he entirely renounced all pretensions for any son of his own; but that France would never submit to see the queen married to any prince but a member of the family of Bourbon; and that the king would place his veto upon the choice of a prince of any other family. After giving these details, Lord Aberdeen says:—

'To all this, and a great deal more urged by M. Pageot, I replied that *I did not recognise in France, or in all Europe, any right whatever to dispose of the hand of the Queen of Spain.* That when the king of the French acknowledged the succession of the queen, he did so without any stipulation that she should marry a Bourbon prince; and that he must have known such an event was necessarily uncertain; *that, although, for political reasons, connected with the preservation of the balance of Europe, England would not look with indifference on the choice of a French prince, we by no means pretended to place a veto upon the family of Bourbon; and that, if the Queen of Spain and her government thought fit to make such a selection, we should readily accept the prince as her husband.*'

Thus, in this despatch, Lord Aberdeen recognizes in none the right of doing what he did himself in 1845, and, overlooking the treaty of Utrecht, promises, in the name of England, readily to accept as the husband of the queen even a French prince! Yet the marriage of a French prince with the sister of the queen, is now declared a breach of that treaty. Such is the consistency of the noble earl.

The despatch from the same to the same, April 26, 1842 (No. 2), contains the following reflections:—

‘ Her Majesty’s government have seen without surprise, the sentiments which have been expressed by the Austrian cabinet, and have witnessed with much satisfaction, their conformity with those entertained in this country. *It was to be expected that the sense of right and justice for which the Court of Vienna is distinguished, would at once revolt against any attempt to dictate in such a matter to an independent state.* It is possible that the family of Bourbon may offer to the Spanish nation the most eligible stock from which to select the husband of their queen. Upon this subject we desire to express no opinion. One thing is certain. Whether such a marriage be desirable or not, the manner in which it is propounded *is calculated to excite feelings of indignation and resistance in the breast of every Spaniard who values the dignity and independence of his country.*’

Are we not justified, when our sense of right and justice revolts against the secret *Treaty of Eu*, and when we express our indignation at the shameful conduct of Lord Aberdeen?

The third document, however, a despatch from his lordship to Lord Cowley, the British ambassador in Paris, displays a remarkable modification in the views of the noble writer. The date, December 13, 1843, after the first visit at Eu, accounts for this alteration. In this despatch, Lord Aberdeen says :—

‘ Although her Majesty’s government cannot admit that the preferable claims of any prince or family are such as to control the free choice of the Spanish government, they would be fully disposed to concur in the proposition of the cabinet of the Thuilleries, and to recommend that the selection of the queen’s consort should be made from the descendants of Philip V. . . . In that proposition, therefore, your excellency is authorised to assure M. Guizot that her Majesty’s government are quite willing thus conditionally to concur.’

The *entente cordiale* is now established. We have no document to show what was done in concert, from December, 1843, till November, 1845; that is to say, two months after the Treaty of Eu. But it appears, that, while that treaty was just concluded, Christina, Narvaez, and their accessories, were so bent upon the marriage of the queen with Count Trapani, that they intended to have it celebrated secretly, and meditated a sort of royal abduction or elopement. This would have jeopardized the Montpensier alliance, as the Spaniards would not have submitted to the entire exclusion of their own princes. It was therefore of the utmost importance to obtain the co-operation of England for preventing the execution of the queen-mother’s plot; and Lord Aberdeen could not refuse his much-needed assistance, after the recent convivialities of Eu. He therefore, on the 17th of November, 1845, wrote to Mr. Bulwer, the British minister at Madrid (No. 7), recommending him to

‘ Go at once to General Narvaez, and to explain our views with entire

frankness and candour. You will assure him, that you are strictly enjoined by your instructions to offer no opposition whatever to the marriage of Count Trapani with the queen, provided it be openly accomplished according to the legal forms and the provisions of the constitution. Still less are you authorised to espouse the cause of any other candidate for the honour of her Majesty's hand. But should such a project as that which you inform me is credited at Madrid, but to which I must altogether refuse my belief, really prove to be in contemplation, it will then be your duty solemnly to protest against any private transaction of this nature, as well as against a violation of the constitution, fraught with danger to the queen herself, and but too well calculated to lead to confusion throughout the country.'

Christina and Narvaez, on receiving communication of this despatch, clearly saw the master-mind which had dictated it. Their only object, in insisting on the Trapani marriage, was the recovery and the conservation of their domination over the queen and her government, instead of their vassalage to the overbearing dictation of the Tuileries. Christina well knew that the intelligence and temper of her silly brother fitted him only to be ruled, and even overruled, in every thing, with a high hand; we, therefore, can easily conceive that the *veto* put upon her favourite project did not reconcile her to the views of the originator of that *veto*; and that her resentment at being compelled to discard Trapani, should have induced her to look for a substitute much more objectionable to her uncle, and whose helplessness in Spain would render him subservient to her. In selfishness, cunning, falsehood, perfidy, in every thing that is bad, Christina is a match, the only one in existence, for Louis Philippe. The *entente cordiale* having demolished her castles in the air, she combined the reconstruction of a new one with the demolition of the *entente cordiale*: she started the candidature of the Prince of Coburg; and sent the Duke of Sotomayor to England, with special and confidential instructions to ascertain, whether the British government would be dissatisfied with such a choice; and whether, if France should resent this proceeding, and attempt to coerce the free action of the Spanish government, it would be regarded with indifference by Great Britain.

These questions must have exceedingly puzzled Lord Aberdeen, thus placed between Eu and Coburg, and that, too, on the eve of his resignation. Yet, in his answer to the Spanish duke, (document No. 8, June 22, 1846,) his lordship says:—

'I can have no difficulty in answering these inquiries.' 'We have always denied,' continues the noble earl, 'and still deny, the right or pretension of the French government to impose a member of any family upon the Spanish nation, as the husband of the queen, or to control in

any manner the decision of a question so purely Spanish. But we have felt and have readily admitted, that there might be various reasons which should induce the Spanish government preferably to select from the house of Bourbon a prince for this station. We never offered any objection to the selection of the Count de Trapani; but, when this alliance had manifestly become odious to the nation, we ventured, although without any English candidate or English preference, to point out the Infant Don Enrique, as the prince who appeared to us to be the most eligible, because the most likely to be acceptable to the people of Spain. If it should be found that no descendant of Philip V. can safely be chosen, the Spanish government, in the exercise of their independent judgment, must act in such a manner as may be dictated by a sense of their own dignity and interest; and, in this case, it could be no cause of displeasure to Great Britain, if they were to select a prince from some other family. Whatever might be the disappointment experienced by France at such a decision, I cannot, for a moment, admit the possibility of any thing so unreasonable and unjust, as an attempt to control the choice of the queen in a matter of this kind. France is too deeply interested in the tranquillity of Spain, and *the court of the Thuilleries is much too enlightened and too just, to entertain the notion of such interference as that supposed. It may, therefore, be at once rejected as impossible.* But if, contrary to all reason and probability, any such project, that is to say, an attempt to control the wishes and feelings of the queen and the clearly-understood will of her people, should be contemplated, there can be no doubt that Spain would not only receive the warmest sympathy of Great Britain, but of all Europe.'

This parting despatch of the late minister for foreign affairs, is much like the last dying speech of a criminal; and our readers must not take it as a true and faithful account of what passed between Lord Aberdeen and Christina's emissary. It is only a most incomplete and deceptive version of a long conversation in which his lordship showed himself much less disposed to uphold the independence of Spain, than to plead the cause of the French king, whom he immediately informed of the confidential mission of M. Sotomayor, and of his interview with him. In the fifth and last document from the pen of Lord Aberdeen, as well as in the four preceding ones, we find matter enough to impugn the acts of his lordship; and any one of our readers who takes the trouble of collating and comparing the portions of the correspondence which we have given in italics, will form a most unfavourable opinion of the intelligence, judgment, consistency, and honesty of the noble earl. Indeed, we blush at the idea that the foreign relations of this mighty empire were and may again be entrusted to such incapacity; and we were not surprised to find, in the report of the parliamentary debates given by the newspapers, that the late foreign secretary rose in the house of lords to demand that nothing more should be said

or communicated on the subject of the Spanish marriages. Like burglars, diplomatists love darkness. On questions relative to the Montpensier marriage, Lord Aberdeen cries hush! To Mr. Hume demanding communication of the convention entered into by the three powers for taking possession of Cracow, Lord Palmerston answers, that 'the document was addressed to her Majesty's government in a manner that would not authorise its production.' On the same night, Mr. Monckton Milnes asking for the production of the correspondence relative to the appointment of a consul at Cracow, the noble Viscount replies, 'that the correspondence that had taken place with the three powers, had produced some asperity; the asperity, however, being on their side, he did not see any advantage in producing it!' And the imperial parliament of Great Britain remains satisfied with these paltry subterfuges!!

The papers which we are now examining are equally insulting. Of the forty-four documents printed, twenty-eight are merely extracts, on which no man of sense can venture to affirm whether the writer be right or wrong. Our readers will probably remember, that M. Guizot, when producing the diplomatic despatches to the Chamber of Peers, gave only the following extract from the long letter of Lord Palmerston to Lord Cowley, of the nineteenth of July, 1846, (No. 10):— 'The' (instead of *these*) 'candidates being reduced to three; namely, the Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, and the two sons of Don Francisco de Paula.' On this falsification of the despatch by a short extract, Guizot rested his defence, which he presented in these terms: 'Lord Palmerston presented the Prince of Coburg as a candidate for the hand of Isabella. By naming him first, he showed his preference for him. This was a departure from the policy of Lord Aberdeen; a violation of the agreement entered into at Eu; and therefore we were relieved from our promises, and were at liberty to marry either the queen or her sister.' The triumph of Guizot was short. Lord Normanby compelled him to give the whole of the despatch, and the fraud was rendered evident. But, after complaining of the practice of Guizot, Lord Palmerston ought not, as he has done, to have followed his example, and gone perhaps much further. We will only quote two instances. The first (No. 4) is the following extract from a letter of Lord Cowley to the Earl of Aberdeen, (May 2, 1845):

'To this I answered, that from the first moment that the queen's marriage had come under discussion, your lordship had invariably maintained that it was a subject, the decision upon which belonged exclusively to Spain, and one in which the other powers of Europe were, in no

manner, entitled to interfere; excepting, indeed, to oppose a connexion which might hereafter disturb the peace of Europe.'

To what and to whom was that answer given? May it not have been to the Austrian or Prussian minister, to deceive him upon the terms of the *entente cordiale*, whilst preparing the Treaty of Eu? Surely parliament has a right to know the whole of the letter.

The second instance is much worse. It is the following letter from Lord Cowley to Lord Palmerston, dated Paris, July 20, 1846 (No. 13):—

'I have had an interview with the Marquis de Miraflores, who has just left me. I was not wrong in supposing that he was charged with a communication from Queen Christina to his Majesty, relative to the marriage of Queen Isabella.'

* * * * *

'This is the substance, according to the Marquis de Miraflores's statement to me, of what passed in his conversation with his Majesty, upon this subject.'

Is not the presentation of such a document a farce, a mockery, and an insult offered to the parliament of Great Britain? That, in a Christmas pantomime, such a confidential communication from the clown to pantaloon, would command the applause of the gods in a suburban theatre, might be expected; but its introduction in a state paper by a minister for foreign affairs, although at Christmas time, cannot command the applause of the nation, or of her representatives, for whom it is intended.

The documents may be classed into three categories: the first includes those belonging to the Aberdeen ministry; the second comprises the communications which took place since the reinstallation of Lord Palmerston in the Foreign Office, till the conclusion of the Spanish marriages; and the third the protests, answers, and replies, which followed those marriages. In the first category, we have but eight documents, five of which are only extracts. It is clear, that, from March 1842 to June 1846, during which period the marriages of Isabella and of her sister were the preoccupation of the French government, the diplomatic correspondence on the matter was not limited to two letters from Lord Aberdeen to Sir R. Gordon, at Vienna; two letters from Lord Cowley, our ambassador in Paris, to Lord Aberdeen; two letters from Mr. Bulwer, the British minister at Madrid, to the same; and two communications from Lord Aberdeen to Mr. Bulwer. The French cabinet justify their conduct by the dereliction by Lord Palmerston of the policy of his predecessor in office, with regard to those marriages. To

show that the accusation is unfounded, Lord Palmerston ought to have fully explained that policy, and how far Lord Aberdeen concurred with Mr. Galignani, by producing many documents alluded to even in the papers produced; and, especially, a faithful account of the nature, and conditions, and articles, of the TREATY OF ET. The withholding of such documents leads to the inference, that they would prove against him, and criminate either Lord Aberdeen for having plunged too deeply in the *entente cordiale*, or himself for having destroyed it.

In the second category, we have thirty three documents and despatches, twenty-two of which are only extracts. Considering that they refer to a short period of three months, we cannot this time complain that they are too few; on the contrary, we think that they are too many, and, with the exception of one, the quality is as objectionable as the quantity. The one we allude to is the despatch of Lord Palmerston to Mr. Bulwer (No. 10), of July, 19, 1846, which calls for special attention, in order that this momentous affair may be better understood.

It is undeniable, that, in the first part of this despatch, which refers to the marriage of Isabella, Lord Palmerston entirely adopts the line of policy traced by the published instructions of his predecessor. His lordship does the same in his subsequent letters to Mr. Bulwer, dated July 24, August 3, 16, 22, and 25, and in instructions to the Marquis of Normanby, of the 22nd of August. In fact, the noble viscount was still dreaming that the British and French ambassadors at Madrid were acting in concert in the matter, when, on the 2nd of September, he received the news of the declaration of the choice of the Queen of Spain and of her sister, in favour of Don Francisco and the Duke of Montpensier; and was told, at the same time, that it was owing to his attempts to marry the queen of Spain to a Coburg, in spite of the agreement entered into with Lord Aberdeen. Nothing can be more unfounded than this accusation; but it does not follow, that this very despatch was not calculated to blow up all the matrimonial schemes hitherto proposed. The second part of the despatch, which refers to the political condition of Spain, could not be viewed in any other light by the French and Spanish governments than as a severe condemnation of all that they had done, and a most hostile demonstration. We certainly do not blame the noble secretary for giving vent, on his resumption of office, to his just indignation at the horrors perpetrated in the Iberian Peninsula. Far from it. Little accustomed, as we were, to find in his lordship's speeches, despatches, or transactions, anything which we could approve, or rather which we were not conscientiously bound to condemn, we were startled at this sudden and brilliant transformation of

the formal protocolist into a high-minded and warm-hearted man. Since the days of Canning, in 1823, none of our statesmen had assumed that imposing attitude so worthy of the representative of a noble and free people. Had Mr. Bulwer been instructed to give to the Spanish camarilla a copy of this despatch immediately after its reception, and to mislay another copy somewhere about the office of the *Clamor Público*, Spain would in a few days have been rid of the dissolute Christina, of the courtizans who surround her, and of the stock-jobbers, gamblers, and cut-throats, who compose her government. Foreign influence would have been put an end to; and, as for the court of the Thuilleries, we could not be on worse terms with it than we are at present.

But this noble effusion was merely to be read by the British envoy, and afterwards buried in his desk. Bulwer was instructed 'to abstain from making any representation whatever to the Spanish ministers, and to be careful not to express those sentiments in any manner, or upon any occasion, so as to be likely to create, increase, or encourage discontent.' Such is the concluding sentence of the despatch; and, as if this last recommendation were not sufficient to make it worse than useless, a copy of it was sent to the British ambassador in Paris to be given to M. Guizot, and another copy was presented to the French chargé d'affaires in London for the same purpose.

No sooner was the copy in the hands of the French minister, than in full council it was resolved to send a copy of it to the Spanish government, and to make dissimulation the rule of conduct both of the Spanish and the French ministries, in their relations with England. This document, which, if presented with firmness by Mr. Bulwer to Isturitz, on the very day of its reception, would have struck him and his colleagues with terror, lost most of its importance when it was presented in a confidential manner by Bresson. No doubt it expressed a determined hostility on the part of the Whig administration, and Bresson took great care not to extenuate the idea of that hostility; but the last sentences of the document and the silence of Mr. Bulwer were considered as symptoms of cowardice or impotency. The personal influence of the King of the French, in the highest quarter in England, was represented as strong enough to overrule the ill-will of Lords Palmerston and Clarendon. But as in Great Britain the organization and union of political parties sometimes prevail over the sovereign, it was necessary to take immediate measures to carry into execution the matrimonial projects, and to defeat the united forces of the exaltados and of the British ministers, by a bold and sudden stroke. For, if any time were lost in discussions, the dispositions of the Whig

cabinet might be made public, and provoke a popular movement, the result of which might be the overthrow of the actual order. These observations of the French ambassador produced the desired effect; the choice of Don Francisco de Assis was determined upon; and it was resolved, that, in Paris and in Madrid, as well as in London, the French and Spanish diplomatists should listen with apparent adhesion to all the proposals of the British government, until the chosen husband and his father could be prevailed upon to play the part assigned to them in the farce.

Thus, it is true, as M. Guizot stated, in the French house of peers, that it was the despatch of July 19 which convinced the French and Spanish governments that they could no longer rely on the concurrence of England, though the motive given was one of those lies which constitute the *forcible eloquence* of the high priest of the '*doctrine*.' In the chamber of deputies, M. Guizot, who, after falsifying the despatch, had been compelled to give it *in extenso*, could not again utter the same lie, but, with him, *uno avulso non deficit alter*; and other lies were freely and abundantly poured forth. We hardly know whether we must range in this class the assertion that the second part of the despatch, the honest, and, we again say, noble expression of the opinion of the new administration on the political condition of Spain, was a breach of the political system agreed to with the Earl of Aberdeen. We cannot affirm or deny, that his lordship was favourable to, and connived at the establishment and the support of a tyranny as intolerable as any which ever existed in Spain. In short, we doubt whether we must consider as a calumny or as a disgraceful truth, the profession of mutual esteem between the noble earl and M. Guizot, of which the latter boasted in the two chambers. We have lately seen Narvaez himself, in the senate of Madrid, indignantly repelling a similar imputation on the part of the same minister: will Lord Aberdeen remain silent under the infliction?

. It is, in our opinion, and, we are sure, in the opinion of all honest men of all countries, an honour to Lord Palmerston to have been publicly declared by M. Guizot unworthy of his esteem, and to have deserved this constructive admission of his rectitude, by the manly declaration of his principles. We wish we could extend our praise to the statesmanship of the noble viscount; but it is impossible not to stigmatise as they deserve, the secrecy recommended at Madrid, as to the best document that ever issued from his pen, and the double communication of it to the French government. Lord Palmerston well knew that the French government, that is to say, Louis Philippe and M. Guizot, had been the originators, the promoters, the pay-masters of the

revolution of 1843 in Spain, of the atrocities which attended and followed its success, of the establishment of the present system of government in that country, of the annihilation of the parliamentary power, of the suppression of the liberty of the press, of the substitution of military tribunals for the courts of justice, and even of executions without trial! He well knew, that to show their gratification at these abominable transactions, the French king and M. Guizot granted to the principal perpetrators grand crosses, and other insignia of the Legion of Honour; and that Christina, Narvaez, and Bravo, in token of their gratitude, had hung the most catholic order of the Golden Fleece around the neck of the pseudo-Calvinist man-of-all-work of the French king. Finally, he well knew that all had been meditated and perpetrated for the sole purpose of subjecting Spain, her queen, and the princess, to the will of the Tuileries. What, in the name of common sense, could induce him to communicate to the French government a document which was not addressed to them, and did not concern French affairs? If no use was to be made of it in Madrid by the British minister, for the welfare of Spain and the honour of England, was it not an act of folly to enable the French government to use it, with decisive advantage, for the ultimate success of their designs? If we might adopt the logic of Mr. Urquhart, we should say, that, wishing to outdo Lord Aberdeen in his devotion to the *entente cordiale*, Lord Palmerston assumed the attitude and the language of enmity, to hasten the *denouement* of the French plot, and secure the triumph of Philippe. For, nobody can deny that this despatch alone made the Spanish marriages. M. Guizot and his supporters, in the Chamber of Deputies, declared that, 'in consequence of the opinions of the English cabinet, as manifested by the instructions of the 19th of July, a conflict was established between two political systems in Spain—the *moderado* system, (the butchery system of Christina and Narvaez!) promoted and supported by France, and the *exaltado* system (the really constitutional government), which England intended to restore; France, therefore, to be consistent in her policy, was bound to hasten the union of the queen and of her sister with the representatives of her system: *the least hesitation and delay would have been fatal*. Not only did the ministerial deputies applaud these explanations of Guizot; but his antagonist, Thiers, also, the political urchin who thinks himself a political atlas, gave his approbation to the policy of his rival. Nothing but his assent was needed to confirm the opinion that the whole transaction was dishonest, immoral, and treacherous.

The official papers now before us furnish another proof of the decisive effect of the document in question. Mr. Bulwer, in his

letter from Madrid, August 22, 1846, to Lord Palmerston (No. 23), says :—‘ The French government have not failed to turn their knowledge of the despatch of the 19th ultimo, that your lordship has addressed to me, to account, by representing it as a declaration of hostility against the present ministry and established influences in Spain.’ Is it not evident, now, that the communication of this despatch to the French government was a most mischievous blunder?

Eight days after this communication, on the 29th of August (No. 25), Mr. Bulwer announced to Lord Palmerston, that ‘ the Queen had made up her mind in favour of Don Francisco de Assis; and that the marriage of the Duke of Montpensier with the Princess Louisa would take place at the same time;’ although only three days before, as Mr. Bulwer states in the same letter, ‘ M. Bresson had called upon him, and told him that Don Francisco’s chances seemed to have diminished; that the Queen was more favourable to Don Enrique; and that, in this case, the French government would equally support his royal highness!’

The thirteen documents of this category, which follow the letter of the 29th of August, inform us of the endeavours made by the noble viscount and by the British ambassadors in Paris and Madrid, to prevent the celebration of the Montpensier marriage, and give us the representations and protests offered, with the answers of the French and Spanish cabinets. It is with grief, and even with shame, that we have read the greater part of these documents, as well as those of the third category. So just and strong a cause never was so awkwardly, so badly defended—so disgracefully lost, by its advocates. The more we consider the two main arguments on which the British government rested their opposition to the marriage of the Duke of Montpensier, and their protest, after its solemnization, the more it seems as if their only object had been to afford to the French government the most easy and the most complete triumph on these two points:—the first, the 47th article of the Spanish constitution; and the second, the renunciations connected with the treaty of Utrecht.

The article of the constitution declares, that ‘ *neither the king nor the immediate successor can contract marriage with any person excluded by the law from the succession to the crown.*’ This article was intended only to prevent the marriage of the Queen and of her sister with the sons of Don Carlos. The only law in Spain, for the exclusion of a family from the succession to the throne, was enacted during the civil war, and applied only to the then pretender, Carlos V., and his descendants. There is no such law affecting the family of Orleans; and, therefore,

the article of the Spanish constitution does not apply to the Duke of Montpensier.

As to the treaty of Utrecht, which is printed as an appendix to the diplomatic correspondence, we will show that there is nothing in it to justify the inference of our diplomatists. Let us, first, consider the object of that treaty, and the circumstances under which it was concluded.

It was in 1713, at the close of a long war, undertaken to establish one of his grandsons on the throne of Spain, that, after many vicissitudes, Louis XIV. was compelled to submit to the conditions of the treaty in question. At that time, the French monarch had successively lost, by death, all his legitimate sons, and the eldest of his grandsons, who had left an only son, still in his infancy, the presumptive heir to the crown. The character of the disease which had carried into the tomb the father and grandfather of the prince, rendered it probable that the infant dauphin would not long survive them; and, in case of his demise, the King of Spain, Philip V., being the eldest of the grandsons of Louis XIV., would, at the death of the old monarch, have been king of both France and Spain; which would have made him the most powerful and dangerous sovereign in Europe. The object of the treaty was to render impossible the union, then almost imminent, of the two crowns on the same head; and, to attain this end, Philip V. was bound by that treaty, to renounce, and actually did solemnly renounce for himself and his posterity, all his birthrights and legitimate claims to the throne of France in behalf of his only brother, the Duke of Berry; and, in case of the demise of this prince, who had no children, in behalf of his uncle, the Duke of Orleans, and his descendants. As the death of Philip V., and his having no children, might also be apprehended at the time, which event would again place the two monarchies under the same sceptre, both the Duke of Berry and the Duke of Orleans were compelled, by that treaty, to renounce, at the same time, for themselves and all their descendants, and for ever, all their rights and claims to the throne of Spain.

Let us remember that the war of the Spanish succession had originated in the rival pretensions of the house of Austria, who claimed the crown of Spain by right of inheritance, against the French monarch, who had in his behalf the last will of Charles II. of Spain, besides his own descent from Maria Theresa, and of Anne of Austria; and that the treaty of Utrecht, and the reciprocal renunciations which it includes, had also for their object to prevent for ever, the reunion of the Spanish monarchy to the Austrian empire; for which purpose, the triple renun-

government prepared an easy triumph for Louis Philippe and his ministers. There is nothing in the treaty of Utrecht to prevent the princes or princesses of the houses of Bourbon, reigning in the two countries, from intermarrying. It may be that the omission of such prohibition or of some provisions relating to the issue from such intermarriages, was owing to the existence at that time of the salic law both in France and Spain ; which law, excluding from the succession to the throne female descendancy, may have been considered as a sufficient security against the union by marriage of the two kingdoms under the same monarch. We will even grant, that, had not the salic law existed in 1713, it is very probable that the treaty of Utrecht would have contained some prohibitions such as the one alluded to ; but it does not follow that the treaty of Utrecht is violated, because a prohibition, which it might have enacted, but which it does not enact, has been disregarded in the Montpensier marriage. Here again the discussion is entirely to the advantage of the French government.

It is equally so with regard to the conclusions drawn from the renunciations of the Duke of Berry and of the Duke of Orleans ; and we wonder at the monstrous blunders committed by our diplomatists in the interpretation of those renunciations, and in the application of their interpretation. The spirit, the text, and the meaning of those renunciations, are as plain as the French, English, and Latin languages can make them.

‘ We declare,’ says the Duke of Orleans, ‘ and hold ourselves from this present, us, our children, and descendants, for ever excluded and disabled, absolutely, and for ever, and without limitation or distinction of persons, of degrees, and of sexes, from every act, and from all right of succeeding to the crown of Spain. We will and consent, for us and our descendants, that, from this time, and for ever, we be held, we and ours, for excluded, disabled, and incapacitated, in whatever degree we may happen to be and *in what manner soever the succession may fall to our line*, and to all others, whether of the house of France, or of that of Austria, and of all the descendants both of the one and the other house, which, as it is said, and supposed, ought likewise to hold themselves for cut off and excluded. And for this reason the succession to the said crown of Spain be deemed to be devolved, and transferred to him to whom the succession of Spain ought to be transferred, in such case and at any time whatsoever ; so that we do take and hold him for true and lawful successor, *because neither we, nor our descendants, ought any more to be considered as having any foundation of representation, active or passive ; or making a continuation of a line effective, or contentive of substance, blood, or quality ; nor ought we to derive any right from our descent ; or reckon the degrees from Queen Anne of Austria, our most honourable lady and grandmother, nor from the glorious kings her ancestors.* On the contrary, we ratify the renunciation which the said lady Queen Anne made,

and all the clauses which the kings Philip the Third and Philip the Fourth inserted in their wills. We renounce, in like manner, all the right which may appertain to us, and to our children and descendants, by virtue of the declaration made at Madrid, the 29th of October, 1703, by Philip the fifth King of Spain our nephew, and any right which might appertain to us, for us and our descendants; we relinquish the same and renounce it for us and for them.'

We have given at length this portion, the principal one, of the renunciation of the Duke of Orleans, because it is upon it that our diplomatists have built the most fallacious syllogism we ever met with. They say: The head and only representative of the house of Orleans has renounced for himself, his sons and descendants, for ever, his rights to the succession of the crown of Spain. The Duke of Montpensier and his issue are or will be descendants of the Duke of Orleans, the author of the renunciation. *Ergo*—the Duke of Montpensier cannot be the king-consort of the Queen of Spain, and his children must be excluded from the succession. The fallacy consists in giving to the renunciation of the Duke of Orleans a range which it had not, and which it could never have. Certainly, the Duke of Orleans had a right, in 1713, to renounce all the eventual pretensions, rights, and claims, present and future, to the crown of Spain, which he derived from his descent from Anne of Austria, from the will of Charles II., from the declaration of Philip V., and, finally, from his birth as a Bourbon. We will grant, for argument sake, that he had a right to renounce, not only for himself, but also for his children and descendants; and we even will admit, that his sons and descendants were, and are still, bound to the clauses of that renunciation of rights and claims which were inherent to *their line*, to *their house*. But it is not as a descendant of the Duke of Orleans, living in 1713, and in virtue of the rights which he would have transmitted to all his posterity, if the renunciation had not taken place, that the Duke of Montpensier may become king-consort of the Queen of Spain, and that the issue of his marriage may be called to the Spanish throne. It is in virtue of the rights of the Spanish Infanta, and of the law of succession to the throne of Spain, which the treaty of Utrecht and the renunciations cannot affect or invalidate. To make the matter perfectly intelligible to our readers, we will put the question in a more tangible form.

Our own royal marriage act excludes from the succession to the crown of Great Britain the issue of the union of the late Duke of Sussex with Lady Murray, and the children and descendants of Sir Augustus d'Este or of Lady Wilde. If her Majesty, Queen Victoria, had selected Sir Augustus d'Este for

her consort, instead of Prince Albert, would her choice have been considered as a violation of the royal marriage-act, and would her children be incapacitated from ascending the throne, as being descendants of the Duke of Sussex and Lady Murray?

We need not add a single word to prove, that, with regard to the renunciations, and their bearing upon the Spanish marriages, our minister for foreign affairs has been as completely wrong as in the two preceding questions. As to the apprehensions of the eventual reunion of the two crowns on the same head, in consequence of the Montpensier marriage, they are evidently simulated. There is not the least risk of such reunion. There is no analogy between the actual condition of the reigning families in France and Spain, and their situation at the time of the treaty of Utrecht. In 1713, as we have stated before, an infant, who was not expected to live, was the only obstacle to the reunion of the two monarchies under Philip V.; and, on the other side, the death of Philip V., without heirs, would have united his dominions to France, under the infant dauphin, or his uncle the Duke of Berry, and after him the Duke of Orleans. At present, eight princes, sons or grandsons of Louis Philippe, are placed between the Duke of Montpensier and the throne of France, to which, therefore, he has no chance of arriving. Here, again, the arguments of our diplomatists are in opposition to facts. Indeed, we never saw such a good cause so wretchedly managed.

Instead of raising doubtful questions, or, rather, unfounded objections, in order to prevent the solemnization of the marriages, and, afterwards, to support a haughty protest, Lord Palmerston ought, on hearing of the decision of the Spanish government, to have immediately sent a short but strong protest against the duplicity with which the whole affair had been conducted; declared to Isturitz and Christina, that England could no longer maintain her friendly and political relations with a government which displayed such treachery; that the British minister was recalled; that henceforth, Great Britain, considering the quadruple alliance as at an end, would consult only her own interests in her policy towards Spain; and that, whatever might be the consequences, the responsibility rested on the queen-mother and the prime minister. A copy of this protest, presented afterwards by Lord Normanby to M. Guizot, without any explanation, and with a demand for his passports, was the only step to be taken in Paris. From all the communications which we have received both from France and Spain, we are certain, that, had such measures been adopted, the double marriages would have been abandoned in the two capitals, and the Spanish ministry, with the camarilla, for ever dissolved. This

spirited course would have been in keeping with the sentiments expressed in his lordship's letter of the 19th of July. Why, then, was it not adopted?

While on the point of answering this question, and again censuring the weakness of the noble viscount, we paused to consider whether this weakness could, with justice, be personally attributed to his lordship; and we feel bound to express our opinion, that it was imposed upon the noble secretary, and that he reluctantly submitted. The first part of the last sentence in the despatch justifies our surmises. '*But,*' says his lordship, after a severe condemnation of the tyrannical government of Spain, 'her Majesty's government are so sensible of the inconvenience of interfering, *even by friendly advices*, in the internal affairs of independent states, THAT I HAVE TO ABSTAIN from giving you instructions to make any representations whatever to the Spanish ministers on these matters.' This sentence was translated and commented on by the French and Spanish ministers, in the following manner:—'The opinions of Lord Palmerston on the Spanish government are not shared in by the British cabinet; the majority of which is evidently against him, since they enjoin him to refrain from openly expressing them. Therefore we may do as we please; and, if his lordship dare, to annoy us, his colleagues will turn him out. The Queen of England will never suffer the ministers to act in opposition to the interests and policy of her old friend Louis Philippe, and would dismiss them all rather than tolerate their hostility. The Whigs know it; and, as they want places and emoluments, we can do as we please.' The French and Spanish ministerial newspapers received these versions and the royal commentary from Guizot and Bresson, and gave them to the world long before the marriages. The editorial denials of the '*Times*' and the '*Morning Chronicle*' were of no avail. Nothing short of such a protest as we have just hinted at, and the recall of the ambassadors, could convince the French and Spanish cabinets that the British ministry were unanimous, and that they were determined not to permit the violation of sacred promises. The prime minister of Great Britain, and all the members of his administration, in not adopting this course, have exhibited either an egregious want of intelligence or a disgraceful want of energy.

What they had neglected to do for preventing the solemnization of the marriages, had become an imperious duty, when, in spite of all remonstrances and protests, those marriages had taken place. Common sense plainly told our government, that, after the nuptial ceremony and the insolent replies of Isturitz to the protests presented, Mr. Bulwer could not remain in Madrid, nor the Marquis of Normanby in Paris, but to be the laughing

stock of those who had deceived and insulted them. A last protest, the withdrawing of the British ambassadors, the *congé* given to the French and Spanish diplomatists in London, were the only measures becoming the dignity of Great Britain. All the correspondence that has taken place has had no other effect in Paris and in Madrid, than to show the weakness of our statesmen, and to make M. Guizot more exacting and more offensive to us: so much so, that, in all probability, the withdrawal of our ambassadors, which might have been a courageous demonstration, would now be a disgraceful retreat under renewed insults. Notwithstanding the innumerable proofs of the bad faith and mendaciousness of the French government, and owing to our forbearance, the French Chamber of Deputies,* following the example of the Chamber of Peers, have sanctioned the misdeeds of the king and of his minister. They have, so far as it is in their power, pledged the country to the support of the policy which we justly stigmatise as immoral; while, in our own parliament, noble peers and honourable members deprecate all discussion upon the matter, as if they were anxious to justify the statement of M. Guizot in the Chamber of Peers, that the British people care nothing about this quarrel picked by Lord Palmerston; and that, by firmness, and *no further concessions to England*, the British government will soon be brought back to the *entente cordiale*.

Our statesmen, whether Whigs or Tories, must now be convinced, that the *entente cordiale* can never be re-established, not

* In the preface to the second edition of 'France: her Governmental, Administrative, and Social Organization,' just published, we find the following account of the composition of the elective chamber:—

'The general elections which (last September) took place in France, have exhibited, in its perfection, the working of the French governmental and administrative system, and realised my anticipations of 1844. Two hundred and eighty-six ministerial candidates were returned; and the three oppositions united could not obtain more than one hundred and seventy-three nominations. In eighteen of the eighty-six departments, not a single oppositionist was returned. In forty-three departments, the ministerial majority ranges between seven to one and four to three. In six departments, the government and the opposition obtained an equal number of nominations. In fourteen departments, the ministerialists were in a minority varying from three to four, to one to five. And in five departments only, the opposition carried all the nominations.

'Of the two hundred and forty thousand electors of France inscribed on the lists, one hundred and ninety-eight thousand voted in the last elections; more than one hundred and sixty thousand of them, with their families, share among themselves six hundred and twenty-eight thousand offices, honorary or lucrative, and emoluments amounting to twenty-two millions sterling a year.'

Of course, such a representative body is bound to support any cabinet, and to sanction all the ministerial misdeeds.

only with the present ministry in France, but also in the lifetime of Louis Philippe ; that *no reliance whatever* can be placed on their fidelity to their verbal or written agreements and treaties ; and that they know of no principle of private or political conduct, but pride, selfishness, and avarice. We hear people say : ‘ Guizot will be sacrificed, and a less unprincipled administration, if not an honest one, will assist in restoring concord and harmony between the two countries.’ And pray, what can be the composition of that less unprincipled cabinet ? The only possible combinations will substitute for Guizot either Thiers, or Molé, or De Broglie ; and, in any case, the difference is not worth a preference. We know, and well know, all these worthies.

Guizot, assuming the air of an inspired lawgiver, contends that falsehood is truth, and that treachery is integrity. Thiers will lie and deceive, and afterwards laugh at the simpletons, who believe anything, or in any thing, and allow themselves to be deceived. Molé will lie and deceive, and maintain that, in politics, truth and honesty must yield to state necessity, and the interest of the monarch. De Broglie, also, will lie and deceive, and condescend to give as his excuse that he has been imposed upon and misled. In short, all these men, if restored to power, would again do what they have already done ; and any new hand called to the helm of foreign affairs, by the present ruler of France, must have qualified himself for it by his readiness to lie and deceive. The wily monarch himself is the very incarnation of falsehood and perfidy. No verbal or written pledges are held binding by him ; he will deny his words, his writings, his own signature. He has already done more. A few years ago, he had an action for forgery brought against the Marquis of Larochejacquelin, who had published two letters from this citizen king (when Duke of Orleans) to the Count of Entraigues. If he abandoned the prosecution, it was not from a sense of shame, but only because he was threatened with the production, at the trial, of other letters, still more damaging to his character, and of which the authenticity was established in this country. With such a man, and with any administration chosen by him, political relations cannot be continued, not only without disgrace, but also without danger to Great Britain.

Those, therefore, who, in the House of Lords or in the House of Commons, deprecate any further communication of documents, or any further discussion on the Spanish marriages, in order not to widen the breach, and render impossible the renewal of friendly relations with France, must be blind to the injurious effect we have already suffered from the *entente cordiale* ; or, rather, are anxious to escape the consequences of a searching inquiry into these transactions. But national honour and national interests require the most complete investigation ;

THE SPANISH MARRIAGES.

a solemn discussion, not merely of the real or imaginary meaning of an old treaty, and of the triple renunciations; but of all the correspondence, conventions, and facts, connected with the Montpensier marriage, from the time it was first proposed to its conclusion. The government cannot resist the demand for such a discussion, without confirming the statement made by the cabinet of the Thuilleries; that, 'whilst they have, during five weeks, openly debated the question in the two chambers, the cabinet of St. James's dare not expose it to a parliamentary debate.' There is no doubt, that the result of such a debate would be to acquit the present foreign secretary of most of the imputations cast on his character; but it is equally certain, that another result would be, to convince parliament of the necessity for watching over, with greater vigilance, the management of our foreign affairs. The fact that Great Britain is, at present, without a single ally in Europe, sufficiently proves that these affairs must have been very badly managed. And they will continue to be so, unless parliament, in every session, compel the foreign secretary to give a full account of all the affairs of his department, as the chancellor of the exchequer presents his budget. So long as this check is not put upon the mysterious doings of the foreign office, there is no security for the rights of nations and for the peace of the world. For five years, our foreign office has been engaged in negotiations, for and against the marriages of mere children, and Parliament is sparingly made acquainted with those negotiations, only when those marriages have taken place in spite of the remonstrances and of the protests of England. For twelve years the same office was engaged in negotiations on the state of Cracow, and parliament obtains communication of some papers concerning these negotiations, when the republic of Cracow has ceased to exist. For many years, Switzerland has been the subject of many diplomatic despatches and discussions, and we may expect that part of these despatches and discussions will be printed and distributed, when Switzerland is invaded or conquered. All these transactions are now the subject of strong representations, of angry notes exchanged between England and other continental states, and which may lead to an open rupture; and John Bull will be made acquainted with them, after the beginning of the hostilities. Spain may to-morrow be invaded by a French army, to support French domination against a popular insurrection; and Great Britain will be obliged to run to the rescue, at a cost of thousands of lives and millions of money, because Lord Aberdeen was not bound by parliament, in 1843 and 1845, to give, on his return, an account of the political varieties mixed with the convivialities of the *Chateau d'Eu*.

Literary Intelligence.

A Synopsis of Criticism upon those Passages of the Old Testament in which Modern Commentators have differed from the Authorized Version; together with an Explanation of various difficulties in the Hebrew and English Texts. By the Rev. Richard A. F. Barrett, M.A. Vol. I. Part I.

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Proceedings of the Philological Society. From 1844-45, and 1845-46.

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The World to Come. By the Rev. James Cochrane, A.M., one of the ministers of Cupar.

A Tour from Thebes to the Peninsula of Sinai. By Professor R. Lepsius, of Berlin, between March 4 and April 14, 1845. Translated from the German, by Charles Herbert Cottrell, Esq., M.A., Author of 'Recollections of Siberia,' &c. &c.

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ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR APRIL, 1847.

ART. I.—*The Provincial Letters of Blaise Pascal. A New Translation, with Historical Introduction and Notes.* By the Rev. Thomas McCrie. 12mo. Edinburgh: John Johnstone.

THE name of Blaise Pascal is one of the few which mankind will never grow weary of repeating. His discoveries in mathematics and natural philosophy have secured for him a place in the first rank of men of science. His profound and original *Thoughts on Religion* entitle him to a standing, equally high, in theology. Literary men still turn with astonishment to those wonderful writings, which fixed the standard of the French language, and abound in every excellence that taste or genius could impart. To all which we must add that fervent piety and love of evangelical truth, which show him, notwithstanding his errors, to have been an eminent believer in the gospel: while the polemical skill and unflinching courage, which grappled so closely and successfully with Jesuitism, demand for him the praise of an universal benefactor.

The announcement, therefore, of a new translation of his *Lettres Provinciales* is to us no matter of surprise; and we cannot but regard Mr. McCrie as having rendered a highly seasonable and important service to the cause of truth, by presenting, in a modern and cheap form, that masterly work to the English reader. Two other British translations are to be met with; one, published in London in 1657; the other as late as 1816. With both these performances, Mr. McCrie finds considerable fault. But, for ourselves, without stopping to inquire into the justice of his strictures on the latter, or agreeing with him, altogether, in his judgment of the former, whose firm, racy, hearty old

English, has given us great pleasure; we tender to Mr. McCrie our warmest thanks for his own translation, which, on the whole, we cannot but regard as greatly superior to either of the others. In every sentence, he has entered most fully into the meaning of his author; and, with this intent, has evidently spared no pains in the study either of the French tongue, or of the age in which Pascal wrote. Wherever he has deemed it necessary, he has placed at the foot of the page a biographical, historical, or explanatory note, which often displays much reading, and is of great value. He has, moreover, prefixed to his version an introduction of eighty closely printed pages, in which he places the life and times of Pascal clearly before the reader. And if a few Scotticisms occasionally render our author's version of 'the Provincials' a little too provincial; or, if he sometimes fails, as all translators, in some degree, must, in his attempts to convey the marvellous ease and gracefulness of the French Plato into English, (for who could hope so to annihilate the boundaries of language, as to carry into a foreign tongue all the graces of a work, which was the wonder and envy of such writers as Bossuet, Boileau, and Voltaire?) Mr. McCrie, nevertheless, well deserves the thanks we have given him, for his accurate, spirited, and, on the whole, elegant translation.

By way of frontispiece, he has given a pleasing and very well executed portrait of Pascal, over whose pensive features, the graceful humour of the provincial letter-writer seems gently to move; but it is the ripple of a calm deep sea, whose profounder waters nothing light could stir.

In the course of his introductory observations Mr. McCrie censures, with great force and propriety, the culpable indifference, or even favour, with which the principles of the Jesuits are beginning to be regarded in this country; and expresses his earnest desire that the powerful antidote contained in these Letters, may prove as effectual in Great Britain as it proved, two hundred years ago, in France and throughout Europe. We sympathise with him, most entirely, in his sentiments upon this subject; and shall, therefore, after a cursory notice of Pascal's life, endeavour to lay the nature, circumstances, and results of his controversy with the Jesuits, before our readers.

The native place of this sublime genius, as Bayle justly styles him, was Clermont in Auvergne, where he was born in the year 1623. His father, Stephen Pascal, who was descended from an ancient and distinguished family, was president of the Court of Aids for the province, and well known to men of letters, as a profound scholar, an able mathematician, and an intimate friend of Des Cartes. So anxious was he for the proper education of his son, that, resigning office, he repaired to Paris, and devoted him-

self wholly to that object. While thus employed, he soon discovered in the young philosopher a most precocious propensity for abstract reasoning and profound thought; and fearing lest it should interfere, if encouraged, with the study of the languages, he carefully locked up all books on geometry, and abstained from even mentioning the subject in his presence. But genius of the first order can seldom be kept down; in the absence of ladders, it takes to its wings; and, when forbidden to climb, begins to soar. With no instrument but a piece of charcoal, young Pascal would often secretly amuse himself by drawing his lines and circles, or 'bars and rounds,' as he called them, upon the floor; and, at the age of twelve, when caught, one day, in the midst of his mathematical delinquency, astonished his father by showing him that the subject of his unaided inquiry was the thirty-second problem of 'Euclid's Elements.'

From that time he was allowed, as might readily be supposed, to pursue his own course; and, consequently, applied himself to geometrical studies, with the utmost assiduity. He made himself master of Euclid as quickly as he read him; and, at the age of sixteen, published a treatise on conic sections so profound, that Des Cartes persisted in believing it to be the father's production, under the name of the son. At the age of nineteen, he invented an arithmetical machine, which excited equal wonder; and, after four years of great suffering from ill health, was led, through reading the works of Torricelli, into those well known experiments in pneumatics and hydrostatics, which he embodied in two treatises,—'A Dissertation on the Equilibrium of Liquors,' and 'An Essay on the Weight of the Atmosphere.' Several years afterwards, as he was kept awake one night by a severe fit of tooth-ache, the solution of a problem, proposed by Mersenne, on the curve of the cycloid, (that is, the curve described by the wheel of a coach when in motion) flashed into his mind, and carried him to the very verge of discoveries, which would have closed against Newton and Leibnitz, a fruitful source of glory and contention.

Long, however, before this period, Pascal, whose mind was gloomy and ascetic, had been led by an accident, which threatened his life, to abandon the pursuits of science. It appears that, on the month of October, 1654, while he was taking an airing on the Pont de Neuilly in a coach and four, the two leaders took fright, and, there being no parapet at the spot, threw themselves headlong into the Seine. Happily for him and for us too, the traces broke, and the carriage remained upon the brink of the precipice. But so deep was the impression made on his mind, of his nearness to eternity, that he put into immediate execution a

purpose, which, in a time of deep affliction, he had previously formed, of sacrificing all secular pursuits to a life of religious retirement. Nor was this the only effect of the accident. His brain was evidently shaken; and to this circumstance must perhaps be ascribed the depth and continuance of that gloom, with which a miserable superstition had already darkened his soul. He saw continually, on his left hand, a frightful abyss yawning to swallow him up; and would never sit down, till a chair was placed on that side, to keep him from falling into it. Under his clothes he wore a girdle of spikes, which he was accustomed to thrust into his sides, by way of penance or admonition. The room he lived in was most miserably furnished; and, as an antidote to self-indulgence, he would allow no menial service to be done for him, excepting that of preparing his food. To take the most nauseous drugs with less relish than the most agreeable food, he condemned as a sinful and irrational concession to the senses; and during sickness, and even on his dying bed, received with coldness the tender offices of his sister, Madame Perrier, and of other devoted friends, lest his fondness for the creature should be displeasing to God; so completely had the wretched fanaticism, which popery had taught him, subdued the sensibilities of a naturally affectionate and benevolent heart.

During his last years, all the time he could spare from lonely prayers and meditations, he spent in attending *salutations*, or in visiting the churches in which relics were exposed; constantly keeping by him an ecclesiastical almanac of all the places and times, set apart by priestly authority for the celebration of mass, and other similar observances. In this humiliating bondage to a cruel and absurd superstition, Pascal continued till his death, which took place at Paris, on the 19th of August, 1662; greatly hastened on, there can be no doubt, by the abstinence and self-torment which he practised. From the physical abyss, at which his deluded fancy so often shuddered, how little had he to fear? but, into the deeper and darker abyss of madness, he appears, during the latter part of his life, to have been in perpetual danger of being hurled by superstition. So narrow and shadowy is the boundary between the loftiest genius and insanity; and so near to the greatness, lies the littleness of man. ✓

But, with all these drawbacks, it is impossible to contemplate the exemplary purity and benevolence of his life, or the spirit of faith and devotion, which breathes through his writings, without coming to the conclusion that he was not only a sincere, but a truly humble and devoted Christian; and, to the last, his

mighty intellect, though so often trammelled by the dark fancies which enslaved it, retained and asserted its power. To this period of his life we are indebted for the Provincial Letters, and his Thoughts on Religion, which, though collected and published after his death, as a volume, were merely the fugitive fragmentary records of thoughts, hints, and suggestions, which, by way of furnishing himself with materials for a treatise on the Evidences of Christianity, he was accustomed to note down, as they occurred to his mind.

To every reflective mind the waywardness and capriciousness of thought is, unhappily, too well known. How often and how suddenly is the ideal world, when least expected, thrown open to the view; and, at such periods, what happy thoughts and trains of thought, of every description,—analogies, images, arguments, recollections,—rush unbidden into the mind, throwing a light of magical clearness and beauty over subjects, which before were shrouded in utter darkness, or only dimly seen. With the slightest disturbance, however, either from within or without, the spell is broken, and the vision is gone, like the golden clouds of yesterday's sun-set, never to return.

‘Break Phantasy from thy cave of cloud,
And wave thy purple wings!’

—we are ready, with Jonson, most imploringly to cry, in order to recover what we have lost. But Phantasy, so often inexorable, even to Jonson's coaxing, loves her cavern and her cloud too well to listen to us. If, by dint of dogged effort, we get together a few ideas, to drudge through the work which must be done,—how unlike are these dull slaves of the will to the ethereal free-born visitants of our luckier hours! Where are the vivid perceptions, or the pointed turns, or the ‘winged words,’ or the glowing shapes and colours, which were so perfectly at command, a few days or a few moments before? Or, if the materials, or rather dregs of thought remain,—who, without the experience of such changes, could believe that those dull heaps of ashes, cinders, or cold dry pumice-stone, were once the volcanic eruptions of a fountain of fire?

With such matters, however, Pascal was too good a philosopher, and far too experienced a writer, not to be well acquainted. In the way of preparation, therefore, for his great intended work on the Evidences of Christianity, he took care, while the inspiration lasted, to give permanency to his thoughts by writing them down. He used the first scrap of paper he could lay his hand upon for this purpose; and, then, stringing it upon a thread, hung it up in his study. With what an amount of wealth—diamonds, pearls, and gems of every description,—was

that fortunate piece of flax thus strung! How happy for mankind, that thoughts, so little cared for—thoughts, as bright and beautiful, and as feebly held together as morning dew-drops on a spider's web—were discovered at his death, and given to the world! But for the precious hints and suggestions thrown off, at random, in the way described, from the mind of Pascal, Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, along with other works of like value, might never have been written.

But it is not with the *Thoughts on Religion*, but with the *Provincial Letters*, that we have chiefly to do in this article; and, lest we should be charged with promise-breaking by our readers, we shall proceed at once to such remarks as may serve to make them acquainted, or rather, perhaps, renew their acquaintance with that unrivalled production.

It is of importance to remember, that, when this work was undertaken, all Europe was in a blaze through the controversies which were carried on against the Jansenists by the Jesuits; who, being the stronger party, had, in several instances, substituted for logic, those practical arguments, which their cause required, and which a persecuting age failed not to supply. The principal point, thus keenly disputed, and to be settled by discussion, if possible—by confiscations and imprisonments, if not; was the doctrine of efficacious grace. From the days of Augustine and Pelagius, that deep and mysterious subject, which ought, from the first, to have shewn poor erring mortals their need of humility and mutual forbearance; had been handed down, as a kind of polemical heir-loom, by one quarrelsome age to another: and, to say nothing of Calvin and Arminius, it was the *casus belli* or bone of contention, over which the Thomists and Scotists, the Dominicans and Franciscans, the Jesuits and Dominicans, and lastly the Jansenists and the Jesuits, had successively snarled at and worried one another. Thus had the one, indivisible, holy catholic church, been for ages split into sects and parties; and thrown, by her religious orders, into lasting and total disorder. She managed, it is true, to keep her pugnacious children within the ring she had drawn around them; and sometimes, when her interests seemed to require it, tried to settle their quarrels. But in vain. Councils and popes were driven, first to one side and then to the other, according to the strength of the contending parties; and the infallible church continued for ages divided between the followers of two opposite opinions; who denounced each other as 'liars,' 'slanderers,' 'heretics,' 'schismatics,' and sometimes even, 'Calvinists,' and 'Protestants!'

In 1588, Lewis Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, after whom the Jesuits are called Molinists in this controversy, published a

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book intituled 'the Concord of Grace and Freewill.' This book was full of the jargon of the schools; and its obvious design was so to mystify the subject, as to hide away the difference between the semi-pelagianism of the Jesuits, and the doctrine taught by Augustine; against whose authority no party dared openly to rebel. The Dominicans, who had long contended for the doctrine of '*efficacious grace*,' as expounded by Thomas Aquinas, and are therefore called *Thomists*, immediately appealed to Rome; where Molina's doctrine, after long deliberation, was condemned by Clement VIII. The Jesuits, however, resolved to maintain their power, which the papal decision had materially shaken; and, after much exertion, prevailed on the aged pope to reconsider the question; and a council was accordingly called, which went by the name of *Congregatio de Auxiliis*, or Council of the Aids of Grace. But, after seventy-eight meetings, this infallible council, infallibly summoned to reverse a former equally infallible judgment, could arrive at no conclusion which they deemed worth publishing: and the parties, who so much needed infallible aid, were left just as they were. The Dominicans were right, but the Jesuits were strong: and between two parties so balanced, what could infallibility do?

No sooner, however, were the Jesuits set free by this juggle from the Dominicans, than they rushed headlong into a more formidable contest with the Jansenists or followers of Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ypres; who not only held, more rigidly than even the Dominicans, the *efficacious grace* of Augustine; but, by exposing the licentious maxims and practices of the Jesuits, had drawn away such numbers from their confessionals, as to threaten the downfall of their order. In a work of Jansen's, intituled *Augustinus*, which was published shortly after his death in 1638, the Jesuits found, or pretended to find, five points of heretical doctrine, against which they appealed to Rome; emboldened by the assurance, that Cardinal Richelieu, Louis the XIV., and the pope, Innocent X., were on their side. Jansen's alleged five points, as a matter of course, were condemned; a splendid monument erected to his memory was demolished; and his friend, St. Cyran, president of the celebrated monastery of Port Royal, was thrown into a dungeon at Vincennes; where his health was so much shaken by a rigorous imprisonment of five years, that in a few months after his release he expired.

The Jansenists, however, soon found a fresh champion in Anthony Arnould, an intimate friend of Pascal; whose sister, Maria Angelica, was the abbess of Port Royal. By the publication of two letters, in which he denied that the five condemned propositions were to be found in the works of Jansen,

and delivered his own sentiments in favour of efficacious grace; he gave deadly offence to the Jesuits, who determined to get him expelled from the Sorbonne—the Theological College of Paris, of which he was a distinguished member. By a pitiful manœuvre, a majority of votes was secured, and Arnauld was censured and expelled. But their victory cost them dear.

One day, while his trial was pending, Arnauld read over to his friends a vindication of himself, which he intended to publish; but, discovering from their silence that it was not relished, said to them ‘I see you do not think highly of my production, and I believe you are right; but could not you,’ he added, turning to Pascal, ‘who are young produce something?’ Pascal’s sincere regard for Arnauld, for the Jansenists, and Port Royal, in which his sister and niece were cloistered, induced him to make the attempt; and, after retiring for a few hours to another room, he returned with the first Provincial Letter. ‘Excellent!’ they all exclaimed; ‘that will go down; we must have it printed immediately.’

Hitherto the Jesuits, though stoutly opposed, had been met in their own way; and the controversy, mystified and drawn out into endless details, had become utterly unintelligible and uninteresting to the people. But it was now to be seen what would become of their cause in the hands of a consummate wit and philosopher. With the intuitive glance of genius he saw the clue which was to guide him through the whole labyrinth, in their grand design to enslave the consciences of mankind, by getting the Romish priesthood into their power. Regarding as hopeless, and indeed unnecessary, any attempt to raise up the world to the standard of Christianity; they had resolved, in a gradual and concealed manner, to reduce religion, wherever they deemed it necessary, to the standard of the world; and, for this purpose, had invented the dogmas of *probabalism*, *mental reservation*, and *the direction of the intention*.

By the first—the foulest crimes, however habitual or unrepented of, might be absolved, provided the offender regarded it as, in the least degree, *probable* that the crime committed was justifiable or venial. By the second—falsehood, slander, and even perjury were admissible, provided the offender, when uttering the lie, had taken care, silently and mentally to qualify his statement. The third was the well-known dogma—the end sanctifies the means; so that any end, sanctioned by the Jesuits, might be pursued by any means, however deceitful or atrocious. Lest, however, the virtuous and thinking portion of mankind should be roused to indignation by such proceedings, they allowed the righteous, on their own severer terms, to receive absolution at their confessionals; and in propagating and

applying their more diabolical maxims, took care to give them a plentiful accompaniment of scholastic jargon and religious cant.

For the exposure and destruction of this mystery of iniquity, this compound of knavery and ambition, Pascal clearly saw, that the only feasible plan was that of shaking the authority of the Jesuits, by rendering them ridiculous: for which their solemn absurdities and juggling sophistries furnished ample means. Accordingly, under the borrowed name and character of Louis Montalte, an inquisitive but simple young man, who is altogether a novice in the controversy, he represents himself as going about, in quest of information, among the contending parties; and, then, communicating by letter, to a provincial or country friend the result of his discoveries. By this simple contrivance, Pascal has thrown into a dry and barren controversy all the life and power of a dramatic performance; and, at the same time, compressed within the limits of one small volume, a subject, which had filled whole libraries, and swallowed up ages in the discussion. /

The comic force with which his Jesuits and Dominicans play their parts—the skill with which he draws out from them, separately, the sentiments of their respective parties, together with the mutual jealousies and suspicions, which, notwithstanding their conspiracy against the Jansenists, they cherished towards each other—the amusing expectation in which he keeps them of his becoming one of their converts—the seeming ignorance but real depth of the questions, with which he embarrasses or inveigles them into confessions of their vilest maxims and purposes—the hearty dogmatism and pedantry with which, in support of their statements, they are led into quotations that authenticate his heaviest charges against them—the indescribable drollery of their argumentative difficulties and party collisions, when he brings them together and repeats what they had individually affirmed in the absence of each other—together with the apparently unconscious simplicity but real archness and skill of his own comments, and corollaries—are the master strokes of an irresistible wit. And, when viewed in connection with the enchanting ease and beauty of the composition, the unbroken clearness and continuity of the reasoning, and that perfect command of the whole field of controversy, with which he marshals every argument and topic to its purpose, and urges them all onward in progression and climax to the close; reveal such a combination of powers as no other polemical writer has shewn.

The questions, which this calm but terrible catechiser puts to

his Jacobin* and Molinist friends, are just those fine pointed hooks and slim invisible lines, (yet tough as slim) with which Socrates would have angled for a Jesuit. But it is Socrates under the mask of Aristophanes, supposing the latter to have laid his coarseness and buffoonery aside. Every argument is pointed with the keenest wit, and every stroke of humour is driven home with a logical power which makes it fatal—instantly and wherever it falls. The self-control and extreme delicacy of touch, with which his arguments and characters are handled, are such as only Addison could have equalled. He never allows them to do or say a particle too much : and such is the apparent reserve with which he argues, quotes, or derides, that the strokes, which crush and annihilate his opponents, seem less the display than the hiding of his power.

The brevity, into which his thoughts, notwithstanding their fulness and efficiency, are condensed, was the result of long and patient toil. Twenty whole days he spent in writing a single letter ; and, by way of apology for one that was longer than usual, he tells his correspondent, that ‘it was for want of time to make it short.’ Yet with what apparently unbridled life and gracefulness do the sentences bound along ! The *limæ labor et cura* have, with the most happy results been every where applied ; but no trace or scratch of the file has been left behind. So smooth are the transitions—so natural the joinings and articulations of part with part, that not Horace himself could have said of Pascal—

Præsectum decies non castigavit ad unguem.

To crush Arnauld and the Jansenists, the Jesuits were not strong enough by themselves ; a combination therefore with the Dominicans, had to be formed. But this was no easy matter. For the severe morality and consequent popularity of the Jansenists, the Dominicans had no more relish than the Jesuits themselves ; but, on the disputed subject of efficacious grace, they agreed with them in almost every particular ; and the sentiments, thus held in common, were well known to be those of Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and Bernard ; and to have received from successive popes and councils, the stamp of infallibility. The Jesuits, therefore, had to accomplish the difficult task of detaching them from the Jansenism or Calvinism (for such it really was) which they believed, and reconciling them to their own pelagianism, which the Dominicans had so fiercely and

* The Dominicans are so called in this controversy from the name of the street in which they lived—Rue de St. Jacques.

frequently denounced. And this was to be done without exposing them to the charge of heresy.

But 'nothing,' as Pascal observes, 'can come up to the Jesuits.' By substituting the terms *sufficient grace* and *proximate power* for that of *efficacious grace*, and by stipulating that, provided these phrases were stoutly maintained against the Jansenists, neither the Dominicans nor themselves should be required to explain or understand them; they gained their point. The Dominicans, over-awed by the increasing power of the Jesuits at Rome and in the court of France, entered into the verbal compromise; and thus all chance for Arnauld was destroyed; while the grand controversy, which hitherto had been a real one, was reduced to a mere war of words.

Accordingly, Louis Montalte (or Pascal, under that name), as if his eyes were for the first time just beginning to open to the light, thus drily commences his first letter:—

'SIR,—We were entirely mistaken. It was only yesterday that I was undeceived. Until that time I had laboured under the impression that the disputes in the Sorbonne were vastly important, and deeply affected the interests of religion. The frequent convocations of an assembly so illustrious as the Theological Faculty of Paris, attended by so many extraordinary and unprecedented circumstances, led one to form such high expectations, that it was impossible to help coming to the conclusion, that the subject was most extraordinary. You will be greatly surprized, however, when you learn, from the following account, the issue of this great demonstration; which, having made myself perfectly master of the subject, I shall be able to tell you in few words.'—p. 1.

Then, after showing what the question respecting M. Arnauld ought to have been, he adds:—

'You and I were supposing that the controversy here would turn upon the great principles of grace; such as, whether grace be given to all men? or, if it be efficacious in itself? But we were quite in mistake.'—p. 4.

He knew nothing, it seems, about the matter. Poor simple young creature! How should he, without light from the parties who had taken so much pains to mystify the question? But his case was not hopeless. He soon discovered where the information needed might be obtained; so that he was becoming, as he assures his country friend, 'a great theologian.' For going about at the recommendation of his friend M. N——, first, to a Jesuit; next, to a Jansenist; then to some Dominicans; and, afterwards, entering into conversation with the Jesuits and Dominicans confronted with one another; he was let into the grand mystery of '*proximate power*.'

After expostulating with the Dominicans on their folly, in allowing themselves to be drawn into the use of that unmeaning phrase by their old enemies the Jesuits, who were using them for their own purposes—

‘The fathers,’ he continues to write, ‘made no reply; and at this juncture, who should come in but my old friend the disciple of M. le Moine.’ [A Jesuit, and Arnauld’s chief opponent]. ‘I regarded this at the time an extraordinary piece of good fortune; but I have discovered since then that such meetings are not rare—that, in fact, they are constantly mixing in each others’ company.’ [A sly hit at the persecuting confederacy against Arnauld, which the two parties, who most cordially hated one another, were then endeavouring to form with each other.]

‘I know a man,’ said I, addressing myself to M. le Moine’s disciple, ‘who holds that all the righteous have always the power of praying to God, but that, notwithstanding this, they will never pray without *efficacious grace*, which determines them, and which God does not always give to all the righteous. Is he a heretic?’ ‘Stay,’ said the doctor, ‘you might take me by surprise. Let us go cautiously to work. Distinguo!’ [a pompous word which Le Moine was constantly using]. ‘If he call that power *proximate power*, he will be a Thomist, and therefore a Catholic; if not, he will be a Jansenist, and therefore a heretic.’ ‘He calls it neither proximate nor non-proximate,’ said I. ‘Then he is a heretic,’ quoth he; ‘I refer you to these good fathers’ [the Dominicans], ‘if he is not.’ I did not appeal to them as judges, for they had already nodded assent, but I said to them, ‘He refuses to admit that word, proximate, because he can meet with nobody who will explain it to him.’ Upon this, one of the fathers was on the point of offering his definition of the term, when he was interrupted by M. le Moine’s disciple, who said to him, ‘Have we not agreed not to explain that word, proximate, but to use it on both sides without saying what it signifies?’ To this, the Jacobins gave assent.

‘I was thus led into the whole secret of their plot; and rising to take my leave of them, remarked, ‘Indeed, fathers, I am afraid this is nothing better than a piece of chicanery; and whatever may be the result of your conversations, I venture to predict that, though the censure’ [of Arnauld] ‘should pass, peace will not be established; for, though it should be decided that the syllables of that word proximate should be pronounced, who does not see that, the meaning not being explained, each of you will be disposed to claim the victory?’ * * * * In short, fathers, tell me, I entreat you, what is necessary to be believed in order to be a good Catholic?’ ‘You must say,’ they all vociferated simultaneously, ‘that all the righteous have the *proximate power*, abstracting from all sense—from the sense of the Thomists, and the sense of other divines.’ ‘That is to say,’ I replied, in taking my leave of them, ‘that I must pronounce that word to avoid being the heretic of a name. For, pray, is this a scripture

word?' 'No,' said they. 'Is it a word of the fathers, the councils, or the popes?' 'No.' 'Is the word used, then, by St. Thomas?' 'No.' 'What necessity, therefore, is there for using it, since it has neither the authority of others nor any sense of itself?' 'You are an opinionative fellow,' said they; 'but you shall say it, or you shall be a heretic, and M. Arnauld into the bargain; for we are the majority, and, should it be necessary, we can bring a sufficient number of Cordeliers' [Franciscans] 'into the field to carry the day.' On hearing this solid argument, I took my leave.—p. 11—13.

Indeed, it was high time. But Louis Montalte, who was a kind of spiritual Paul Pry, was by no means cured of his inquisitiveness. Accordingly, in his next letter, he relates the manner in which he ferretted out the history and mystery of *sufficient grace*—another of the shibboleths of the Jesuit and Dominican conspiracy, which Pascal wished to destroy.

Luckily for Louis Montalte's purpose, he had received a visit, it seems, from his old friend M. N——, mentioned in the last letter, who gave him a general outline of the secret views and feelings of the several parties on the subject, and recommended him, for further information, to visit a New Thomist or Dominican; at whose door he happened to meet a Jansenist, whom he persuaded to go in with him.

In the course of the conversation which followed, he manages, partly by getting his two friends together by the ears, and partly by his own droll remarks and questions, to place the folly of the Dominicans—in allowing themselves, by the use of an unmeaning word, to be duped by their old enemies the Jesuits into a confederacy against their old friends the Jansenists—in a light the most ludicrous and contemptible which it is possible to conceive. The following extract is the commencement of that conversation :—

'How now, my dear father,' I began, 'it seems it is not enough that all men have a *proximate power*, with which they can never act with effect—they must have besides this a *sufficient grace*, with which they can act as little. Is not this the doctrine of your school?' 'It is,' said the worthy monk; 'and I was upholding it this very morning in the Sorbonne. I spoke on the point during my whole half hour; and but for the sand-glass, I bade fair to have reversed that wicked proverb, now so current in Paris—"He votes without speaking like a monk in the Sorbonne." 'What do you mean by your half hour and your sand-glass?' I asked; 'do they cut your speeches by a certain measure?' 'Yes,' said he, 'they have done so for some days past.' 'And do they oblige you to speak for half-an-hour?' 'No; we may speak as little as we please.' 'But not as much as you please,' said I. 'O what a capital regulation for boobies! what a blessed excuse for those who have nothing worth the saying! But to return to the point, father; this grace given to all men is *sufficient*,

is it not?' 'Yes,' said he. 'And it has no effect without *efficacious* grace?' 'None, whatever,' he replied. 'And all men have the sufficient,' continued I, 'and all have not the efficacious?' 'Exactly,' said he. 'That is,' returned I, 'all have enough grace, and all have not enough of it—that is, the grace suffices, though it does not suffice—that is, it is sufficient in name, and insufficient in effect! In good sooth, father, this is particularly subtle doctrine! Have you forgotten, since you retired to the cloister, the meaning attached in the world you have quitted to the word *sufficient*? * * * * *

How, then, can you allow yourselves to say that all men have sufficient grace for acting, while you admit that there is another grace, absolutely necessary to acting, which all men have not? * * *

Is it a matter of indifference to say, that with sufficient grace a person may really act?' 'How!' cried the good man, 'indifference! It is heresy—formal heresy! The necessity of efficacious grace for acting effectively, is a point of faith—it is heresy to deny it.'

'Where are we now?' I exclaimed; 'and which side am I to take here? If I deny the *sufficient* grace, I am a Jansenist; if I admit it, as the Jesuits do, in the way of denying that *efficacious* grace is necessary, I shall be a heretic, say you; and if I admit it, as you do, in the way of maintaining the necessity of efficacious grace, I sin against common sense, and am a blockhead, say the Jesuits. What must I do, thus reduced to the inevitable necessity of being a blockhead, a heretic, or a Jansenist?'—p. 18—20.

Hard case, certainly! But surely, Louis, thou art a wag! The Dominicans, however, stuck as firmly to their absurdity as the Jesuits did to their knavery; so that, before the above letter could be published, the censure upon Arnauld was carried. In his third letter, therefore, he relates the discoveries he had made by peeping behind the scenes of that mysterious business. After an amusing account of the town-talk about it, and of the difficulties in which it involved him, as a good papist—lest, by dissenting from M. Arnauld, he should be brought into collision with the church; or, by agreeing with him, get denounced as a heretic—he relates an interview which he had with a doctor in the Sorbonne, who had stood neutral on the question. From this gentleman he learnt that Arnauld was not condemned because convicted of being a heretic, but because he was a Jansenist; in fact, that the Jesuits, knowing it to be easier 'to find monks than arguments,' had condemned him 'without telling why or wherefore;' and, as to his own dread of being censured as a heretic, the good doctor consoled him as follows:—

'Keep yourself easy, then, and do not be afraid of being set down as a heretic, though you should make use of the condemned proposition. It is bad, I assure you, only as occurring in the second letter of M. Arnauld.'—p. 38—39.

This must have given great relief. But the impartial doctor

had laid the inquisitive Louis under deeper obligation. He had gratified his curiosity, while soothing his fears, by assuring him that those are considered the cleverest among the Jesuits 'who intrigue much, speak little, and write nothing;' that they were 'a people who lived from hand to mouth,' and had raised themselves above the need of argument, through the discovery of far more effectual means of refuting their opponents.

'Sometimes,' [said the doctor], 'it is by a catechism, in which a child is made to condemn their opponents; then it is by a procession, in which *sufficient grace* leads the *efficacious* in triumph; again, it is by a comedy, in which Jansenius is represented as carried off by devils; at another time, it is by an almanac; and now by this censure.'—p. 37.

Louis Montalte, therefore, after making his provincial friend acquainted with all these matters, closes his letter with the conclusions into which they had forced him:—

'This information has satisfied my purpose. I gather from it, that this same heresy is one of an entirely new species. It is not the sentiments of M. Arnauld that are heretical; it is only his person. This is a personal heresy. He is not a heretic for anything he has said or written, but simply because he is M. Arnauld. This is all they have to say against him. Do what he may, unless he cease to be, he will never be a good Catholic. The *grace* of St. Augustine will never be true grace, so long as he continues to defend it. It would become so, at once, were he to take it into his head to impugn it. * * * Let us leave them, then, to settle their own differences. These are the disputes of theologians, not of theology. We, who are not doctors, have nothing to do with their quarrels.'—p. 39.

This, doubtless, was sage counsel. But Louis had itching ears; and still retaining his desire to become 'a great theologian,' he hurries off, in company with his Jansenist friend, to an old acquaintance among the Jesuits, whose honest pedantry and dogmatism rendered him communicative; so that in the six following letters, he is enabled gradually to unfold the darker revelations and more devilish contrivances of the system. In the course of these letters, the hidden but steady aim of the Jesuits, by means of a double casuistry—a religious one for the pious, and a licentious one for the vicious—to bring the consciences of mankind universally under their control; the mysteries of *actual grace* and *sins of ignorance*, *probabalism*, *direction of the intention*, and *mental reservation*, through which their object was to be secured; along with the established rules and maxims upon which the application of this infernal machinery to cases of lying, slander, lewdness, simony, hypocrisy, theft, ambition, duelling, murder, assassination, and the absence of all

love to God, was to be conducted ; make the blood run cold as they are brought out one after another to the light ; so that the reader turns instinctively to incredulity for relief. But Louis Montalte has taken care, by unanswerable quotations from Escobar, Le Moine, Anat, Father Bauny, Lanay, and other writers of authority among them, to close up most effectually that source of consolation ; and the only relief is in the matchless humour with which he handles their absurdities.

To accomplish the purpose for which these Letters were written, it was necessary that they should not only be read, but read universally. Accordingly, Pascal felt that, dreadful as was the wickedness which he had to reveal ; the humorous style, which from the first had rivetted the attention of the world, could not with prudence be laid aside before the exposure was complete. But by the time that his ninth letter was read that point was gained. The eyes of mankind were opened ; all Europe was convulsed with laughter ; and Jesuitism had become the derision of the world. Now, then, was the time for a more deadly grapple. Accordingly, at the close of the tenth letter, flinging his comic mask aside,

—— ‘ in cothurnis prodit *Æsopus* novis.’

With the profound though hidden skill, the massive sublimity, and the terrible earnestness and power of Demosthenes himself, sanctified by devoutest feeling ; he gathers up all his former arguments and conclusions, and hurls them upon the devoted heads of his opponents with an effect in which the weight of every syllable previously written is distinctly felt. Reproaches, expostulations, arguments, threatenings, and invectives, are poured in upon their consciences in torrents of irresistible appeal, which must have rung in their ears like the blast of an apocalyptic trumpet, followed by the cry of ‘ woe ! woe ! woe !’

The Jesuits were appalled, stupified, overpowered ; for the day of doom was at hand : and though they repented not of their wicked deeds, they gnashed their teeth with rage. No pains to discover the real name of Louis Montalte were spared ; but the secret was well kept, and they felt themselves powerless. Determined, however, to resist as well as they could, they affected, at one time, to be shocked at the impiety of the letter-writer, who, in a controversy with their sacred order, had dared to employ humour. At another time, they complained, as saints and martyrs, of the cruelty ‘ which had plastered them over with honey, in order that they might be stung to death by wasps.’ At another, they ventured to assert that his quotations were garbled or false ; but took care, in saying so, to leave the proof for a more convenient season. Along with frequent volleys of

small shot, they let fly occasionally whole rounds of threatenings and curses into the air, to terrify the enemy whom they could not reach. But all in vain. Their guns were instantly seized, spiked, or turned against them, by the same invisible hand; and nothing followed but greater rout and consternation. Father Anat's attempt to make a stand in a formal answer was equally without success; for, though the letters written in reply by Pascal are full of the rubbish of popery, as an *argumentum ad hominem*, they are perfectly unanswerable.

In all the Letters which are written to Jesuits, the resolute courtesy or superstitious awe with which he persists in addressing a pack of convicted knaves, while writhing and howling under his lash, as 'fathers' and 'reverend fathers,' lends a power to his invective, of which Pascal himself, in all likelihood, was unconscious. He convicts them of endless juggling and absurdity—but they are 'fathers,' and 'reverend fathers,' notwithstanding! He tells them that they not only lie and slander, but that it is their known and deliberate intention to do so; and that while their 'slanders will be discredited, they themselves will be damned into the bargain'—but they are 'reverend fathers' still. He tells them plainly that they are 'ignorant impostors,' 'cruel, cowardly persecutors,' 'calumniators by profession,' 'common liars,' 'miserable wretches;' miscreants upon principle, who are ready to sacrifice everything sacred in heaven or earth to their supposed interests—but 'reverend fathers' they still are, and shall, and must be!

— The effects produced, as the Letters were circulated, were precisely what Pascal intended and his friends foretold. The Jesuits were at first suspected, then laughed at, and at last adhorred. Paltering in a double sense, soon came to be called an 'Escobar:' Father Bauny was referred to as an admitted authority in every case of absurdity and crime; by the common consent of nations, Jesuitism itself became the comprehensive word for everything creeping and dark; while the vengeance, wreaked afterwards upon the Jansenists and Port Royal, only served to swell the indignation which ultimately swept the Jesuits out of every court of Europe.

Whether those who compose the Order at the present time would be found ready, if occasion offered, to carry out the plans and principles of their predecessors, is a question which deserves the serious attention of mankind. We sincerely hope not. Amongst them, as well as in all other religious parties, we believe that many godly persons might be found. It is of importance, however, to remember that their fundamental laws remain unchanged, and that the authors of the infamous maxims exposed by Pascal are regarded as authorities by them still. Our

social interests demand, therefore, that the workings of the system should still be watched; and we cannot but regard the pseudo-liberalism of those writers who, evidently without examining the merits of the case, have endeavoured, by unfounded hints and surmises, to lessen the effect of Pascal's Letters, as worthy of severe rebuke. ✓

Among others, Voltaire charges him with artfully saddling 'the whole society with the extravagant opinions of some few Spanish and Flemish Jesuits,' and with representing it as their chief aim 'to corrupt the morals of mankind: a design,' he adds, 'which no sect or society ever had or ever could have.' But let Pascal be heard for himself. As to the responsibility of the society for their writers, he says, in his 17th Letter:—

‘There is a great difference between Jesuits and all other opponents. There can be no doubt you compose one body under one head; and your regulations, as I have shown [Letter ix.], prohibit you from printing anything without the approbation of your superiors, who are responsible for all the errors of individual writers, and who ‘cannot excuse themselves by saying that they did not observe the errors of the publications, for they ought to have observed them.’ So say your ordinances, and so say the letters of your generals, Aquaviva, Vitelleschi, &c.’

As to Voltaire's second insinuation, the following extract will clearly show that Pascal's charges are far less random than his own. His first insinuation was true in fact, but false in argument; his second, on the contrary, if true in argument, is false in fact.

‘Their object,’ [writes Pascal, Letter v.] is not the corruption of manners—that is not their design. But as little is it their sole aim to reform them—that would be bad policy. Their notion is briefly this. They have such a good opinion of themselves as to believe that it is useful, and in some sort essentially necessary to the good of religion, that their influence should extend everywhere, and that they should govern all consciences. Accordingly, having to deal with persons of all classes and of different nations, they find it necessary to have casuists cut to match this diversity. . . . If they had none but the looser sort of casuists, they would defeat their main design, which is to embrace all and sundry; for those who are strictly pious are fond of a stricter discipline. But as there are not many of that stamp, they do not require many severe directors to guide them. They have a few for the select few; while whole multitudes of lax casuists are provided for the multitudes that prefer laxity.’

Sir James Macintosh's tenderness for the Jesuits, at the expense of Pascal, betrays greater ignorance of the subject than even Voltaire's. ‘No man,’ he says (in his *History of England*), ‘is a stranger to the fame of Pascal; but those who may desire to form a right judgment of the ‘*Lettres Provinciales*,’ would do

well to cast a glance over the 'Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugene,' by Bonhours—a Jesuit, who has ably vindicated his order.' But what will our readers think of Sir James Mackintosh's insinuation, when they are informed that the work to which he so coolly and confidently refers as an able vindication of the Jesuits, is a work on philology, in which the 'Provincial Letters' are never once mentioned, nor even alluded to? What has Jesuitism ever done for mankind, that, in writing the history of this country, a great Protestant statesman and philosopher should, in so rash a manner, throw his shield over a system whose deliberate aim is to build its throne upon the ruined liberties of mankind? By all means let the Jesuits have fair play; but why should not fair play be given to Pascal? His fame as a philosopher, his character as a Christian, demanded it. Nor should Sir James, without firmer ground to stand upon than a book which he had never read or glanced at, have ventured to place his powerful name in opposition to a yet mightier name than his.

It is not in his exposure of Jesuitism, where no such blunders as those of Sir James Macintosh or Voltaire, are to be met with, that Pascal's weakness is to be seen. No: it is in the crouching tenderness and sycophancy with which he handles the known knavery of the pope; it is in his misrepresentation and declared abhorrence of Luther, Calvin, and the Protestants, against whom he proves nothing and attempts to prove nothing; it is in his greater deference to fathers and the apocryphal writers, than to Holy Writ; and in his unbounded reverence of transubstantiation, penance, and every other kind of popish trash. He agreed with Calvin and Luther almost to a tittle on the subject of efficacious grace; yet on that very point he hesitates not to denounce them as heretics. Though he shows the pope to have been a party to all the absurd and dangerous intrigues of the Jesuits, he nevertheless doggedly maintains his infallibility; and when pressed with the difficulties of his false position, endeavours, as unnaturally and ungracefully mounted as a witch upon a broomstick, to ride out of them on the quibble, that the pope, though fallible in fact, is not so in doctrine! After showing that the church of Rome, the Jansenists excepted, was one mass of falsehood and corruption, he flatly declares, notwithstanding, the impossibility of salvation beyond her pale. His great object, moreover, in his defence of the sisterhood of Port Royal against the Jesuits, is to prove, not their pure devotion and irreproachable morals, but that they were constantly in the orthodox habit of taking Christ 'into the stomach through the mouth!' In support of this, both he and they are ready to die; and by way of ren-

dering his statements on this point irresistibly emphatic, he reminds the Jesuits of 'that holy and terrible voice' which was then speaking to them in 'the miracles of the Holy Thorn,' of which the inmates of Port Royal were the patentees!

From all this froth and drivel, of which whole pages might be given, it may be clearly seen how deeply the poison of superstition had infected the soul of this profound original thinker, and 'devoted follower of the Lamb;' as if to show how lofty an intellect and how strong a faith it could lay prostrate. How, then, we may naturally ask, is such a phenomenon, either morally or physically, to be accounted for? By what depth of infernal contrivance, or by what dark natural affinity was it, that such beggarly infatuations could fasten, never till death to be shaken off, upon the soul of so sublime a genius and so holy a man? With this ethereal spirit, this glorious compound of philosopher and seraph, how and wherefore were the vile dregs of superstition allowed to mingle? With one foot upon the land and the other upon the sea, like the angel seen in the visions of Patmos, he often seems to bestride the whole world of thought, as if the realms of science and the depths of a diviner knowledge were equally his own. Why, then, a moment afterwards, do we behold him 'wondering after the beast,' clothed in Babylonish rags, instead of his own robes of living light? Or why did that sanctifying power (or efficacious grace, as he would devoutly call it) which seemed to tear up, by the very roots, his natural corruptions, suffer the vices and follies of a perverted education to spread in deadly night-shade over his soul?

Yet so it was; and so it often has been, and will be again. The ways of Divine Providence and the workings of Divine grace are full of inexplicable mysteries. Anomalies and contradictions make up the soul of man: leviathans share the same native deep with things creeping innumerable. With regard to Pascal, however, it is enough to remember, that a writer more thoroughly freed from superstition would have had no chance of success with the people for whom he wrote; while the important services, both in science and religion, which he rendered to mankind were such as, in other cases, a single mind has rarely if ever been permitted to combine.

Yet his works were brief and few.

ART. II.—*The Works of Walter Savage Landor.* In Two Volumes. London: Edward Moxon. 1846.

JULIUS HARE, WITHOUT WHOSE PATIENCE AND ASSIDUITY IN SUPERINTENDING THE PRESS WHILE I WAS RESIDENT IN ITALY, THE 'IMAGINARY CONVERSATIONS' NEVER WOULD HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN MY LIFE-TIME; AND JOHN FORSTER, BY WHOSE EXERTION AND SOLICITUDE A COMPLETE EDITION OF MY WRITINGS IS NOW LAID BEFORE THE READER; ACCEPT MY THANKS, RETAIN, CONTINUE, AND, IF POSSIBLE, INCREASE YOUR FRIENDSHIP FOR ME, AND RECEIVE FOR YOUR OWN WORKS ALL THE FAVOUR YOU WOULD ATTRACT TO MINE.
WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

THIS is the graceful and characteristic inscription on these volumes. Authors are the patrons of authors, in the present age, and more worthy to enjoy, and more powerful to use, the patronage than ever were the patrons of by-gone days. Among the many services to letters rendered by Mr. Julius Hare and Mr. John Forster, not the least honourable to them are the help and encouragement they have given to an elder member of the literary brotherhood, whose great and high qualities have not been of the kind which catch the frivolous success of the circulating libraries.

Indignation is the word which describes the feeling with which we have read sneers against Mr. Savage Landor, because his books have not been extensively read and circulated among the millions. There is a sycophancy to the people springing up in certain quarters which is quite as base a thing as ever was sycophancy to the aristocracy, and equally degrading to literature. For a critic, a scholar, or a gentleman, to sneer at Mr. Savage Landor and his 'select audience of three hundred readers,' is to degrade the chair of criticism to the level of the hustings. We have yet to learn that it is disgraceful to be a writer for scholars. In proportion as a man fills his mind with academic erudition, with the philosophies of nations, with the facts of science, with a knowledge of the principles and trophies of art, and adorns all these solid attainments with the polished graces of the most refined and elegant circles of society in the great capitals of Europe—in proportion as the man becomes a scholar and a gentleman, he is apt to grow unsuited, as a writer, for the crowds of the circulating libraries and the mobs of the news-venders' shops. We have heard of publications which have obtained a circulation of a quarter of a million, and never deemed their literary merits worthy of a thought.

Persons have not well considered what they are saying, who

find fault with the appearance of poets who write poetry for poets, and of painters who paint pictures only for painters. It is a huge mistake to make general sympathy the test of high and sound art. This is not to judge, but to gauge genius. Of course the amount of sale readily and immediately obtained by a book is an important consideration in the calculations of the gamblers in the publication of books. It is an affair of the till with publishers. However, the tests of the counter become very debased principles of criticism, and most ignoble standards of the beautiful, the sublime, or the humourous. Let the notion prevail that authors may be justly sneered at for the smallness of the sales of their books, and immediately a principle is laid down, which, practically applied, justifies and promotes every species of *charlatanerie* in letters; and genius, the light of nations, is the polluted slave and the despised prostitute of Mammon. Effect and sale, were they to become the proofs of success in literature, would degrade the pursuit of new truth and the creation of new beauty into a thing unworthy of comparison with aught but the traffics in debasement and crime. Seldom, if ever, does any subject engross the attention of the whole public, or enlist general sympathy. Cliques, circles, professions, classes, sects, parties, localities, are each and all interested in the things which affect them peculiarly. Seldom, indeed, does any topic arise which commands even national, much less general attention. People concern themselves with what just suits them, on the principle of *pussey*, in the nursery rhyme.

‘ Pussey cat, pussey cat,
Where have you been ?’
‘ I have been to London
To see our young queen.’
‘ And pussey, what saw you there ?’
‘ A little *mouse* under a chair.’

Not more than once in a century, if as often, does any subject arise which has interest enough to all human feelings, and force and fire enough to pierce through and bear down the barriers and bulwarks, stronger than stone and iron, which separate the different portions of the public from each other. Not to speak of any individual journals, the whole press does not always reach all the intelligent minds of the time. The news in the most widely circulated journal, like the news in a private letter, is communicated only to certain parties directly, and to others indirectly, in widening and weakening circles of repetition and undulation.

Most facts are communicated only to the parties to whom they are addressed, whether circulated publicly or privately. Individuals, families, circles, sects, have cut off communication

with each other, and maintain isolation, more or less complete. No genius has ever yet obtained the ear of the universal public. Every author must be content with the audience for which his qualities suit him. They are not the worst writers whose audience is 'fit though few.' In the history of literature and art they have been the best poets whom poets have most admired; they the best painters, who have won the admiration of painters. Perhaps it would be the loftiest fame any man could win, to say of him, he was the instructor of the gifted of his day. Among the highest, he was high. In fact, in any worthy sense of the term, success, the author has not succeeded at all who has merely obtained sale and money. Successful authors add new truths to the immortal treasury of the mind. He is successful who advances man. A successful author is a man who has created new forms of truth and beauty, and raised his fellow-men to the enjoyment, the guidance, and the appreciation of them. He belongs to the godlike sort, of whom it is the glory of the earth that they have trod it. There is splendour in the footprints of such men. Successive generations make their haunts and homes the objects of pilgrimages, and stand bareheaded before the houses which they have inhabited. Successful authors have served men in ways so elevated and splendid, that even heaven has been glorified.

The application of the 'till and counter tests' to books and authors is a main cause of what has been called the present *ramollissement* of literature. The brain of society is softened; not entirely deranged, but weakened and enfeebled. The chief symptom of this disease in our current literature, is the universal practice of writing down to the level of the lower capacities of the reading public. Authors are nothing if not popular. It is a reproach to write for the closets of scholars, instead of the mobs of the circulating libraries. Style and wit are the only things for which there is either payment or applause. The laurel chaplet is given to the story-teller who can enchant the largest audience. Never perhaps in the whole history of literature, has fame been so completely the slave of worldly success in letters, though won by pretty conceits of fancy and sweet tinklings of style. We doubt if there has ever been a period since the revival of letters, when merely amusing qualities won their possessors so much money and renown. Certainly there never was a time when the power to discover or expound new truths, and to lead opinion to beneficent results, was held in less esteem. The only thing which is worthy of the name of literature has almost ceased to be desired in the world of letters. We speak not of the neglect of works of philosophy merely—though the developments of systematic

thought have less encouragement now a-days, than they had in the middle ages—which it is the conceited fashion of the day to deem inferior to this middle of the nineteenth century, in muscularity and manliness of mind. Nothing worthy of the name of art is encouraged in poetry. We are quite sure, not merely, that a Milton would not now receive fifteen pounds for his ‘Paradise Lost;’ but that he would not find a publisher who would risk the paper and the print. ‘You see Mr. Milton, your work is not written in a popular style; it requires thought, sir. Gentlemen cannot read it at a sitting between sleeping and waking after dinner. There are learned allusions—classical, philosophical, historical, scientific, and nobody likes these things in these days. They are too much trouble in this busy age. Such works do not answer. But, sir, if you should write something light and comic, with personal sketches—hein! you understand Mr. Milton—I shall be very happy to hear from you. If you like, indeed, to confide your work to me at the usual trade terms, I shall be happy to do the best I can for you, if you will mention a reference.’

Mr. Walter Savage Landor, in his personal qualities as a writer, does not look small beside any of the writers of the day who write to sell. In many qualities they are small beside him—in learning, intellect, accomplishment—in thought, imagery and genius. His ‘select audience of three hundred’ we should deem an honour and not a disgrace to such a man, even were the sarcasm true. But it is false. He has for many years had the ear of almost all of the most intelligent readers of his age. His most popular thoughts and most beautiful expressions have run the round of the press occasionally for the last quarter of a century and more. He has long been one of those who instruct the instructors of the time; a higher office be it known than that of the most brilliant essayist, or the most popular story-teller of the day.

We shall neither controvert nor subscribe to the opinions put forth by Mr. Landor, for reasons arising from our time, space, and inclinations. But we submit Mr. Landor has done himself an injustice by the form in which he has chosen to address the public. Were we not such fanatical realists as to object to imaginary conversations altogether, when put into the mouths of real personages, we should nevertheless find fault with this form as faulty in itself. We most deferentially submit, that to write imaginary conversations is inferior work to biography or historical sketching, which enables the reader to realise the actual meanings, times, places, and circumstances in which great men actually communicated their thoughts to each other. There is another objection to this

form. To be able to imagine truly and thoroughly the conversations of great men, we must be greater than they were in intellect and imagination. We must be masters of them, their characters, their thoughts, their times, and their positions. Of course it is no disparagement to Mr. Landor to say, that he has adopted a form not merely beyond his powers and attempted to carry a load of thought to which not only is he unequal, but which would have broken the backs of William Shakspeare, Francis Bacon, and Wolfgang Goethe, had they together placed their shoulders under it. One consequence of this is, that Walter Savage Landor often does not carry the solid thoughts at all, but only light imitations of them. The armour is not solid steel, but only *papier maché*. What seems to be a huge block of marble, is only an imitation of marble in paper. Mahomet, it is said, went to the mountain when it would not come to him, and Mr. Landor has been obliged, instead of wielding the real thoughts of the Bacons, Browns, Calvins, Cromwells, Gallileos, Miltons, Buonapartes, Barrows, Newtons, to make the best figure he could with beautiful and imposing resemblances of them. However, to fail in such efforts is noble failure. Mr. Landor lifts up the minds of his readers by every effort. It is bracing work for a man to try to form clear conceptions of the manifold opinions of historical, literary, scientific, and artistic personages; and the varieties of grounds of them existing in minds of different kinds, but all of high degrees of mental power. He plunges manfully into the study of mankind, who strives by means of his sympathies, to feel how the restless and marvellous waves of emotion and passion, heave and dash in the mysterious souls of gifted men. Readers must become greater men by entering into even an imaginary Wallalha, consisting of those whose intellect has had the force of genius, and whose generosity has arisen to the heights of heroism. Such a writer may not succeed so thoroughly in his most ambitious enterprise, but it is not less beneficent or meritorious, than if he had very satisfactorily shown us how borderers fought in feudal days—how knights won in the tournaments of chivalry, or how cabmen jest in the streets of Cocaigue.

To bring out our view of the merits and defects of the imaginary conversations, we extract one of the best and briefest of them—Lord Bacon and Richard Hooker—

‘*Bacon.* Hearing much of your worthiness and wisdom, Master Richard Hooker, I have besought your comfort and consolation in this my too heavy affliction; for we often do stand in need of hearing what we know full well, and our own balsams must be poured into our breasts by another’s hand. On these occasions, we cannot put

ourselves in a posture to receive the latter, and still less are we at leisure to look into the corners of our store-room, and to uncurl the leaves of our references. As for memory, who, you may tell me, would save us the trouble, she is footsore enough in all conscience with me, without going further back. Withdrawn as you live from court and courtly men, and having ears occupied by better reports than such as are flying about me, yet haply so hard a case as mine, befalling a man heretofore not averse from the studies in which you take delight, may have touched you with some concern.

‘*Hooker*. I do think, my Lord of Verulam, that, unhappy as you appear, God in sooth has foregone to chasten you, and that the day which in his wisdom he appointed for your trial, was the very day on which the king’s Majesty gave unto your ward and custody the great seal of his English realm. And yet perhaps it may be, let me utter it without offence, that your features and stature were from that day forward no longer what they were before. Such an effect do power and rank and office produce even on prudent and religious men.

‘A hound’s whelp howleth if you pluck him up above where he stood: man, in much greater peril from falling, doth rejoice.

‘*Bacon*. Master Richard, it is surely no small matter to lose the respect of those who looked up to us for countenance; and the favour of a right learned king; and O, Master Hooker, such a power of money! But money is mere dross. I should always hold it so, if it possessed not two qualities; that of making men treat us reverently, and that of enabling us to help the needy.

‘*Hooker*. The respect, I think, of those who respect us for what a fool can give and a rogue can take away, may easily be dispensed with; but it is indeed a high prerogative to help the needy; and when it pleases the Almighty to deprive us of it, let us believe that he foreknoweth our inclination to negligence in the charge entrusted to us, and that in his mercy he hath removed from us a most fearful responsibility.

‘*Bacon*. I know a number of poor gentlemen to whom I could have rendered aid.

‘*Hooker*. Have you examined and sifted their worthiness?

‘*Bacon*. Well and deeply.

‘*Hooker*. Then must you have known them long before your adversity, and while the means of succouring them were in your hands.

‘*Bacon*. You have circumvented and entrapped me, Master Hooker, Faith! I am mortified: you the schoolman, I the schoolboy!

‘*Hooker*. Say not so, my lord. Your years indeed are fewer than mine, by seven or thereabout; but your knowledge is far higher, your experience richer. Our wits are not always in blossom upon us. When the roses are over-charged and languid, up springs a spike of rue. Mortified on such an occasion! God forelend it! But again to the business. . . I should never be over-penitent for my neglect of needy gentlemen who have neglected themselves much worse. They have chosen their profession with its chances and contingencies. If they had protected their country by their courage, or adorned it by

their studies, they would have merited, and, under a king of such learning and such equity, would have received in some sort their reward. I look upon them as so many old cabinets of ivory and tortoise-shell, scratched, flawed, splintered, rotten, defective both within and without, hard to unlock, insecure to lock up again, unfit to use.

' *Bacon*. Methinks it beginneth to rain, Master Richard. What if we comfort our bodies with a small cup of wine, against the ill-temper of the air? Wherefore, in God's name, are you affrightened?

' *Hooker*. Not so, my lord; not so.

' *Bacon*. What then affects you?

' *Hooker*. Why, indeed, since your lordship interrogates me . . . I looked, idly and imprudently, into that rich buffet; and I saw, unless the haze of the weather has come into the parlour, or my sight is the worse for last night's reading, no fewer than six silver pints. Surely six tables for company are laid only at coronations.

' *Bacon*. There are many men so squeamish, that forsooth they would keep a cup to themselves, and never communicate it to their nearest and best friend; a fashion which seems to me offensive in an honest house, where no disease of ill repute ought to be feared. We have lately, Master Richard, adopted strange fashions; we have run into the wildest luxuries. The Lord Leicester, I heard it from my father . . . God forefend it should ever be recorded in our history . . . when he entertained Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth Castle, laid before her Majesty a fork of pure silver. I the more easily credit it, as Master Thomas Coriatt doth vouch for having seen the same monstrous sign of voluptuousness at Venice. We are surely the especial favourites of Providence, when such wantonness hath not melted us quite away. After this portent, it would otherwise have appeared incredible that we should have broken the Spanish Armada.

' Pledge me: hither comes our wine.

[*To the Servant.*

' Dolt! villain! is not this the beverage I reserve for myself?

' The blockhead must imagine that malmsey runs in a stream under the ocean, like the Alpheus. Bear with me, good Master Hooker, but verily I have little of this wine, and I keep it as a medicine for my many and growing infirmities. You are healthy at present; God in his infinite mercy long maintain you so! Weaker drink is more wholesome for you. The lighter ones of France are best accommodated by nature to our constitutions, and therefore she has placed them so within our reach, that we have only to stretch out our necks, in a manner, and drink them from the vat. But this malmsey, this malinsey, flies from centre to circumference, and makes youthful blood boil.

' *Hooker*. Of a truth, my knowledge in such matters is but spare. My Lord of Canterbury once ordered part of a goblet, containing some strong Spanish wine, to be taken to me from his table, when I dined by sufferance with his chaplains, and, although a most discreet, prudent man, as becometh his high station, was not so chary of my

health as your lordship. Wine is little to be trifled with, physic less. The Cretans, the brewers of this malmsey, have many aromatic and powerful herbs among them. On their mountains, and notably on Ida, grows that dittany which works such marvels, and which perhaps may give activity to this hot medicinal drink of theirs. I would not touch it, knowingly: an unregarded leaf, dropped into it above the ordinary, might add such puissance to the concoction, as almost to break the buckles in my shoes: since we have good and valid authority, that the wounded hart, on eating thereof, casts the arrow out of his haunch or entrails, although it stuck a palm deep.

‘*Bacon*. When I read of such things, I doubt them. Religion and politics belong to God, and to God’s vicegerent the king: we must not touch upon them unadvisedly: but if I could procure a plant of dittany on easy terms, I would persuade my apothecary and my gamekeeper to make some experiments.

‘*Hooker*. I dare not distrust what grave writers have declared, in matters beyond my knowledge.

‘*Bacon*. Good Master Hooker, I have read many of your reasonings, and they are admirably well sustained; added to which, your genius has given such a strong current to your language as can come only from a mighty elevation and a most abundant plenteousness. Yet forgive me, in God’s name, my worthy master, if you descried in me some expression of wonder at your simplicity. We are all weak and vulnerable somewhere: common men in the higher parts; heroes, as was feigned of Achilles, in the lower. You would define to a hair’s breadth the qualities, states, and dependencies, of principalities, dominations, and powers; you would be unerring about the apostles and the churches; and ’tis marvellous how you wander about a pot-herb.

‘*Hooker*. I know my poor weak intellects, most noble lord, and how scantily they have profited by my hard painstaking. Comprehending few things, and those imperfectly, I say only what others have said before, wise men and holy; and if, by passing through my heart into the wide world around me, it pleaseth God that this little treasure shall have lost nothing of its weight and pureness, my exultation is then the exultation of humility. Wisdom consisteth not in knowing many things, nor even in knowing them thoroughly; but in choosing and in following what conduces the most certainly to our lasting happiness and true glory. And this wisdom, my Lord of Verulam, cometh from above.

‘*Bacon*. I have observed, among the well-informed and the ill-informed, nearly the same quantity of infirmities and follies: those who are rather the wiser keep them separate, and those who are wisest of all keep them better out of sight. Now examine the sayings and writings of the prime philosophers; and you will often find them, Master Richard, to be untruths made to resemble truths. The business with them is to approximate as nearly as possible, and not to touch it: the goal of the charioteer is *evitata fervidis rotis*, as some poet saith. But we who care nothing for chants and cadences, and have no time

to catch at applauses, push forward over stones and sands straightway to our object. I have persuaded men, and shall persuade them for ages, that I possess a wide range of thought unexplored by others, and first thrown open by me, with many fair inclosures of choice and abtruse knowledge. I have incited and instructed them to examine all subjects of useful and rational inquiry: few that occurred to me have I myself left untouched or untried: one, however, hath almost escaped me, and surely one worth the trouble.

Hooker. Pray, my lord, if I am guilty of no indiscretion, what may it be?

Bacon. Francis Bacon.—vol. i. pp. 136—138.

It is not possible to peruse this exquisite dialogue without admiration of the style. We prefer the style of Mr. Landor, to that of either Bacon or Hooker, in some qualities. His style has more of the fresh Saxon, than of the Latin flavour. There is an ease about it which, joined with elegance and polish, was never exhibited by the English language, till the days of Addison. The thoughts and images are excellent when viewed as those of their author. In reference to Bacon and Hooker, we deem the thoughts subject to cavil. To us they do not seem like the men. Both had less of elegant fancy and more of solid imagination than Mr. Landor has given them. Bacon would never have talked of ‘uncurling the leaves of our references.’ The grave imagination of Hooker would not have suggested to him any simile so pretty as that about the roses. ‘Our wits are not always in blossom upon us. When the roses are overcharged and languid, up springs a spike of rue.’ The scientific doubt of Bacon, and the religious credulity of Hooker are finely hit off by the remarks upon the properties of the dittany. Avarice was not the vice of Bacon. The exclamation, and ‘O master Hooker, such a power of money’ is not in keeping with the dashing rapacity of the fallen Lord Chancellor. Bacon was ruined by his love of show. He was a flashy man. His inauguration banquet, as Lord Chancellor, given at York House, in the Strand, was one of the most sumptuous and expensive entertainments of the age. To make a display, he disregarded the fact known to himself and to some of his guests, that the gorgeous hangings of his rooms on the occasion were bribes. After he had been detected, condemned, had confessed, and was imprisoned in the Tower, instead, when released, of leaving London privately and modestly, Bacon collected together as many horsemen and gentlemen as he could, and left London with such a splendid retinue, that the Prince Charles, afterwards the first king of the name, exclaimed, on seeing him, ‘that man scorns to go out like a snuff.’ Bacon never was the man to whine over the ‘power of money’ he had

lost, or deem the age sunk in luxury on account of the introduction of silver forks. There is too little philosophical bulk in the ideas which Mr. Landor puts into the mouth of Lord Bacon. In the language of Richard Hooker we can see no loomings of the huge masses of ecclesiastical and theological lore, which give a sombre magnificence to his writings.

Few books contain more valuable and suggestive ideas than the volume before us. What Mr. Landor says is generally true — never common-place — always suggestive — and always said gracefully and beautifully. We find in three or four sentences on the treatment of the children of criminals, in a conversation between *Peter Leopold* and the *President du Paty*, the substance of all the wisdom which has appeared for several years back in the newspapers, magazines, reviews, books, speeches, and sermons, on the subject of the education of out-cast children.

‘The first duty of a legislator is to apportion penalties ; the second is to insulate them as much as possible, and to embank the waters of bitterness. I would therefore, both for the sake of compensation to the unoffending and to guard against offences, place the children of criminals in schools or workhouses, appointed for that purpose, and forbid them to keep the paternal name, which, for more than one reason, should be the first thing forfeited. A workhouse ought to contain a school, not of writing or reading, but of industry. If you wish to make the bulk of men wiser, do not put books into their hands which they will either throw away from indifference or must drop from necessity, but give them employment suitable to their abilities, and let them be occupied in what will repay them the most certainly and the best. Their thoughts will thus be directed to one main point, and you will produce good artisans and good citizens. This is the wisdom for every day in the week ; and what is higher than this will never be impeded by it, and will often rise out of it.’— vol. i. p. 52.

We must add Mr. Landor, we fear, to the numerous list of writers who can produce poetical prose of great beauty, and fail, when they attempt poetry, to produce a single line of it. Eloquent prose, broken up into the rhythm of blank verse, or the clink of metre, is all we find in these volumes, under the name of poetry. The fault, however, may lie in our definition of what poetry is. We call poetry, emotional thought expressed in musical words. Poetry is the melodious language of the feelings. Thoughts, ideas, truths,—however beautiful, and however musically expressed—are not poetry. They express the logical conduct, not the emotional nature of man—the intellect, and not the affections—the head, and not the heart. Eloquence is impassioned truth. Poetry is passion expressed in

melodious words. Mr. Landor has not written a single line which commends itself as a motto of the heart. His dramatic pieces have the fault of not being dramatic. Indeed, under whatever shape he publishes, he can express only his own eloquent opinions. Mr. Landor must pardon the expression of this view of his poetry. There is no irreverent depreciation of his genius implied in the remark; which applies to his verses,—not more than to the poetic attempts of many of the best prose writers, from Francis Bacon down to Thomas Carlyle. Upon the whole, as a scholar, a thinker, an eloquent and beautiful writer, Mr. Landor has a place among the highest writers of his age. We rejoice, therefore, that he has lived to see his works collected in a complete form, worthy of their classic and standard merits. His influence has always tended to make mankind more just and kindly—to refine, to elevate, and ennoble his readers. May his declining years be cheered by this sweet consciousness, and love and reverence surround the old age of a greatly gifted writer, who has benefitted the world by his being in it.

ART. III.—*Memoir of William Knibb, Missionary in Jamaica.* By John Howard Hinton, M.A. 8vo. London: Houlston and Stoneman.

THE history of modern missions is full of instruction. The period over which it extends is sufficiently protracted to allow of a calm view of their operations, and to furnish materials for a better judgment than could be formed some half century since. Our fathers, who originated these measures, were not in a condition so advantageous as ourselves to arrive at a sound conclusion on some points of great practical moment. They would have been the first to acknowledge this, and we shall be unworthy of their name, if we do not prosecute their labours in the same spirit of free and earnest enquiry, which they cherished. The operations they originated were novelties, the propriety and obligation of which could only be made apparent by an appeal from the artificial and false standards of their day, to the authoritative rule of Christian duty. What they devised was, in fact, a series of experiments, by which devout Christian men sought to ascertain the best methods of extending the knowledge and influence of religious truth; and the results of those experiments are now before us. They proceeded on the ground of general obligation,

and they were wise in doing so. It was the only course they could adopt. They were shut up to it by the circumstances of their day; and in the comprehensiveness of their views, their practical sagacity, their deep religious spirit and apostolical zeal, we see their fitness for the enterprise, and gratefully recognise the interposing favour of the Head of the church. Let us not, therefore, be suspected of being deficient, either in reverence or in love for their memories, if we intimate our conviction that the time is come for a review of their plans, both domestic and foreign, so as to gather up, and apply, the lessons which have been taught in the course of our various operations. We must have lived to little purpose, and have exercised but slight observation on what has been passing in the missionary field, if some of our views have not been modified by the events which have occurred. It is the part of wise men to learn from experience, and the sooner its lessons are applied in the department of Christian missions, the more successful will be our labours. Various circumstances which are passing before us call for such review, and we purpose therefore speedily attempting it. The duty will be a trying one, but we shall not shrink from its discharge. We are conscious of no other feeling than that which Christian men should cherish, and shall endeavour, in giving expression to our views, to avoid whatever may be personally offensive or painful. At present we are concerned with the Memoir before us, in the notice of which, however, some of these points will incidentally come up.

It is impossible to review the course of modern missions, without being struck with the fact, that its most distinguished agents have belonged to various religious bodies. In our folly we may have been ready to imagine that we alone were fitted for the work of evangelization, and there has consequently been a want of sympathy with other labourers, a readiness to receive reports unfavourable to their character, and a disparaging estimate of their success. Like the early disciples we have been ready to forbid them, because they walked not with us. We know that these are unpleasant averments, but they are truths nevertheless, and we are aware of no good purpose which can be answered by their concealment. The Head of the church has rebuked the sectarianism of its members, by the success with which he has crowned the efforts of all evangelical labourers in the missionary field. To say nothing of other denominations, the two sections of the Congregational body may well stand rebuked, when the names of Carey and Morrison, of Williams and Knibb, are repeated. He must be wanting in some of the nobler features of the religious character who permits his denominational feelings to overlay his

Christian sympathies in relation to such men. Be he Baptist or Pædobaptist, he is wanting in the first element of genuine catholicity; and for very shame should supply this deficiency, before magnifying himself as an advocate of Christian union.

William Knibb, the subject of the memoir on our table, was well known to us. We were in habits of intercourse with him; we saw him in private as well as in public,—chatted with him at the fire-side in the confidence of friendly intercourse; and watched his procedure on some most critical and trying occasions. As the result of all, we feel no hesitation in avowing our conviction that, take him for all in all, he was such a man as the world rarely sees. There was true nobility in his soul, the elements of a greatness which spurned subjection to mere conventionalities, when they stood in the way, or were obstructive to the claims, of duty. Our esteem and love were founded on his proved fidelity. We held them in suspense till we saw how he acted on the most critical, and the turning point of his life; and have never seen reason to regret the heartiness with which they were given to him, when his integrity shone forth as the light. He was no perfect man. It is not our intention to represent him as such. He had his weaknesses and his faults; but they were on the surface—visible, indeed, to all, and sometimes adduced, even by Christian men, for the purpose of detraction. This we readily admit—but what then? Notwithstanding all, he was one of the purest, most high-minded, and intensely devout of believers. To the simplicity of childhood, he added the compressed energy, the masculine strength, and the burning, but sanctified, passion of manhood.

William Knibb was born at Kettering, on the 7th of September, 1803. The first rudiments of his education were received at a dame-school, whence he was removed to the town grammar school, where he continued for three years. This brief period appears to have completed his school education, so far at least as week-day instruction was concerned; but it is worthy of remark, as constituting an important fact in his history, that at the age of seven he entered the Sunday-school connected with the congregation of the late Mr. Toller. This was in September, 1810, and he remained in the school 'acquitting himself with great credit' until 1816. His teacher, Mr. Gill, still a resident at Kettering, describes him,—and those who knew him afterwards will readily detect the outline of the future man—'as a good boy, but somewhat volatile, and very difficult to manage until his affections had been gained. He quickly took the part of any boy he thought injured, and maintained these generous quarrels with great resoluteness—it may be said, with pugnacity.' In 1816, he removed to Bristol with Mr. J. G. Fuller, a

printer, in whose service both himself and his elder brother Thomas were employed. There he attended the ministry of Dr. Ryland, a man held in universal esteem, beloved by all who knew him, and revered for his uniform consistency, and the blameless purity of his religious zeal. He was baptized on the 7th of March, 1822, having previously been engaged for some years as a teacher in the Broadmead Sunday-school. Both himself and his brother were, from the first dawn of their religious life, anxious to engage in missionary work. Their characters differed. Thomas was milder, less enterprising, and more timid than William, and sometimes gave way to a despondency, against which the buoyant temper of his junior successfully struggled. 'Never mind, Thomas,' said William Knibb, on one occasion, when the former was apprehensive that the raising up of native preachers in the East would supersede the necessity for European labourers, 'the society cannot do without printers, and I am sure Mr. Fuller will recommend us, and then we can preach too, if we like.' In July, 1822, the elder brother was accepted by the Baptist Missionary Society, and sailed for Jamaica in the October of that year, to take charge of a free-school established at Kingston. His course was brief, his death occurring on the 25th of April, 1823, after an illness of only three days. The beautiful letter written by his mother, on receipt of this painful intelligence, throws considerable light on the moral history of the two brothers. Such a mother was well calculated to prepare her sons for eminent usefulness. We err in our judgments from the partial view we take of things. We cannot trace causes, nor follow out the more latent influences which mould human character. What is immediate and obvious we notice, and to that we attribute the effects which are produced; but when the secrets of all hearts are revealed, when the complex influences out of which character grows, are traced, we doubt not that the example, instructions, and prayers of Mrs. Knibb, senior, will be found to have contributed greatly to the usefulness of her sons. It would have excited no wonder, if the premature death of his brother had deterred William Knibb from the further prosecution of his views. 'He met the crisis, however, with his characteristic promptness. When the intelligence of his brother's decease was communicated to him by Mr. Fuller, his feelings were strongly excited; but immediately after the first gush of feeling had subsided, he rose up from table, and said, 'Then, if the society will accept me, I'll go and take his place.' The secret of his character is here disclosed. In the decision which he showed, the utter disregard of discouragements and dangers which he evinced in the following out of what he deemed duty, we see the

future man, the undaunted and inflexible champion of the sons of Africa. The society, or at least its secretary, had contemplated sending him to Sumatra, as appears from a note of Dr. Ryland's to Mr. Dyer. The opinion of the former, however, was favourable to his proceeding to the West Indies rather than the East, and the unexpected death of his brother opened the way for his doing so. He had been preparing for the work ever since his brother's departure, not only as a diligent Sunday-school teacher, but also as a town missionary. His labours at this period were abundant, and were precisely of the nature best adapted to fit him for his appointed sphere. The benefits to be derived from such occupations are worthy of the attentive consideration of those who are engaged in the training of our ministry. Our own conviction is, that they are too much neglected; but we speak as unto wise men. Let others judge what we say. On the 12th of August, 1824, the offer of his services was accepted by the Committee of the Baptist Mission, and he was requested to come up to London, in order to avail himself of the advantages of attending the Borough-road School. With this request he immediately complied; and the following brief extract, in illustration of one of the prominent features of his character, shows a candour and sound judgment unhappily rare in men of mature years.

'A glimpse of him at the Borough-road School, where he went, as intended, for the purpose of acquiring the British system of education, is furnished by a gentleman who was then, and is now, in that establishment. The personal recollection of this gentleman is to this effect: that William Knibb was 'chiefly distinguished for the exuberance of his animal spirits and his almost irrepressible tendency to frolic;' and that 'he was marked rather by incessant activity, than by any deep or earnest thoughtfulness.' I am well pleased with this reminiscence—I might say, perhaps, particularly pleased with it. We have had evidence enough, both of the vigour of his mind and of the solidity of his piety; combined with these, 'incessant activity,' 'exuberance of animal spirits,' and even 'an *almost* irrepressible tendency to frolic,' are, *in a youth*, the finest elements conceivable for the formation of the man, and above all for the man who is successfully to encounter arduous toil and strenuous conflict.'—pp. 28, 29.

His public designation occurred at Bristol, October 7th, when his aged pastor addressed him from Matthew x. 16: 'Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves;' and on the fifth of the following month he sailed from Blackwall in the same vessel as had conveyed his brother to the scene of his brief labours. The abundance of the materials before us compels us to pass over the incidents of his voyage. On Satur-

day, the 12th of February, 1825, he landed at Morant Bay, and on the following Wednesday arrived at Kingston. The moral pollution engendered by slavery struck him at first sight, and was therefore specially insisted on in his earliest communications with the friends he had left in England. As yet he knew but little of its social wretchedness and temporal privations, but he saw the image of his God defaced, the temple of his Maker in ruins; and this was enough to awaken his deepest reprobation. Writing to his brother Edward, he says:—

‘The more I see of slavery, the more I hate and abhor it. It appears to me to be the foulest blot under heaven, and to spread a withering and pestilential influence over every land which is infested with it. Never, my beloved brother, argue in support of a system so corrupt, so repugnant to every feeling of right and justice, and which must be viewed by God with manifest abhorrence. I do not thus write because I think that the slaves are not well off in temporal things—they have generally enough and to spare; but it is the state of their minds—here you have a barren waste, without anything to relieve the eye. And this moral degradation is urged as a reason why they should not be freed. Their oppressors have reduced them so low, that they can plead their oppression as a reason why they should continue to oppress. But let it not be thought that the slave is the only one who is vile; the white population is worse, far worse, than the victims of their injustice. There is scarcely a chaste person to be found, except such as have a sense of piety. It is here that the evil lies. Though I have been here but a short time, I have seen enough to disgust my soul; nor do I envy the feelings of that person who could view with indifference a system which is glutted with crimes both against God and man. O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto them, mine honour, be not thou united.’—p. 49.

More accurate information changed his estimate of the temporal condition of the slave; but now that his career is closed, it is pleasing to observe that his first loathing of the slave system, the intense hatred with which he regarded it, was founded on the moral wrong which it inflicted on all classes of the community. His earliest emotions foreshadowed the indignation and abhorrence with which he subsequently denounced the nefarious system. He entered on his scholastic duties with characteristic ardour. A new and enlarged school-room was erected, and various improvements in the mode of instruction, were introduced. Within six months from the opening of the building, a hundred and fifty new pupils were received, and the general attendance exceeded two hundred. He established also a Sabbath-school for children and adults, and evidently laboured to the utmost of his power. ‘I feel,’ he says, in a letter to Mr. Dyer, ‘more pleasure than I can express, in being able to in-

form you that one old slave has been taught from his alphabet to read the Testament, and that many others are in such forwardness that I hope soon to have a Testament class. We have about sixty men and forty women, and the earnestness they manifest surprises us all. Not a week passes but some come to enlist themselves, as they call it, whom I am obliged to send away for want of books. This grieves me to the heart.'

He remained in this situation nearly twelve months after the enlargement of the school-house, when his health completely failed, and he was compelled to seek its renewal in a temporary suspension of his labours. He removed for a time to Montego Bay, on the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Burchell, where he received much kindness, and gathered fresh strength for the labours which awaited him. The union between himself and Mr. Burchell was of no ordinary nature. They held each other in mutual esteem, and their friendship was cemented by their subsequent trials. We knew them both—Mr. Burchell perhaps more intimately than Mr. Knibb. Their qualities were very different. Burchell was cool, sound in judgment, and disposed to take a somewhat gloomy view of men and things; while Knibb was ardent, hasty in his decisions, and sanguine in his temperament. The former was the better chamber-counsel; the latter, the more able and successful advocate. Knibb had most physical courage; but Burchell was his equal in that moral intrepidity which stands by the truth, whatever be the consequences of its advocacy. Their qualities admirably balanced each other, and no feeling of envy or rivalry existed in either breast. Knibb's bodily constitution was much more happily attempered than that of Burchell; but the nobleness of the disposition of the latter was seen in the complacency with which he regarded the greater popularity of his friend. We have seen the strong man—for in former days Burchell was strong—shaken with powerful emotions, and have heard bitter and burning words issue from his lips; but on no occasion, though his heart was frequently laid bare to us, did we discover the slightest indication of that jealousy which a weaker or less devoted man would have felt. Few men would have equalled him in this respect, and his triumph was the more complete and honourable, as his disposition was naturally dictatorial and imperious.

'His journey to and from Montego Bay,' says Mr. Hinton, 'opened quite a new field of observation to him, and presented the mission to him in a fresh aspect. He had previously no conception of the magnitude which missionary operations had reached on the north side; and while, on the one hand, his heart glowed with gratitude and joy at the sight, it began to beat high with desire to take some share in the toil. Mr. Burchell was powerfully impressed with the adaptation of Knibb to the work,

and in a letter to Mr. Dyer strongly urged his appointment to some principal station. Knibb himself intimated a desire to occupy Falmouth,—a station then vacant, but yielded readily to the claims of Mann, who was soon afterwards appointed to it.

All through the early part of the year 1829, Knibb was soliciting from the committee the appointment of a successor, clinging to his work, however, almost in the spirit of martyrdom. 'I am still in the school,' says he to Mr. Dyer, 'though I am but so so; but I cannot leave it so long as I can stand, or till some help is sent. I feel more than ever a wish to spend, and be spent, in the service of God. I often think, when viewing the tomb of my dear brother, of his dying wish, 'Had I a thousand lives, I should wish to spend them in the service of God in Jamaica.' '—p. 66.

During his connexion with the school at Kingston, Mr. Knibb had frequently engaged in missionary labours. The necessities of the stations led to this, and it was soon found that he was eminently fitted for the work. The brethren, therefore, encouraged his zeal; and the marks of Divine favour which attended his exertions, induced him to continue and extend them. The following extract records a beautiful instance of simple-minded and earnest piety, which might well have this effect:—

'I have lately been called to witness the death-beds of some whose experience has rejoiced my heart. One poor female slave, who had been ill of a decline a year, was in this number. I found her lying on a mat on the floor, her head supported by a chest. Never did I see such an object. When I entered, she said, 'O massa, me glad to see you; me thought me should die, and not be able to tell you how good our Lord is; O massa, him too good, too good, for me poor neger.' After questioning her, I asked her if she was afraid to die; her eyes sparkled with delight: 'No, massa, Jesus him die for me, me no afraid to die, and go to him—him too good.' O, thought I, this is religion. Here is a poor slave, with scarcely any comforts, who has been lying for a year in this hut, and can talk of nothing but the goodness of God. I prayed with her, and wishing her an abundant entrance into the kingdom of God's dear Son, took my farewell; she squeezed my hand, told me to 'say how de to Massa Coultart, and tell him me wish him may have two crowns when him come to heaven.' Soon afterwards she died, rejoicing in that love of which I doubt not she is now a happy partaker. While committing her body to the earth, I rejoiced that soon it should arise without corruption, and be for ever in His presence. There may I meet her!' '—pp. 59, 60.

It would be somewhat amusing, did not a graver feeling settle in our minds, to learn that the Baptist Missionary Committee hesitated, for some time, to give Mr. Knibb the certificate which was requisite, in order to his obtaining a license to preach

at Kingston. He had gone out as a schoolmaster, and did not therefore take with him a certificate of appointment as a preacher. Without such certificate, the Jamaica authorities refused their license; and on application being made for it to the society, in the autumn of 1826; strange to say, the committee demurred, and, for a while, appeared unwilling to grant the necessary document. The ground of their hesitancy was stranger even than the fact itself. 'I have understood,' says the Rev. Joshua Tinson, one of the society's missionaries at Kingston, in a letter addressed to Mr. Dyer, 'that you have been unwilling to supply these (the necessary documents), when applied for subsequently to his arrival here, partly, if not wholly, on the ground of *his not having received an academical education.*' It is true, and in justice to the committee it should be borne in mind, that this was within two years of Mr. Knibb's arrival in Jamaica. We must not, therefore, pronounce judgment on their procedure, under the influence of what has subsequently occurred. They could know nothing of the eminent qualifications for missionary work which were afterwards elicited. They could judge of the case only by general rules, and had they simply instituted inquiries in Jamaica, with a view of ascertaining Mr. Knibb's trustworthiness and adaptation to the work, they would have acted as wise men, and have entitled themselves to our respect. But when, instead of this, they adopted a rule, than which few are more unsound and mischievous, which their own history, as a denomination, condemned, and which the mere names of Bunyan, Carey, Booth, and Fuller, should have sufficed to negative—they took up a position that merits the severest censure, and may well guard us against a too confiding trust in man. We should not refer to this matter, were it not for the purpose of pointing out the importance, of a vigilant though candid observation, being maintained on the proceedings of such bodies. A generous, but not an implicit, confidence should be reposed in their conductors. The very character of their proceedings exposes them to special dangers, while the partial information and inconsiderate haste with which some of their resolutions are taken, frequently involve a neglect of important principles, if not a palpable violation of Scripture rule. Happily, the hesitation of the committee did not endure long. On the 1st of February, 1827, they resolved to comply with Mr. Knibb's request, and the usual certificate was in consequence speedily forwarded.

The name of William Knibb is identified with the noblest triumph of modern philanthropy, and no biography could do him justice without an extended detail of his labours in this department. Mr. Hinton has wisely supplied this, and his nar-

rative will be read with thrilling interest. Those who were previously acquainted with the facts, will be gratified by having their memories refreshed; whilst others—and happily their number is few—will derive from the record a clearer insight into the character of Mr. Knibb, and a deeper impression of the rectitude of the course he pursued. From the abolition of the African slave trade in 1807, the condition of the negro population in our colonies had engaged the attention of British philanthropists. Their views gradually enlarged as the inherent viciousness of the slave system was discovered, until at length they talked of emancipation as the ultimate, though very distant, result of their labours. Honour is especially due to the Society of Friends for their persevering advocacy of this cause. They were the most active and liberal supporters of the Anti-Slavery Society, and for many years met with but little sympathy or encouragement. Even religious men declined to take up the case, and the Whig party evidently regarded it as subordinate to their political interests. It was part of their stock-in-trade, with which it was sometimes advantageous to worry a Tory minister, but which might easily be kept in abeyance when they were negotiating with Mr. Canning or any other possessor of office. A better spirit began to appear about twenty years since, which was mainly attributable to the fuller information supplied by the Baptist missionaries, and to the fact, which was yearly becoming more obvious,—that the extension of missionary operations in our colonies was incompatible with the continuance of the slave system. This was an argument which addressed itself to a numerous and active section of the British community. It attracted to the slave question the attention of many minds, induced an examination of the facts of the case, and gave breadth and massiveness to the operations which were devised. Considerable difficulty was experienced in inducing the old leaders of the society to commit themselves to the doctrine of immediate and total emancipation. We well remember their scruples, their hesitation, their predictions. As in other cases, nearer our day, and more closely allied to the religious interests of mankind, they talked of the ultraism which would damage a good cause,—of the heedlessness which contended for an abstract principle to the neglect of practical questions,—of the necessity of having regard to times and circumstances,—and of the respect which was due to the views entertained by the fathers of the cause. But the young blood which had been infused into the Anti-Slavery Society was too warm and vigorous to be stayed in its course; and an organization, nominally distinct, but really one with the older committee, was formed to carry out the more earnest views

which were broached. Their ground was simple, clear, and intelligible. The whole truth was avowed, political partizanship was discarded, duty was put in the foreground, and the sanction of religion was invoked to aid the enterprize. From that moment the cause triumphed, and the result may well encourage labourers in other departments, to imitate the example that was set.

In the meantime, important events were occurring in Jamaica. The white population of that island were not slow to perceive that a new element had been introduced into their midst. Prior to the arrival of the missionaries, all were interested in the maintenance of slavery. Their pecuniary prospects, as well as their criminal habits, were identified with the system, and they speedily took alarm when the tendency of missionary labours was discerned. In December, 1826, the Consolidated Slave Law passed the Jamaica Assembly, which provided that 'slaves found guilty of preaching and teaching, as anabaptists or otherwise, without a permission from their owners and the quarter-sessions for the parish, should be punished by whipping or imprisonment in the workhouse; that no sectarian minister or other teacher of religion should keep open his place of meeting between sunset and sunrise;' and that 'religious teachers taking money from slaves should pay a penalty of twenty pounds for each offence, and in default of payment be committed to the common jail for a month.'

This law was disallowed by the home government, and Mr. Huskisson's despatch announcing this fact, distinctly forewarned the planters of the new and better spirit which was to preside over their legislation. 'I cannot,' said Mr. Huskisson to the governor, 'too distinctly impress upon you, that it is the settled purpose of his Majesty's government to sanction no colonial law which needlessly infringes on the religious liberty of any class of his Majesty's subjects; and you will understand that you are not to assent to any bill imposing any restraints of that nature, unless a clause be inserted for suspending its operation until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known.'

The colonists were, of course, highly incensed. The whole island was in commotion, and its bitterest curses were pronounced on the missionaries. No slanders were too base for the occasion; but they were met in a spirit as superior in its tone, as it was firmer and more undaunted, than their own. An illustration of this is recorded in a letter written by Mr. Knibb to his mother, September 9th, 1828, which we quote, as an early indication of his firmness:—

'The senior magistrate,' he says, 'sent for me the day after the

quarter sessions, and said he was exceedingly sorry for what had happened, but he hoped that it would soon blow over. I asked him, after some conversation, who my accusers were, and found that they were unworthy of notice. I said, 'Is it the intention of the magistrates to stop me from preaching until the next sessions?' 'Yes, I believe it is. What do you intend to do?' 'Sir,' I said, 'I never have spoken a word disrespectfully of any of the magistrates, except in the above instance, and that I should do again, whoever it might be. I have applied to you, more than once, to take these oaths, and am now ready to take them. As you have been friendly, I should be sorry to hurt your feelings; but I cannot attend to this injunction. I am sent here to preach, and preach I must, and shall, and take the consequences. The magistrates have no power to stop me. If they have any charges against me, let them bring me to trial; but I cannot violate my conscience, or neglect my duty.' He said he did not wish me to do so; and after about an hour's chat, I left him. When I thanked him for his kindness, he said, 'I always have been your friend, and I hope you will still consider me such.'—pp. 90, 91.

It was now evident that the struggle was approaching its crisis. The planters happily mistook passion for sagacity, and consequently contributed, beyond what others could have done, to accelerate its progress. Failing to obtain the new powers they had sought, they determined to avail themselves of the persecuting clauses of former statutes. This gave rise to what future historians of Jamaica will deem the celebrated case of Sam Swiney, the effect of which was almost electrical in this country, and which is thus detailed by Mr. Knibb, under date of April 26th, 1830.

'An excellent young man of the name of Sam Swiney, a deacon of my church in this place, is now in chains for his love to Jesus. During my sickness he and others, both bond and free, met at my house to pray. Information of this was carried to the magistrates; and though I procured three respectable persons, neighbours, including the head constable, to prove on oath that no noise was made, which the informer had sworn to, the poor fellow was convicted. The magistrate would have it that preaching and praying were the same. I tried to convince him of the difference, but it was of no use; so for offering a prayer to God, and nothing more, this poor fellow is sentenced to receive twenty lashes on his bare back, and to be worked in chains on the roads for a fortnight. I did all I could to save him, and so did his owner, a respectable gentleman of colour (Mr. Aaron de Leon), who told the magistrates that he had his permission. Next morning I went to see him flogged, determined to support him as well as I could, however painful to my feelings. There he was, a respectable tradesman though a slave, stretched indecently on the ground, held firmly down by four slaves, two at his hands and two at his feet. The driver was merciful, or every lash would have fetched

blood. 'Oh, what have I done?' was the only exclamation that escaped from his lips, accompanied by a moan extorted by the pain. He was raised from the ground, chained to a convict, and immediately sent to work. I walked by his side down the whole bay, to the no small annoyance of his persecutors. Amidst them I took him by the hand, told him to be of good cheer, and said, loud enough for them all to hear, 'Sam, whatever you want, send to me and you shall have it.' The good people here have behaved nobly to him, encouraging him by every means in their power; I shall see that he wants for nothing, and by my public notice of him show that I consider him a persecuted Christian.'—pp. 95, 96.

It is gratifying to record that the Home Government, after a thorough investigation into the facts of this case, directed the dismissal of the two magistrates who had awarded the punishment of Sam Swiney, 'on the ground of an illegal decision, and a gross abuse of power.' The planters were exasperated by this decision, and vainly sought to intimidate the missionaries by summoning them before the House of Assembly. 'Brother Tinson,' says Mr. Knibb, 'narrowly escaped being sent to jail; but I think they have been taught such a lesson, that they will not send for us again.' The missionaries were evidently prepared for the crisis. They had looked it in the face—had rightly apprehended its dangers—and were ready to meet them. Their only doubt respected the Committee in England. They knew not how their proceedings would be regarded at home, and were therefore anxious to obtain some expression of the society's opinion. To this point we shall have occasion presently to refer. We now content ourselves with Mr. Hinton's brief statement of their feelings. He says:—

'The state of mind cherished by the missionaries during the course of these proceedings was characterised by holy ardour and courage. The following glimpse of it appears in Knibb's correspondence. On the 1st of June he says to Mr. Dyer, 'With your approbation I am determined not to obey the slave law, if it passes. Let me have your opinion. . . . The methodists are determined not to abide by the law. Will you, sir, say, Do likewise? If so, you have missionaries who will act.'—p. 97.

While these events were taking place, an important alteration occurred in the pastoral relation of Mr. Knibb. In the autumn of 1838, he removed from Royston to Savannah-la-Mar and Ridgeland, where he laboured with great success; but the death of Mr. Mann, on the 17th of February, 1830, led to his removal to Falmouth,—the scene of his heaviest trials, and most signal usefulness:—

'His election to the pastoral office at Falmouth was accompanied

by an extraordinary manifestation of feeling, at once highly characteristic of the warm affections which distinguish the African races, and honourable to that servant of God towards whom they were so fervently directed. The following interesting account of this proceeding is given by Mr. Burchell:—‘I called a church meeting,’ says Mr. Burchell, ‘when between four and five hundred members were present, special prayer-meetings having been previously held. At this meeting I endeavoured to impress on their minds the importance of being influenced by pure motives; and having addressed them in as conscientious a manner as I possibly could, I proposed Mr. Knibb, and requested a show of hands. I never saw such a scene. The whole church, to an individual, simultaneously *rose and held up both hands, and then burst into tears!* My feelings were overcome, and I wept with them. This, I said, is truly the Lord’s doing. Such a feeling I never witnessed before. Had you and the committee been present, I think you would have said the path of Providence was clear and plain, and would have said to brother Knibb, ‘Go thou, and the Lord be with thee.’—pp. 100, 101.

The insurrection which broke out at the close of 1831 changed, for a time, the whole aspect of affairs. It is needless now to attempt an exculpation of Mr. Knibb and his brethren. All men are satisfied on this point. The slanders of the hour have passed away, and no honourable men entertain a doubt on the point. There were other and deeper causes at work, and to these we must look, if we would understand the catastrophe. The elements of religious knowledge had been widely scattered amongst the negroes. They had awakened intellect, had engendered thought, had led to a consideration of the relative position of master and slave. Humanity, however degraded, cannot be aroused to the knowledge of its relation to the Deity without rebelling against a system which makes it the property of its fellows. In proportion to its humility will be its pride. In the exact degree in which it falls abased before its Maker, will be the firmness and the intrepidity with which it stands erect before its earthly despot. Its humility and abasement, in the one case, involve a recognition of its moral nature, and necessitate a rejection of the self-annihilation required in the other. The temper of the gospel may induce submission to wrong, but it can never militate against the inward and deep abhorrence, with which the human spirit, when awakened to a sense of its own dignity, must regard the claim of injustice,—the exaction of mere brute force. Now this process had been going on extensively for some years, and its effect could not fail to be powerful.

In addition to this, it must be remembered that the influences of religious truth were much more extensive than its spiritual

benefits. They had circulated far and wide amongst the black population. Thousands who were indifferent to the gospel were yet partially awakened by it to a realisation of their personal rights, and a goading sense of the injury they endured. They were aroused to a knowledge of their humanity, though not induced to become the spiritual disciples of our Lord. The torpor of many generations was disturbed, the quietude of the old system broken up, and they began to look about for some door of escape,—some means of redemption from their degrading thralldom. The infatuation of the planters deepened the resentment arising from this source, and to this, as the proximate cause, the insurrection of 1831 was attributable. In the spring of that year, Mr Fowell Buxton submitted to the British Parliament a motion relating to colonial slavery, and the government avowed its intention to take up the subject in good faith and earnestness. When this was known in Jamaica, the most violent and unconstitutional measures were resorted to; public meetings were convened in every direction, at which passion spoke the language of sedition, and threats, as ridiculous as they were wicked, held out the prospect of a Jamaica revolution.

‘Simultaneously with these meetings,’ says Mr. Hinton, ‘the island was pervaded by a habit of free and passionate conversation among the colonists. Every one was talking of the proceedings of the British parliament; every one said that the king of England was going to give freedom to the slaves; and every one indulged himself in the unrestrained expression of his anger. The following samples of the manner in which the planters expressed themselves, sometimes to their slaves, and often in their hearing, deserve to be quoted. The master of one slave told him, ‘that freedom was come from England, but that he would shoot every d—d black rascal before he should get it.’ Another heard his master say, ‘the king is going to give us free, but he hoped all his friends would be of his mind, and spill their blood first.’

‘The reader has now before him the whole machinery by which the slave population of Jamaica was thrown into a state of excitement in the autumn of 1831. They learned that the king was going to set them free, and that their masters were determined to prevent it. But they learned this *through their masters themselves*. The parish meetings were open; so much excitement being connected with them, they awakened curiosity, and some slaves were, as any number might have been, present at them. Others heard the unguarded conversation which took place at their masters’ table. Inquisitiveness being thus stimulated, the slaves sought after the newspapers, both colonial and English. The information thus acquired, although known in the first instance to a few individuals in the towns, was quickly communicated to the slaves on the plantations; and thus the entire slave-population of the island became penetrated in a few months with the

irritating idea, that their masters resisted the benevolent intentions of the king. The planters may justly be said to have set their own estates on fire.'—pp. 112, 113.

The result of these several causes was seen at the close of the year. The slaves were fully convinced that the king was going to set them free, and that their masters were determined to prevent his doing so. This, as Mr. Hinton observes, 'they learned through the masters themselves.' They consequently resolved not to work, after Christmas, without wages; and held private meetings, to arrange the details of their procedure. Their first plan was extremely simple, and involved no destruction of property, but who can wonder that they did not stop at this? It is of the nature of popular movements to outstep their first design. It has ever been so, even in communities whose members are comparatively well-informed, and it was therefore to be specially anticipated in the case of a people from whom the feeblest ray of mental light had till recently been excluded. The plans of the negroes were carefully concealed from the missionaries. Mr. Blyth, of the Presbyterian church, was amongst the first to suspect what was occurring, and he immediately communicated his fears to Mr. Knibb. This was on the 26th of December, and the latter adopted every means in his power to avert the evil. On the following day he was engaged at the opening of a new chapel at Salter's Hill, and took advantage of the occasion to endeavour to disabuse the minds of the negroes. His words were characteristic. They speak the depth of his affection for the people, his solicitude for the honour of their Christian profession, and his sense of the wrong they were about to perpetrate. They are thus recorded:—

'My dear hearers, and especially those who attend regularly on the means of grace, and who belong, either as members or inquirers, to the church, pay great attention to what I have to say. It is now more than seven years since I left my native land to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ to you; and when I came, I made up my mind to live and die to promote your temporal and spiritual welfare. Till yesterday, I had hoped that God had blessed my poor labours, and the labours of your dear minister, who loves you and prays for you, and who is now in England for his health. But I am pained—pained to the soul, at being told that many of you have agreed not to go to work any more for your owners; and I fear this is too true. I learn that some wicked persons have persuaded you that the king of England has made you free. Hear me! I love your souls, and I would not tell you a lie for the whole world; I assure you that it is false—false as hell can make it! I entreat you not to believe it, but to go to your work as formerly. If you have any love to Jesus Christ, to religion, to your ministers, or to those kind friends in England who

have helped you to build this chapel, and who are sending a minister for you, do not be led away. God commands you to be obedient; if you do as he commands you, you may expect his blessing, but if you do not, he will not do you good.'—pp. 117, 118.

The counsel, however, was too late. It would probably have wrought no change, even if given earlier; for the leaders of the revolt and their most active agents, were not amongst those who attended the preaching of Mr. Knibb and his brethren. In the evening of the day on which this address was delivered, the work of destruction commenced, 'and from that moment all was military massacre, and lawless revenge.' On the 2nd of January Mr. Knibb was enrolled as a private soldier, but was happily relieved from the perplexities of such a position, by the heedless violence and malice of his persecutors. What occurred must be told in his own language. It was appropriate to the hour and scene, and reads an instructive lesson:—

'God,' he says, 'released me from one trouble by permitting another to overtake me. While exhorting one of my deacons, Lewis Williams, to live near to God, I was arrested in the most brutal manner by a man named Paul Doeg. Commanding two black men to take me prisoner, he paraded before me in all the pomp of petty power, with a drawn sword, and had me conveyed to the guard-room. Soon afterwards I was removed to the barracks, where I found brethren Whitehouse and Abbott, who, like myself, were under arrest, none of us knowing why or wherefore. In about half an hour Captain Christie came, and informed us that Colonel Cadien had sent him to tell us that we were to be sent to head-quarters at Montego Bay, and that a conveyance would be ready in half an hour. I asked permission to see my wife and children, but was denied this pleasure. I then requested to write to them, but this small gratification was refused. Soon afterwards we were searched. When all was ready, we were paraded through the streets to the sea-side, guarded by four soldiers with a serjeant, and put into an open canoe. After a long and tedious voyage of seven hours, we were landed at Montego Bay about seven in the evening. The canoe being leaky, my feet were completely soaked; and this, as I had taken medicine, tended to increase the indisposition under which I was labouring. On landing, we were marched to the court-house, then to head-quarters, Sir William Cotton's, back to the court-house, then up a steep hill to his honour the custos', then back to the court-house (which was made a barrack), where we were placed in the jury-box, under a guard of four soldiers, militiamen. Every epithet of abuse that infuriated malice could invent was heaped upon me. The most horrid oaths that men or devils could conceive were poured upon us, with the most vulgar allusions that depraved nature could imagine. Twice was the bayonet pointed at my breast; and when I requested permission to lie down on the floor, being ill and fatigued (having been harassed

since the morning), I was damned and blasted, and told that, if I moved, I should be instantly shot. Hell could scarcely be worse.' —pp. 120, 121.

We shall not attempt to detail what followed. The general outline is known to our readers, and those who are desirous of having it filled up, will consult the volume before us. The brethren were released on bail, which was subsequently annulled, as no evidence could be obtained to support a criminal prosecution; and Mr. Knibb returned to England, to obtain, at the hands of the British people, the redress for which he vainly looked in Jamaica. This was a bold and decisive step. It opened up a general question which the committee had most anxiously sought to avoid. It brought the matter at once to an issue, and the result was honourable to both parties. The missionary brethren had yet failed to obtain the sanction of the committee to their proceedings. But one feeling was of course entertained respecting their personal wrongs, nor was there the slightest doubt of their perfect innocence in the matter of the charge laid against them. But they had obviously been carried beyond their *Instructions* in their avowal of hostility against the slave system, and it remained to be seen whether they would be sustained by the committee. Those *Instructions* were based on the grossest error, and bespoke an estimate of slavery savouring more of worldly expediency than of Christian rectitude, or of an adequate sense of religious duty. 'You are quite aware,' says the letter of instructions furnished to Mr. Knibb, 'that the state of society in Jamaica is very different from that under which it is our privilege to live in this country, and that the great majority of its inhabitants are dependant upon their superiors in a degree altogether unknown here. The evidences of the fact will probably, especially at first, be painful and trying to your feelings; but you must ever bear in mind, that, as a resident in Jamaica, you have nothing whatever to do with its civil or political affairs; and with these you must never interfere.' He is, therefore, solemnly charged to confine himself to his scholastic and ministerial duties, and is gravely assured that by doing so he will not 'justly incur the displeasure of those' amongst whom he may be placed. We differ from Mr. Hinton in his view of this subject. He deems it matter, 'not of regret, but of high felicitation, that the committee originally assumed a position so absolutely safe and unassailable in relation to the insurrection;' and is of opinion that its course, 'after all the lights which have been thrown on it,' cannot be deemed 'contrary to sound wisdom.' We know what may be said in support of the expediency of such a course, nor are we unmindful of the defective views

which prevailed at the time; but we respectfully submit to Mr. Hinton's consideration, whether *Instructions* which were obviously based on a false estimate of slavery, and which, if honestly followed out, must have silenced the only advocacy that outraged humanity had secured, could be either wise or right? If slavery be a *sin*, then the *Instructions* which represent it as a mere civil or political affair are unsound in sentiment, and the charge they contain to abstain from its exposure, betokens a very imperfect standard of religious duty.

Neither, we submit, was there any real expediency in this case. Mr. Knibb and his brethren were acquitted of participation in the revolt, without reference being made to their *Instructions*. Their enemies did their utmost to convict them, but not even Jamaica laws or Jamaica juries, could find pretence for doing so. Their 'righteousness shone forth as the light,' and none were more fully persuaded of this, than their most violent persecutors. On this point there was no doubt amongst reasonable men, and the conviction would have been equally strong and universal, though no such injunctions had been laid upon them. It would have been, in our judgment, far wiser, more consistent with rectitude, and in better keeping with the obligations of Christian duty, if the agents of the society had been left free to pursue the course which their own sense of duty enjoined. Advice may have been given, and the necessity of great caution have been enforced, with propriety; but to enjoin silence on the crying sin of Jamaica, was to arrogate a power not belonging to the committee, and to place its missionaries in an anomalous and contradictory position. Immediate and apparent advantages might flow from such a course, but they only deferred the hour of trial, and embittered it when it did come.

Such was the position of parties at home, when Mr. Knibb returned to England in the summer of 1832. He met the committee in London 'burthened with many anxieties.' The few days which intervened between his arrival and his meeting the *Open Committee* on the 19th of June, were a season of intense solicitude. The principal supporters of the mission disapproved of his intended course, and did their utmost to dissuade him from it. For this he was hardly prepared. He had fought the battle of freedom in Jamaica without fear or doubting; but the coldness of friends, the want of sympathy on the part of those whom he respected and loved, the efforts made 'to gag' him, as he correctly designated them, and the uncertainty in which the future was consequently involved, cut him to the heart, and made him literally groan and weep. We were privy to all his feelings at this time, and have before us the expression of his manly countenance as he vowed, come what might, that he

would be faithful to the slave. Referring to the Committee, and to Mr. Knibb's first interview with it, Mr. Hinton informs us that—

‘ Having imbibed a maxim then very prevalent, and, certainly, for slaveholders, very convenient, that slavery was a political subject, they still wished, notwithstanding all their agents had suffered, to maintain silence on it, lest a political character should be given to the mission. They were even, in some degree, inclined to record their disapprobation of the extent to which the missionaries in Jamaica had already departed from their instructions in this matter. That the conversations thus held must have been severely trying to the mind of Knibb, there can be no doubt ; but they did not shake his purpose. He met with individuals who spoke to him in a different tone ; and in the language of one of these, Dr. Thomas Price, then pastor of the church at Devonshire-square, London, and a member of the committee, I lay before the reader the actual result.

‘ ‘ I was at that time,’ says Dr. Price, in a letter to me, ‘ actively engaged as an anti-slavery lecturer, and Knibb and myself had much intercourse on the subject. I exhorted him to be decided, and if necessary, to break with the committee rather than be gagged. I believe he slept at my house the night preceding the meeting of the committee. He was calm, but most determined ; and his decision was in the highest degree honourable to his integrity, as there was then no certainty of his being sustained by the feeling out of doors, against any adverse decision of the committee.

‘ ‘ However we went. Knibb gave a detailed account of his sufferings, and those of his brethren, which was received, of course, with the deepest interest. Mr. Dyer exhorted to prudence, and a temperate policy. At length Knibb stood up, and his words, as near as I can recollect, certainly in substance, were, ‘ Myself, my wife, and my children, are entirely dependent on the Baptist mission ; we have landed without a shilling, and may at once be reduced to penury. But if it be necessary, I will take them by the hand, and walk bare-foot through the kingdom, but that I will make known to the Christians of England what their brethren in Jamaica are suffering.’ I believe I was the first to speak after this declaration ; and I need not say, I exhorted him to stand by his avowal, and assured him of the sympathy and co-operation of many.’ ’—p. 142.

This unequivocal declaration was decisive. Open opposition was at an end, but Mr. Hinton is scarcely aware of the more latent influences which continued to be exerted. The truth of the matter is, that the officials and leading members of the committee were compelled to yield to an enthusiasm in which they did not share. They were carried away before the popular sentiment, but the noble spirit who had resisted their solicitations, was frequently aggrieved by the unmistakable exhortations to prudence and moderation which he received. An instance of

this occurred at the annual meeting of the society in Spa-fields Chapel two days afterwards. Dr. Cox's account of this incident is certainly correct; and its importance in illustration of Knibb's character, and of the moderate views which were yet prevalent in influential quarters, leads us to wish that our author had incorporated it in his text. In the event of a second edition, which cannot fail to be demanded, we respectfully suggest that it be transferred from a foot-note to its more appropriate place. The incident to which we refer was the interruption of Mr. Knibb by the secretary of the society, who had previously counselled him to be very moderate and guarded in his language. Fearing that he was becoming intemperate, Mr. Dyer pulled his coat, on which the speaker paused for a moment—but only for a moment. He was equal to the crisis, and rose above it. We shall never forget the tone of his voice and general bearing, when, having rapidly reviewed the past, and painted his anticipations of the future, his whole soul was revealed in one of those compressed and impassioned declarations which defies opposition, and carries by storm the sympathies of all generous minds. 'Whatever may be the consequence,' said the intrepid champion, 'I will speak. At the risk of my connexion with the society and all I hold dear, I will avow this; and if the friends of missions will not hear me, I will turn and tell it to my God; nor will I desist till this greatest of curses,—slavery, is removed, and 'glory to God in the highest' is inscribed upon the British flag.*

From this period his labours were most abundant, and they uniformly bore an anti-slavery character. He visited all parts of the country, addressed immense audiences, and was mainly instrumental in producing that state of public feeling before which the legislature was compelled to bow. The colonial party, notoriously powerful and rich, were not unobservant of his procedure. The most influential portion of the press was under their controul, and Mr. Peter Borthwick, the present member for Evesham, was retained as their lecturer. The reckless manner in which this gentlemen charged the Jamaica insurrection on the Baptist missionaries in general, and on Mr. Knibb in particular, led to Dr. Price's being requested to proceed to Bath, in order to counteract his misrepresentations in that city. This request was complied with; but on presenting himself at the door of the large assembly-room on the morning appointed for the discussion, Dr. Price was refused admission, and ultimately obtained with difficulty a standing place on the platform. The assembly-room was densely crowded with a fashionable audience,

* Cox's History of the Baptist Mission, ii. 195.

who received the advocate of slavery with cheers, which lasted for some minutes. The scene was sufficiently disheartening to the friend of Mr. Knibb. His presence was not hailed by the faintest plaudit. Mr. Borthwick spoke first, and though his language was more guarded, and his charges less reckless than on former occasions, he soon supplied his opponent with means of exposure which relieved him from all anxiety, and assured him of the verdict of an English audience. Having spoken nearly two hours, Mr. Borthwick resumed his seat amidst prolonged and almost universal cheers; and Dr. Price, in rising to reply, felt that everything depended on his gaining the ear of his audience, of which there was no chance, unless, for a time, he lost sight of Mr. Borthwick, and addressed himself to the hearts of his auditors. This, therefore, he attempted, painting as best he could the condition of the negroes, the sorrows of their homes, the wrongs of their wives and daughters, their attachment to their teachers, their fervent gratitude, their self-sacrificing spirit, and their marvellous fidelity throughout the insurrection. The simple incidents mentioned in illustration of these points wrought more powerfully than the most studied harangue could have done, and tears at length bespoke that the moment of real contest was come. The result was shown in what followed. When Mr. Borthwick rose to reply, he found a different audience; and Sir Bethell Codrington, who presided, after several ineffectual efforts to command silence, appealed to Dr. Price to obtain his opponent a hearing. That appeal was successful, and Mr. Borthwick having again spoken for an hour, Sir Bethell rose from the chair, and saying that he dissolved the meeting, abruptly left the hall with his champion and the friends immediately around them.

In the course of his second speech, and in order, if possible, to regain the sympathy of the audience, Mr. Borthwick inquired 'Where is Mr. Knibb? Why does he not come and defend himself?' His opponent perceived the artifice, and instantly asked leave to state, as the friend of Mr. Knibb, that he should be in Bath to meet Mr. Borthwick on any day which that gentleman might fix. It was no slight mortification to find, on his return to London, that the officials of the society, though not venturing an open condemnation of this pledge, were not sparing in their reflections on its propriety. He had given his word, however, and its fulfilment followed in due course. We should not have entered on these details, had they not served to illustrate an important truth. No matter what interest or prejudice may do,—what misrepresentation or partial concealment may accomplish,—an English audience is always accessible to truth, if the elements of our common humanity be

addressed. There is a truthfulness in the human heart on which large reliance may be placed. The difficulty is to reach it; but this once accomplished, the advocate of *right* is sure to triumph.

Mr. Knibb's meeting with Mr. Borthwick, which took place on the 15th of December, afforded an opportunity for one of his most characteristic addresses. His defence was triumphant, his retorts severe and biting, and his withering exposure of the colonial system such as to overwhelm with disgrace its supporters and advocate. Mr. Borthwick attempted to withdraw some of his most serious charges, but his opponent held him to them with merciless tenacity, and laid bare the whole secret of his life. Single passages might be objected to,—individual phrases be deemed violent or coarse; but as a whole, his speeches on this occasion combined in the happiest degree the reasoning which was needful to establish his case, with the generous sentiments which are sure to find a response in all worthy minds.

Of his talent as a public speaker, it is difficult to write in too high terms. It had, beyond what we have seen in any other case, the first element of success, deep earnestness. There was nothing studied in his address. He spoke as he was moved by an inward inspiration. The intensity of his feelings found adequate expression in strong and burning words, which moved with the impetuosity of a whirlwind, and carried everything captive before it. You could see that the man had forgotten self, and had no other cognizance of his audience than was involved in the attempt to effect their conviction, or to arouse their efforts. The depth of his emotions, which in other men would have destroyed self-control, only served to clarify his intellect and to give appropriateness and point to his appeals. As a public speaker, he improved by exercise, especially in the point of directness and of felicitous adaptation. No interruptions, however rude or offensive, could disturb his equanimity. These were of frequent occurrence, and an illustration of the happy use he made of them is recorded by Mr. Eustace Carey, who was worthy to enjoy what he largely possessed, the esteem and attachment of Mr. Knibb. It occurred at Edinburgh, and is thus described in a communication which Mr. Hinton has wisely inserted:—

‘Before rising to speak,’ says Mr. Carey, ‘he expressed his sense of extreme embarrassment. This was evinced to a painful degree upon the commencement of his address, and unless some helpful circumstance had occurred, the meeting must inevitably have proved a failure. When making some statements as to the almost universal neglect of the education of the negroes, and adducing some proofs of the gross injustice and the revolting harshness with which they were treated, a person from the lower end of the chapel cried out, at the

utmost stretch of his voice, 'That's a lie!' In a moment the congregation, from being in a state of perfect quiet and silence, rose in excitement and consternation, and a thousand voices exclaimed, 'Up with him to the platform!' An athletic African of amazing size, who was standing in the aisle near to the respondent, more earnest than courteous towards him, followed him step by step, allowed him no retreat, nor suffered him to be obstructed by the crowd, but supplied him with all the strength that was needful, and more, perhaps, than was conducive to his comfort, in effecting his progress to the scene of conflict. After some little delay, the gentleman, at the intimation of the chair, stood forth. The spectacle was unusually interesting. Two or three thousand people were now standing in breathless silence, anxious to catch the first words of so bold an antagonist. They were uttered, and were found to be sufficiently adverse to his cause. 'I am,' said he, 'a regularly ordained clergyman of the church of Scotland.' 'More shame for you!' was the loud shout of the assembled multitude. 'I read in my bible,' he rejoined, holding it in his hand, 'Servants obey in all things your masters according to the flesh.' 'The deil can quote scripture as well as you,' was the instant reply, in true northern brogue, and with a volume of deafening sound that made you, as you heard it, start almost from your seat. After a few seconds of painful and unsuccessful attempt to conciliate the audience to the West Indian colonists by affirming their leniency and benevolence to their slaves, and the desire they evinced for their education and spiritual welfare (of which latter fact he offered an example by a reference to his own labours in a particular estate,) amidst the no very enviable expression of feeling from the congregated and impatient masses before him, he resumed his seat. Our brother's theme for the labour of the evening was now discovered to him, and his materials abundantly suggested. He rose and said, 'Why did not the reverend gentleman continue reading a little longer? If he had done this, he would have found it written, "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing also that you have a Master in heaven."—pp. 163, 169.

His evidence before the committee of the Lords and Commons in July, 1832, powerfully subserved the same righteous cause, and an interview with a member of the former house, which grew out of it, is too honourable to both parties to be omitted. It is thus related by Mr. Hinton:—

'In the course of Knibb's examination before the committee of the House of Lords, a circumstance occurred which was truly gratifying to his feelings, and which will serve to show how highly his character was appreciated. He had exposed the gross immoralities committed on many of the estates, and expressed his regret that very frequently these were promoted by the managers of the properties, adding, that he was sure some noble lords could be little aware what was going on upon their properties. On his appearing in the lobby the next day, he was informed that the Earl of Harewood wished to

speak to him. On his being shown into a room, his lordship immediately addressed him.—‘Mr. Knibb, I have been quite distressed by the account you gave us of what was going on on some of our estates; it has broken my rest. Now, Mr. Knibb, you and I differ on some matters; you are a dissenter and I am a churchman, but I believe you are a Christian, and I trust I am one too. Now be frank with me. Is that the state of things on my estate? If you say it is, I will by the next mail direct the removal of my manager, but he shall never know that it is in consequence of information received from you.’ Knibb informed his lordship that happily it was not the case on his estate; that his manager was a moral man, and did what he could to promote morality on the estate. ‘I wish I had known this at the same time with the statement,’ said the earl, ‘I should have slept better: but now, Mr. Knibb, give me your hand, and make me this promise, that if, when you return, you find anything of the kind going on upon my estate you will immediately inform me. I shall recognise your initials, W.K., that will be quite enough, and I will act upon it immediately, but the man shall never know where I got my information; I know I may rely upon it.’ Knibb assured his lordship that he should feel it his duty, if he perceived anything of the kind, to inform him, and that he would do so without reserve. Lord Harewood gave him his hand most cordially, and Knibb having been sent for, they both proceeded to the committee-room.’—pp. 172, 173.

The parliamentary session of 1833 was signalized by the passing of one of the noblest statutes which human legislation has ever registered: and Mr. Knibb was desirous of returning immediately to Jamaica, in order to prepare for the change which it contemplated. It was deemed advisable, however, by the committee that he should remain in England till the following year, as it was resolved to press on the government, the claim of the society for compensation, on account of the chapels which had been destroyed. Their value was estimated at £17,900, towards which the government tendered a grant of £5,510, with an intimation that if the society would raise half of the balance, £12,390, the remaining moiety might be supplied from the public exchequer. The amount of voluntary contributions rose to £13,000, and Knibb hastened to return to the scene of his missionary labours. He had fought a good fight, and the hour of his triumph was now come. His heart was full of joy, and who can wonder? ‘Slavery,’ was his expressive and beautiful language, ‘crossed our path, with its instruments of cruelty and blood. Christianity gazed upon it with meek eyes and sorrowful demeanour; but, when slavery presumed to attempt her extinction, she raised her arm, and slavery fell beneath the blow.’ He sailed for Jamaica on the 27th of August, 1834, and landed at Port Maria on the 25th of October.

His return was hailed with an enthusiasm which we are unable to appreciate. In order to comprehend its intensity, we must have been in circumstances like the negroes, and have felt indebted to some one man for the achievement of our freedom. We must have known the bitterness of slavery, the desolation and the wretchedness with which its victims were familiar, before we could rightly estimate the exultant triumph with which they received back their deliverer.

'The people saw me,' he says, 'as I stood on the deck of the boat. As I neared the shore I waved my hand, when they, being fully assured that it was their minister, ran from every part of the bay to the wharf. Some pushed off in a canoe, into which I got, with my family, and soon landed on the beach. We were nearly pushed into the sea by kindness. Poor Mrs. K. was quite overcome. They took me up in their arms, they sang, they laughed, they wept, and I wept too. 'Him come, him come, for true.' 'Who da come for we king, king Knibb. Him fight de battle, him win de crown.' On they rushed to the chapel, where we knelt together at the throne of mercy. On the following morning we started by land for Falmouth. The poor people in the pass all knew me, and had I stopped to shake hands with all, I should have been long on the road. As I entered Falmouth I could scarcely contain my feelings; nor can I now. I was, and am, completely overcome. They stood, they looked. 'It him, it him for true. But see how him stand! Him make two of what him was when him left.' Soon the news spread, and from twenty to twenty-five miles' distance they came. 'Now massa, me see enough. Him dead, him live again. God bless you, massa, for all the good you do for we. God him too good.' When told to go, in order to make room for others, 'He! make me hab belly-full of massa.' In the evening we had a prayer-meeting, and the chapel was crowded. As I set my foot on the threshold they struck up unexpectedly,

'Kindred in Christ, for his dear sake,
A hearty welcome here receive.'—pp. 194, 195.

The attitude he now assumed was strikingly different from that in which the society had originally placed him. 'He had gone out,' remarks Mr. Hinton, 'under a pledge of inactivity and silence on the subject of slavery, and he had conscientiously redeemed his pledge; [we somewhat doubt the strict accuracy or possibility of this]: but in England he had thrown off his bonds and become the unshackled advocate of freedom: and he stooped to chains no more. He re-appeared in Jamaica as the avowed and uncompromising enemy of oppression in all its forms.' The result was speedily visible, for his vigilance was incessant, his eye was everywhere. The negroes knew him as their friend, and the colonists observed no bounds in the bitterness with which they assailed his reputation. In the meantime

the chapels were re-erected, and numerous school-houses invited the rising generation to qualify themselves for the duties involved in their new condition.

The present state of the educational question induces us to dwell for a moment on the course which was pursued by Mr. Knibb and his brethren, in relation to the acceptance of government grants in aid of their school buildings. If circumstances could ever justify the reception of such grants, they obviously existed in this case, and the conditions on which they were tendered were as unexceptionable as could be devised. Still, the Committee of the Baptist Mission declined to accept the proffered boon, at the same time leaving their missionaries free to act as they might individually see fit. Some of them, and Mr. Knibb amongst the number, applied for and obtained the government aid; but they soon regretted having done so, and a resolution was formally adopted in March, 1837, to discontinue the practice. 'Respecting the government grant,' says Mr. Knibb to Mr. Joseph Sturge, under date of September the 12th of that year, 'there is a growing disinclination to receive any further aid. I do not intend to apply for, or to receive, any more from them, and I know that many of my brethren will act in the same manner. Nothing but the urgency of the demand for schools would ever have induced me to receive it, combined with the idea that the government were deeply indebted to us, in not having paid the whole sum necessary to rebuild our chapels.'

We leave this example without comment. It was worthy of the men, and may well rebuke our faithlessness, if we pollute our hands with the proffered bribe.

The evils which were elicited in the working of the apprenticeship system soon engaged the attention of Mr. Knibb, and he did not hesitate to expose them. The same fearlessness which had led him to grapple with slavery induced him again to place himself in the breach. In doing so, he acted contrary to the views of Mr. Dyer and other leading members of the committee; but his resolution was formed, and he replied to their dissuaves in such language as the following, which we take from a letter to the secretary:—

'I know, my dear sir, you wish me to be quiet, but I cannot. Place yourself in my situation, and I think you would act too. I know that I am bringing upon myself much trouble; but I heed it not, and I hope that I shall never live to see the day when I can behold a bleeding, chained, Christian female, and fail to defend her through fear of man. Do not, my dear sir, think that these cases are solitary, or that when walls enclose the dens of infamy called workhouses, they will cease to be. Unless you in England demand justice for the deeply injured, half enslaved apprentice, justice will

not be his portion. I have this hour seen a poor woman, from Orange Valley, who in a state of pregnancy, has been tied on the wheel, and severely flogged. It is very painful for me to be at war with the people here, but while oppression is identified with their names, so it must be. Unless there are some means adopted to protect the few rights the infamous Jamaica Amended Law has left to the apprentice, I know not what will be the result ; but injury to the proprietor must be one. It appears to me that many are determined that the system shall not work.'—pp. 231, 233.

In the meantime events were ripening at home beyond his anticipations. Mr. Joseph Sturge—a name never to be mentioned but with honour—had visited Jamaica in order to ascertain, from personal observation, the state of the colony ; and on his return, was mainly instrumental in bringing about the termination of the apprenticeship system on the 1st of August, 1838. On intelligence of this design reaching the colony, the pro-slavery party saw that their fate was sealed, and began to prepare for the coming event. Mr. Knibb's joy was unbounded, but his sagacious mind foresaw and deeply felt the additional obligations which would in consequence devolve upon him. 'The coming emancipation,' he wrote, 'will set free thousands of children about ten years of age, to whom we have had no access ; our schools will be thronged to excess, and what to do I know not. I could at once establish full six more day-schools, if I had but the means. . . . O how ardently I long to feed these lambs, but I cannot. To behold mental misery longing to be relieved, and to be unable to impart the relief, is to me most distressing.'

Throughout our West India colonies the 1st of August, 1838, was a day of unbounded joy. Hundreds of thousands anticipated it as the era of their freedom, and on its approach their excitement was most intense. Everything, however, was calm and peaceful. The negro population felt that they were safe. They saw that the king's government was with them, and that the old system of whip and chain was about to be set aside for ever. Their conduct was worthy of the crisis, and will be appealed to in coming times in proof of the safety of immediate and total emancipation. On the evening preceding the 1st of August, Mr. Knibb's chapel at Falmouth was crowded with an audience which, it is needless to say, was affected as scarcely any other assemblage had ever been. A transparency, with the word *Freedom*, was placed over the entrance ; and a dirge having been sung, and devotional exercises maintained for some time, the faithful and intrepid missionary rose to address the people a few minutes before midnight. He pointed to the face of the clock, and said, 'The hour is at hand—the monster is dying ;'

and having waited till it had struck the hour, he exclaimed with a joy which may well be envied, 'The monster is dead; the negro is free.' The congregation was still as death; no sound was heard save the preacher's voice; but when the last words were uttered, the assembled multitude rose exultant, and gave utterance to their emotions in one simultaneous, loud, and long continued burst of joy. The prison-house was broken open, and the captives felt themselves to be free. 'Never,' said Mr. Knibb, 'did I hear such a sound. The winds of freedom appeared to have been let loose. The very building shook at the strange, yet sacred joy.' To have witnessed such a scene must have more than reconciled him to the sufferings and dangers he had encountered.

We can only glance at the subsequent events of his memorable life. His energies continued to be taxed to the utmost. Their direction was somewhat altered, but their general bearing and character were unchanged. He was still the negro's friend and champion; protecting their industry, providing them with dwellings, guarding their social rights, and seeking to train up their children in knowledge and virtue. Wherever oppression was attempted—and this was by no means infrequent—Knibb was sure to interpose. By the one class he was therefore hated, and by the other he was loved to adoration. Did space permit, we should be glad to review his labours on the Wages and the Free Settlement questions; but from this we are precluded by the extent to which our observations have already reached.

He visited England three times after this, and on each occasion accomplished the object of his mission. The first was in 1840, when he was deputed by his brethren to attend the Anti-Slavery Convention in London, and to press on the Baptist Committee the project of a mission to Africa. The society adopted his suggestion, and having first concluded to increase the number of their agents in Jamaica, resolved, 'in reliance on the divine blessing, to commence a mission to Western Africa.' From this visit he returned in November, accompanied by fifteen associates who had devoted themselves to missionary work.

Had it been permitted him, he would have seen England no more, but a succession of ungenerous attacks on the Baptist missionaries and churches in Jamaica led his brethren, early in 1842, unanimously to request him again to cross the Atlantic. These charges did not arise from their old enemies. Had they done so, they would have been despised. They were preferred, however, by brother missionaries, and were repeated by various parties in this country, with an apparent joyfulness, for which it is difficult to account. We know few things in the

history of modern missions more disgraceful than the course pursued in this matter by some personages, both here and in Jamaica. We care not whether they were Baptists or Pædobaptists, Congregationalists or Presbyterians, Jamaica missionaries or editors of English magazines, their demeanour was bad in spirit, and most pernicious in tendency—an outrage on all propriety—a gross and palpable violation of charity and truthfulness. When such things occur within the religious world, we need not wonder at the slanders which are uttered without. Few who heard his defence, at the annual meeting of the society in Exeter Hall on the 28th of April, 1842, will ever forget it. It was ‘a speech,’ as Dr. Campbell truly said, ‘worth crossing the seas to make ;’ and its effect was proportionably great. But we pass from the ungrateful topic, simply remarking, that to whatever body a calumniated missionary belongs, in the *Eclectic* he will ever find a prompt and fearless advocate. Here, more especially, we have no denominational affinities ; but whether in South Africa, or in Jamaica, our advocacy, as it is unbought, so it will be zealously rendered.

Mr. Knibb’s fourth and last visit to England was in 1845. It was undertaken at the renewed request of his brethren, and was designed to lay before the committee, the pecuniary difficulties under which they laboured. He arrived in London towards the close of April, and speedily announced to his brethren that he had obtained a grant of £6,000. ‘I have been treated,’ he says in the letter conveying this information, ‘with uniform kindness, and the vote was passed without a dissenting voice, at an open committee of full a hundred persons. To my God, and to your God, and to the God of missions be all the glory.’ Having accomplished his work he hastened to return, and embarked at Southampton, on the second of July, ‘I am anticipating,’ he wrote during the voyage to Mr. Sturge, ‘with prayerful delight, yet further engagements in the service of my adorable Saviour; just so long as it shall please him would I work in his vineyard; and then, retiring from the field, hope for mercy through the blood of the Lamb.’ Such was the temper in which he reappeared in Jamaica, and now that he is taken hence we see in it the shadow of coming events. During his brief sojourn in England, his growing preparation for eternity had been obvious to all, and the intelligence of his death, though intensely painful, was no matter of surprise to any. He was as a shock of corn fully ripe. He had a severe bilious attack in August, and was frequently indisposed during the two succeeding months; but continued his labours with most determined assiduity, up to Sunday the ninth of November, on the evening of which day, though much exhausted after preach-

ing, he walked home, through a shower of rain, without a cloak or umbrella. On Tuesday, he felt very unwell, and rapidly passing through the stages of typhoid and yellow fever, he expired on the following Saturday. The character of his last illness precluded any extended expression of the state of his mind. A few incidents are happily preserved, from which we quote the following :—

‘ Brother Burchell and myself,’ says Mr. Abbott, ‘ and several of our brethren, were with him during the whole time of his brief illness, and had the mournful privilege of hearing his last words, and of beholding his last gaze. No danger was apprehended until noon on Friday, when our beloved brother himself evidently thought that his hours were numbered; but his mind was calm, and his faith strong. He said to me, during the last conversation I had with him alone, that he mourned deeply over the follies and sins of his past life. I replied, ‘ True, and so do the best and holiest of men.’ ‘ But,’ said he, ‘ I am neither the best nor the holiest of men;’ and he added, ‘ It is an awful thing to die. I have no hope but in the perfect atonement of the Son of God.

‘ A guilty, weak and helpless worm,
On Jesus’ arms I fall.’

The accuser of the brethren was not permitted to harass our dear friend. He continued calm and peaceful, uttering occasionally expressions similar to the above, until delirium drew a veil over the scenes of time, and closed our communion with him in this vale of tears.’

‘ During his last illness,’ says Mrs. Knibb, ‘ he always looked at each of us (she is speaking of herself and the children) anxiously and affectionately; and several times he said to Kate and Annie, ‘ My poor girls, you will soon be fatherless. Live near to God by prayer, and work for him. Do all you can to keep up the schools. And mind you take care of your poor mother. She has had an anxious, trying, and often a rough path; and she will need all the sympathy and tenderness you can show her.’ ’

Mr. Philipppo, who was compelled to leave Kettering in the course of this fatal illness, writes as follows :—‘ On my rising to leave he looked at me, his eyes filling with tears (I have no doubt at the recollection of my trials, and of his inability to help me), threw his arms around my neck, and kissed me most affectionately; adding soon afterwards, in reply to some observations I had made in reference to his present circumstances, ‘ Some on boards and some on broken pieces of the ship, and so it came to pass that they escaped all safe to land.’ He grasped my hand again on leaving, again tenderly embraced me, and with a look of affection I cannot describe, and with an emotion and solemnity which might well have been regarded as an indication of his approaching end, invoked a blessing on my head, and bade me farewell.’

Such was the end of William Knibb. 'He had fought a good fight,' and the Master whom he served was graciously with him at the close of life. Of his character we need say no more. Let those who would understand it, read attentively the record of his labours.

To Mr. Hinton our thanks are due for the service he has rendered in the preparation of this Memoir,—which evinces great diligence, and no slight measure of discretion. We question whether he has not quoted too largely from Mr. Knibb's speeches, and should advise, in the case of a cheaper edition, that these extracts be somewhat curtailed. We should like also to be better informed respecting the 'considerable freedoms' which he acknowledges to have taken with Mr. Knibb's correspondence. We are not prepared to say that he was wrong in this, but it is due to himself as well as to the deceased, that he should explain the precise character and extent of the 'freedoms' taken. At present we are left in doubt, and the integrity of the representation given of Mr. Knibb's views is in consequence liable to question.

There is another point to which we attach more importance, and in which as it appears to us, Mr. Hinton is inconsistent with himself. In noticing the charges preferred against the purity of the Baptist churches in Jamaica, he expressly declines (p. 203)—in our judgment, improperly—to give an opinion on the merits of the case; yet he does not hesitate (p. 435), somewhat hypercritically, to review the defence which Mr. Knibb made of those churches, and to pronounce it unsatisfactory. In the former case we submit that he was bound, in order to a fair exhibition of his hero, to go thoroughly into the evidence adduced; whilst in the latter he has deviated from the strict line of biography, for no other apparent reason than to leave the reputation of the churches in question, in some degree of doubt.

In conclusion, however, we say, as we can most honestly, that there are few volumes in our language which may be read with greater advantage or pleasure than this Memoir of William Knibb. It is no ordinary book, as the materials which it combines, the events which it records, and the character it delineates were of no ordinary kind. The volume is rich in instruction. It is eminently suggestive, and will be found both to expand the views, and to elevate the sympathies of every attentive reader. William Knibb was emphatically a man of God, profoundly consecrated to his missionary work, yet infinitely superior to the mere conventionalities of his day. As such we commend him to the study of the rising ministry, and shall rejoice to find that he is followed by worthy successors.

ART. IV.—*A Comparative Grammar of the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German, and Slavonian Languages.* By Professor F. Bopp. Translated from the German, principally by Lieut. Eastwick, M.R.A.S. Conducted through the press by H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., Boden Prof. of Sanscrit in the University of Oxford. Vols. i. ii. Madden, pp. 932.

THE introduction, still comparatively recent, of the study of Sanscrit among European scholars, has created a new era in philology. It has shed novel and valuable light not only on a vast and most interesting class of languages, but even upon the history of the human race. It has given a fresh impulse and more profitable direction to etymological study; has furnished a clew of the greatest value in our researches into the antiquity which precedes the dawn of history; and has enabled the modern scholar to decide with confidence questions respecting the classic languages, regarding which the Greeks and Romans themselves were in error. 'Who could have dreamed a century ago,' exclaims Professor Bopp, 'that a language would be brought to us from the far East, which should accompany, *pari passu*, nay, sometimes surpass, the Greek in all those perfections of form which have been hitherto considered the exclusive property of the latter, and be adapted throughout to adjust the perennial strife between the Greek dialects, by enabling us to determine where each of them has preserved the purest and oldest forms.'—Preface, p. vi.

The researches to which the study of Sanscrit has given rise, have not only disclosed the true connexion between the Greek and Latin languages, but have also established, by the clearest induction, the remarkable fact, that these are but individual members of a vast family, including (to mention some only of its many branches) the rugged dialects yet lingering amongst the strongholds of nature to which the Celtic tribes of old were driven; the fruitful Teutonic stem, with its vigorous and flourishing offshoots; the widely-spread Slavonic; and the venerable and highly-cultivated Sanscrit. With the disposition that now appears to underrate English scholarship, in our newborn zeal for German erudition, it ought to be borne in mind how large a share English scholars had in bringing about this magnificent revolution. 'From England,' says Mr. Donaldson, 'the knowledge of this language passed into Germany.*' But the laborious skill and patience of German scholars have been displayed in working the vein which those of our own land had opened; and they are now in a position to repay what they borrowed from us with interest. 'The establishment of San-

* *New Cratylus*, p. 34.

sanscrit scholarship as a branch of philology is due to Francis Bopp and Augustus William Schlegel. By the exertions of these two scholars, seconded in no slight degree by the illustrious William Humboldt, a sound and accurate knowledge of the Sanscrit language has been introduced into Germany. England, we are sorry to say, has little to offer that will bear comparison with the performances of our continental neighbours, either in regard to comparative philology in general, or to Indian scholarship in particular. Accordingly, as we have borrowed our philology in its literary spirit from the Germans, we must also import their comparative grammar.*

To this desirable process of importation, the volumes before us are a signally valuable contribution. English students of philology are under great obligations to Lord Francis Egerton, with whom, as the preface informs us, the present publication originated; and to Lieutenant Eastwick and Professor Wilson, for their respective shares in the undertaking. The 'Vergleichende Grammatik' of Bopp is acknowledged to hold a high rank in this department of German literature; and it is scarcely necessary to observe that we have at present no work in our own language that could supply its place. The author himself thus describes his design:—

'I contemplate in this work a description of the comparative organization of the languages enumerated in the title-page, comprehending all the features of their relationship, and an inquiry into their physical and mechanical laws, and the origin of the forms which distinguish their grammatical relations. One point alone I shall leave untouched,—the secret of the roots, or the foundation of the nomenclature of the primary ideas. I shall not investigate, for example, why the root of *I* signifies 'go,' and not 'stand;' why the combinations of sounds, *S T H A*, or *S T A*, signifies 'stand,' and not 'go;' I shall attempt, apart from this, to follow out, as it were, the language in its stages of being and march of development.'

In carrying out this design, the Sanscrit is taken as the basis of the inquiry and standard of comparison. The first ninety pages are occupied with 'Characters and Sounds,' commencing with those of Sanscrit, which are treated of at considerable length; so that although the work is not intended as a first introduction to the languages which are examined in it, the student who has no previous acquaintance with Sanscrit need not apprehend much difficulty but what patience and diligence will overcome. To lessen the obstacles, however, presented by a new character, especially one so difficult to master as the Sanscrit, all the Sanscrit and Zend words that occur through-

* 'New Cratylus,' p. 34, 35.

out the volumes are printed in English letters as well as, or instead of, in the original characters. From the Sanscrit alphabet, the author proceeds to the Zend, which is written, like the Semitic languages, from right to left. This interesting language, the sacred tongue of the Parsees, has presented far more formidable difficulties to modern scholars than the Sanscrit.

'The Zend grammar,' observes Professor Bopp, 'can only be recovered by the process of a severe regular etymology, calculated to bring back the unknown to the known, the much to the little: for this remarkable language, which in many respects reaches beyond and is an improvement on the Sanscrit, would appear to be no longer intelligible to the disciples of Zoroaster.'

From the elementary sounds of the languages under investigation, the author passes to the important topic of 'Roots,' and then to that of 'The Formation of Cases,' with which the largest portion of the first volume is occupied. A section on Adjectives, and one on Numerals, close the volume. In the latter, the reader may find, within a small compass, examples of some of the most striking and interesting results of comparative philology. Vol. ii. is occupied with Pronouns and Verbs. The third volume, which we understand is in preparation, will, we presume, complete the work. We hope it will be furnished with complete indexes, on which much of the value of such a work must depend.

It is quite unnecessary to give a formal recommendation of a book like this, which claims a place in the library of every scholar. No one can now pretend to the reputation of finished scholarship without an acquaintance with the discoveries of which it treats. We must just add, however, that the greatest praise is due to the beauty of the typography, and to the extreme care with which the volumes have evidently been carried through the press.

ART. V.—*A Book of Roxburghe Ballads.* Edited by John Payne Collier, Esq. Longman, 1847.

THE acquisition by the British Museum of that large collection of 'broad-sides,' commenced by Harley, Earl of Oxford, but which is now so well known by the name of the 'Roxburghe Ballads,' from the title of its late possessor, is a subject of gratulation to all those who know how valuable such ephemeral productions are, as illustrating popular thought and feeling, and how exceedingly difficult it has always been, from the very circumstances of their publication to preserve them

from oblivion. This collection consists of more than a thousand black-letter broadsides, each adorned by one, in some instances two, well worn cuts, and pasted on stout paper and bound, without any attempt at classification or chronological order, in three folio volumes. Curious, most interesting volumes they are, presenting to us the people's literature of the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and the two Charleses:—the very songs listened to by the many thousands passed away; and pored over, and spelt out, and learnt by heart, by those to whom some dozen ballads were their whole library. Seldom have we had more vivid glimpses of past times, of their 'very form and pressure,' than while turning over these dingy leaves, and contemplating their smudgy, half-obliterated, but often spirited, wood-cuts.

From the form of their publication, as well as from the character of the larger portion, the title 'Ballads' is correct enough, but there are many in this collection that take a higher rank, and rise to a degree of lyrical merit, which shows how widely a poetical taste was diffused, both in the reign of Elizabeth, and during the earlier half of the seventeenth century.

The work now before us consists of a number of these Ballads, selected from this large collection, together with some others derived from the editor's portfolio.

'On the rarity of all it is superfluous to enlarge. In many, if not in most, instances the broadsides are unique; no duplicates of them are to be met with in public or private libraries, and it is easy to account for this circumstance if we reflect that they were seldom printed in a form calculated for preservation. Thomas Deloney and Richard Johnson were almost the only ballad writers of that age who subsequently brought together their scattered broadsides in small volumes, while hundreds of similar pieces by other popular authors were allowed to perish. The more generally acceptable a ballad became the more it was handed about for perusal or performance, and the more it was exposed to the danger of destruction.

'The consequence has been that very few ballads, as they came from the hands of those who may be called our elder printers, have descended to our day; and many of the best in our volume would have been irretrievably lost but that the constant demand for them induced typographers of the reigns of James and Charles, in particular, to republish them. The year, whether of impression or re-impression, is very rarely given on the broadside; but it is usually known between what dates the printers, whose names are appended, carried on business, and from thence we are generally able to form a judgment as to the age of productions of their presses.'—Introduction, p. ix.

At what period the aid of the printing press was first invoked

to assist the street minstrel in 'turning a penny,' cannot be ascertained, but it was as early as 1537, that a man of the name of John Hogan, was arrested for singing a political ballad, on the plea of having offended against the proclamation of 1533, which was issued to suppress 'sonl books, and ballads, and rhymes, in the English tongue.' Ten years later, an Act of Parliament was passed, intended, among other enactments, to put a stop to the circulation of 'printed ballads, plays, rhymes, songs, and other fantasies.' An emphatic proof this, with what vigour the early printers pursued their calling; and how anxious the mass of the people were to avail themselves of its agency. The death of that right-royal 'Defender of the Faith,' whose paternal sway extended not only over the lives and properties, but the Latin grammars and street ballads, of his subjects, left them for a few years at freedom to 'sing or say' what they pleased. The reason for this greater freedom in young Edward's reign, however, cannot, for a moment, be supposed to have arisen from any respect to the rights of subjects, but must be assigned to the fact, that the press was the great engine of the reformed faith, and that nearly all our early printers were determined Protestants. Consequently, we find Mary, in less than a month after her accession, publishing an edict against 'books, ballads, rhymes, and treatises, set out by printers and stationers, of an evil zeal for lucre, and covetousness of vile gain;' and during her reign, the trade of printer and ballad-singer alike, seemed to have been almost suppressed.

'No such restraint was deemed necessary when Elizabeth succeeded,' and throughout the whole of her reign, ballads and ballad-singing flourished. Although, judging from Philip Stubbes's violent denunciations against the minstrels and musicians, who infested town and country with their 'songs, filthy ballads, and scurvy rhymes,' the reader might be inclined to suppose that all belonged to this class, we can assure him that this was by no means the case, but that the number of moral, and especially of 'godly,' ballads surprised us when turning over the 'Roxburghe Collection.' In addition to 'most godly and comfortable' ballads on the Nativity and Resurrection, we find many of the facts of scripture, and also of apocryphal history put into verse. There is the history of 'Sampson, Judge of Israel,' beginning—

'When Sampson was a tall young man,
His power and strengthe increased then,
And in the hoste and tribe of Dan,
The Lord did bless him still.

There is also one of 'David and Berseeba,' to be sung—very inappropriately we think—to a pleasant new tune; and one on 'Solomon's Sacrifice.' Apocryphal subjects seem to have been very popular. There is a ballad, in two parts, on 'Old Toby,' adorned with two wood-cuts, the one representing Tobias taking leave, and the other, his struggle with the fish, which is represented as 'very like a whale.' This is the first stanza—

' In Nineveh old Toby dwelt,
An aged man, and blind was he;
And much affliction had he felt,
That brought him into povertie.'

The story of Susannah was also versified for the especial edification of the ladies it would seem. The versification is rather pleasing—evidently formed upon that of some favourite ballad—

' There dwelt a man in Babylon
Of reputation great by fame;
He took to wife a faire woman,
Susanna she was called by name—
A woman faire and vertuous,
Lady, lady,
Why should we not of her learn thus
To live godlye?'

There are also many which, in the present day, might be termed hymns, and which, frequently, exhibit much simple religious feeling. These mostly contain some allusion to 'the Pestilence,' and were most probably widely circulated, and largely bought, at those times, when death, as some of them emphatically phrased it, 'knocked at every man's door.' There are also poetical warnings, doubtless sung to some 'doleful tune,' of which John Carre's 'Larum-Bell for London,' printed here, is a good specimen. This was published in a work, Mr. Collier says, bearing date as early as 1573; the broadside, therefore, was probably even older. It begins with assuring London that the writer wrings his hands for her, seeing she will not repent of her sins, among which pride is pre-eminent, and, therefore, it were well for her to consider, how that sin hath been 'the fall of many cities great.'

The four stanzas following we extract as a curious specimen of a street ballad, nearly three centuries ago.

' And Alexandria in like cace,
Whiche was a citie strong and greate;
Pride would not let them purchase grace,
Nor yet for mercie would intreate:
Because that pride so much did flowe,
It was destroyed, and lies full lowe.

And Ninivie like cause I finde,
 In the ende for pride was cleane destroyed,
 For pride so much did puff their minde,
 That God was cleane forgot and voide :
 In pride so much they did delite,
 That God the same destroyed quite.
 Jerusalem, that citie strong,
 Pride would not let them God to knowe,
 In whiche pride they continued long,
 As Josephus the same doeth shew ;
 Till Titus did destroye the same,
 And did accuse their pride with shame.
 Ensample take by noble Troie ;
 The like for pride was never sene :
 With warres the Greekes did it destroye,
 Bothe wall and house they threwe downe clean :
 Because that pride did beare the swaie,
 It came to ruin and decay.'—p. 57.

We think the ballad-singer must have had a tolerably educated auditory to have profited by these 'ensamples.' The general character of these ballads is, however, as Mr. Collier remarks, far superior to those of more modern times. 'The Bride's Good-morrow,' which belongs either to the close of the reign of Elizabeth, or to that of the first James, is pleasing; and, if, as the editor remarks, 'tinged with a puritanical spirit,' we are sure it will not be less acceptable to our readers on that account.

The following is in a lighter strain. It is by John Heywood, a writer in the reigns of Henry VIII. and his son. The broadside is, 'in many places, a clever modernization, and it was printed for Thomas Millington, in Cornhill, soon after the year 1600.'

' Be merry, friends, and take no thought ;
 For worldly cares now care ye nought,
 For who so doth when all is sought,
 Shall find that thought availeth not.
 Be merry, friends !

And such as have all wealth at will,
 Their wills and pleasures to fulfill,
 Need never grudge at any ill,
 Nor need I sing this song untill.
 Be merry, friends !

But unto such as wish and want,
 Whose worldly wealth is very scant,
 No wealth to spend, no land to plant,
 To them it is I chiefly chant,
 Be merry, friends !

To such as have had grief annexed
 Unto their lives, extremely vext,
 In worldly storms tost, and perplexed,
 To them I sing this short sweet text—
 Be merry, friends !

* * * * *

Make not two sorrowes out of one,
 For one is sure enough alone ;
 To graft new sorrow thereupon
 Is graffing crab with crab, ne'er done.
 Be merry, friends !

To take our sorrows mournfully
 Augmenteth but our malady ;
 But taking sorrows merrily
 Maketh them smaller, verily.
 Be merry, friends !'—p. 135.

* * * * *

There are numerous ballads founded on classical story, all belonging to the period of Elizabeth and the first James. It was doubtless from such street versions of ancient history and fable, that 'Tom butcher' learnt the woes of Priam and Hecuba, and was moved even to tears. And very interesting to the commonalty were these ballads. There is one on Queen Dido, which was set to so 'pleasant' a tune, that we find many ballads directed to be sung to this same 'tune of Queen Dido.' There is one also upon 'Actæon,' and his fate, in the Roxburghe Collection, one woodcut of which exhibits him in his own person with a huge bow, and the other as a hart with enormous antlers. The first verse is as follows, indeed, the whole story is in the true ballad style.

' Diana and her derlings dear
 Went walking on a day,
 Thro' out the wood and waters clear,
 For their disport and play.'

The tale of Pyramus and Thisbe found great favour with ballad singers and ballad readers. Mr. Collier gives us one which is almost as laughable as the 'presentment' of the same story in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. The narrator acquaints us that 'in the fair fragrant month of May,' having gone abroad into a very pleasant place, where the Satyrs, and the Naiads, and the Dryads, with Echo were to be found ; and where, moreover, 'the kind Graces used to prance,' he found 'a lady, subject to mine eyes,' who recounted to him her woeful history. She, however, brings the tale nearer home than Baby-

lon, for she terms her lover, 'the sweetest creature' that 'ever Europe bred;' and then tells how 'blind Cupid' shot at them both, and how 'our parents sought to crosse our will,' and, therefore, they—

'Did appoint under this tree
To meet, but disappointed bea;

'When bright Aurora peeped out
And Phœbus newly look'd about,
I first (according to my vow)
Made haste unto this plighted bough;
Here, as I stayed for my love,
Whose coming over-late did prove,
A lyon with inhumane pawes
Came to that well to coole his jaws.

'His mouth was all with blood beamear'd,
This instrument of death I fear'd;
I fled to hide myself for feare,
And left behind my mantle there.
The lyon, having slak'd his thirst,
Ran where I left my garment first;
But when he saw no place for prey,
He foul'd with blood my liverie.

And having moused thus the same,
Thither he went whence first he came;
But I knew not that he was gone,
And therefore stay'd I hid alone! —p. 93.

The story now goes on after the authorized version. Pyramus, however, having, before his death, written 'a note,' and pinned it 'upon his hat'—this she finds, together with his 'dead car-casse,' and drawing the sword from his breast she thrusts it into her own. 'The tragedy of Hero and Leander furnished another subject for the ballad makers. And very popular it was, two or three ballads being yet extant on the same story. The one given by Mr. Collier, presents, like Pyramus and Thisbe, very little poetical merit; there is, however, somewhat of the simplicity of the old ballad in it. Here are two verses:—

'The lad forsook the land, and did
Unto the gods complain:
You rocks, you rugged waters,
You elements, hail and rain,
What 'tis to miss true lover's bliss,
Alas! you do not know;
Make me a wrack, as I come back,
But spare me as I go.

Behold on yonder tower, see where
 My fair beloved lyes !
 This is th' appointed hour ; hark, how
 She on Leander cryes !—
 The gods were mute unto his suit,
 The billows answer'd no :
 The surges rise up to the skyes,
 But he sunk down below !'—p. 223.

It is, after all, in what may be called songs on various subjects, whether they be didactic, amatory, or satirical, that the merit of these old writers chiefly appears. There is a grace in some of these, and a force both of thought and expression in others, which places them far above the 'much admired' songs dedicated to ladies A. B. or C., and warbled by our young ladies in the present day ; or the very moral, but certainly very prosy songs, wherewith our more sober grandfathers were accustomed to amuse themselves. The didactic are very numerous and very excellent. Here are two stanzas of an admirable old ballad too long to be given whole.

' I am a poore man, God knowes,
 And all my neighbours can tell,
 I want both money and clothes,
 And yet I live wondrous well :
 I have a contented mind,
 And a heart to beare out all,
 Though fortune (being unkind)
 Hath given me substance small.
 Then hang up sorrow and care,
 It never shall make me rue ;
 What though my backe goes bare,
I'me ragged, and torne, and true.

I scorne to live by the shift,
 Or by any sinister dealing ;
 I'll flatter no man for a gift,
 Nor will I get money by stealing :
 I'll be no knight of the post
 To sell my soule for a bribe,
 Though all my fortunes be crost,
 Yet I scorn the cheater's bribe.
 Then hang up sorrow and care,' &c.—p. 26.

Mr. Collier is inclined to assign this song as early a date as the reign of Elizabeth, but from the circumstance of its being sung 'to the tune of old Sir Simon the King,' it could not be of an earlier date than the reign of James I., since that tune, and its original words, were expressly composed in honour of

Simon Wadloe, mine host of the Devil Tavern, and the hero of Ben Jonson's verses which were placed over the door of the Apollo room there.

Another very admirable ballad of the same period will be found in the Roxburghe Collection. We subjoin two verses. It is called the Countryman's new 'Care away.'

'There is no contentment
To a conscience not clear;
That man is most wretched,
Who an ill mind doth bear,
To wrong his poore neighbour,
By night or by day;
He wants the true comfort
To sing, 'Care away.'

But he who is ready
By goodness to labour,
In what he is able
To helpe his poore neighbour,
The Lorde will ever blesse him
By night and by day;—
All joyes shall possesse him
To sing, 'Care away.'

There is much quiet satire too in the ballad, entitled, 'Few Words are Best,' and it affords some illustration of the times.

A pair of capital ballads, probably of the reign of Charles I. are entitled, 'The Miser,' and 'The Prodigal.' The originals in the Museum collection are adorned with two appropriate cuts; in the first, the miser is seen gathering gold and jewels together with an enormous rake, unconscious that he has caught hold of Satan himself in the guise of a large black cat with a bunch of horns; and, in the other, a young man stands in 'brave apparel,' with hat and feather, ruffles, and boots edged with broad lace. Thus begins the first, the Miser:—

'Come, come, my brave gold,
Which I love to behold,
Come to me, and I'll give you rest,
Where as you may sleepe,
And I safely will keepe
You lockt in my yron bound chest.
No thieves you shall feare,
You in pieces to teare,
Such care of you I will take:
Come to me, and flye,
Gold angels! I cry,
And I'll gather you all with my rake.

* * * *

Rich jewels and plate
 By no means I hate,
 With diamonds, saphirs, or rings ;
 The carbuncle red
 Stands me in like stead,
 Or any other rich things.
 The emerald greene,
 Like the spring that is seene,
 Gold chains, or the like, I will take ;
 I have a kind heart,
 With my coyne I will part,
 So I may get all with my rake.'—p. 254.

'Thus rich usury' exults over his ill-gotten treasure, all the while 'ne'er thinking to die,' says the writer, until grim Death seizes him—

'And the sexton the earth on him rakes.'

Now comes the Prodigal—

'Roome ! roome for a friend,
 That his money will spend ;
 Old Flatcap is laid in his grave :
 Hee kept me full poore,
 But now I will roare ;
 His lands and his livings I have.
 The tide of gold flowes,
 And wealth on me growes ;
 Hee's dead and for that 'tis no matter ;
 Great use he did take,
 And for me he did rake,
 Which now with the fork I will scatter.

* * * *

And let musicke play
 To me night and day,
 I scorne both my silver and gold.
 Brave gentlemen all,
 I'll pay what you call ;
 With me, I beseech you, be bold ;
 Dice run low or high,
 My gold it shall fly,
 I mean for to keep a brave quarter ;
 Let the cards goe and come,
 I have a great sum
 That I with my forke will now scatter.

Let carouses goe round,
 Till some fall to the ground,

And here's to my mistresse her health:
 Then lets take no care,
 For no cost wee'l spare;
 Hang money, I have store of wealth.
 My father it got,
 And now, false to my lot,
 I scorne it as I doe mortar;
 For coyne was made round
 To stand on no ground,
 And I with my forke will it scatter.'—p. 259.

As the reader may suppose, this riot soon comes to an end, the prodigal meets the usual fate, and the ballad concludes with an exhortation to youth,

'To God thanks lets give,
 And in a meane live,
 And having a care how we scatter.'

Some of these ballads supply curious illustrations of old London, and the manners of the citizens in the reigns of James and Charles I. 'The Norfolk farmer's journey to London' is one of these, and gives a very graphic picture of Fleet Street and the Exchange—'the world of people fine,' in silks and satins—the beggars, the milkmaids, the silk women, the gentlewoman in a mask, which excites the wonder of the farmer's wife, almost as much as the sight of the man selling, what she imagines to be rats, but which were the small monkeys called marmosets, and at this period, especial favourites with the ladies. The ballad entitled 'The common cries of London,' too, illustrates the same subject, and brings before us the lower order of hucksters, who plied their callings through the streets more than two hundred years ago. We have the 'Fishwife,' with her accustomed cry of 'lily white mussels,' and offering her oysters for 'two-pence' the peck; the purchaser of kitchen-stuff with her greasy tub, and the 'milk wench' with her pails of milk and cream—so rosy, and so clean, in her white linen waistcoat; and then, there is the blacking maker, with his best blacking, which the writer shrewdly remarks, will indeed give a fine polish to the shoes, but destroy the leather; and the crier of 'pudding pies,' which are 'well stuffed with candle-ends,' and the costermonger with his 'cherry ripe,' and a pair of dice in his purse, to cheat his gambling customers, and the chimney sweeper, (for climbing boys, are of modern origin), 'with his bush of thorns,' and a bundle of poles all tipped with horn at his back. The song of 'the great Boobee,' tells the unlucky doings of a country simpleton, who gets his purse picked (purses were then worn at the girdle) by a 'cousin,'

who treats him at a tavern, and leaves him to pay the reckoning—he next mistakes the painted statues at the Exchange for living people, and takes off his hat to them; and, in his eagerness to witness the bull and bear baitings at Paris gardens, gets tossed by ‘the garden bull.’ In a song of a rather later date—probably about the time of the protectorate, we have a curious enumeration of female accomplishments among the middle classes. The lady, whose only fault is, that ‘she cannot rule her tongue,’ is represented as singing, playing on the lute, and viol de gambo, dancing, spinning, knitting, and lace making—in this ballad, called, as it always is by writers of the seventeenth century, ‘weaving bone-lace.’ There are two or three ballads in this volume celebrating the objurgatory qualities of many good wives; and there are many others in the large collection; indeed, it would seem to have been rather a favourite subject with the ballad writers of the seventeenth century. It might well be thought that none of the ‘women kind’ would purchase ballads so disrespectful in their tendency; the ingenuity of the writer was therefore frequently tasked, as in the following verse, which concludes a rather spirited ballad, shewing how the scold was more than a match for even his infernal majesty.

‘Nor would I have a scold
A penny here bestowe;
But honest men and wives,
Buy this before you go.’

It is but fair to these old ballad writers, however, to remark, that there are many in praise of good wives, and of censure on extravagant and unthrifty husbands. One of the most pleasing ballads in the book before us, too, is of a widely different character, and although our space is so occupied we must endeavour to make room for a part. It is entitled, ‘The householder’s new year’s gift,’ and belongs to the beginning of the seventeenth century; it is well termed in the title, ‘A pleasant dialogue between the husband and his wife, pleasant to be regarded.’

W.

‘Grieve no more, sweet husband,
To grieve it is in vaine,
Little it availeth
To grieve or else complaine;
Then shew thy need to no man,
For it doth breed disdaine,
Now comes a good new yeare.

* * * *

H.

Sweet wife, a thousand sorrowes
 Doe yet torment my minde,
 To think for all my labour
 How I am still behinde ;
 And for the same no remedy,
 Alacke ! that I can finde.
 Good Lord ! send a merry new yeere.

W.

Take courage, gentle husband,
 And hearken what I say ;
 After freezing January
 Commeth pleasant May ;
 There is no storme so cruell
 But comes as faire a day.
 Good Lord ! send a merry new yeere.

H.

Gentle wife, I tell thee,
 My very heart is done ;
 The world's great calamitie
 No way can I shunne,
 For still in debt and danger
 More and more I runne.
 Good Lord ! send a merry new yeere.

W.

Be content, sweet husband,
 And hearken unto me :
 The Lord is still as mercifull
 As he was wont to bee.
 Goe thou, and ply thy labour,
 And I will worke with thee
 Good Lord ! send a merry new yeere.

I will not be idle,
 But I will card and spin ;
 I will save together
 That thou bringest in.
 No man for a debt is hanged ;
 Then passe thou not a pin,
 And God send a merry new yeere.

H.

Deare wife, thy gentle speeches
 Revive me at the heart,
 To see thee take my poverty
 In such a gentle part.
 If God doe ever raise me
 Thou shalt have thy desert ;
 And God send a merry new year.

W.

Poverty, sweet husband,
 Oft time hath been blamed,
 But poverty with honesty
 Never yet was shamed.
 The rich man discontented
 May be a poor man named;
 But God send a merry new yeere.—p. 276—280.

We cannot conclude without a word of commendation in regard to the 'getting up' of this volume. Type, paper, initial letters, headings, and above all, the quaint and curious, but frequently admirable woodcuts, placed at the end of almost every ballad, are in such perfect keeping, that we feel half inclined to consider the date 1847, on the title page, a misprint for 1647. This 'book of Roxburghe Ballads,' while it forms an admirable volume for the drawing room, has also wider claims on public attention, since it supplies an interesting selection of original songs and ballads, drawn chiefly from that extensive collection, which, interesting as it is in its entirety to the historical student, is both too voluminous, and difficult of access to the general reader.

ART. VI.—*A Pamphlet on the Salt Trade of India.* By D. C. Aylwin, of the House of Messrs. Aylwin and Co., of Calcutta, and Messrs. Aylwin, Doss, and Co., of Mirzapore. Fifth Edition. London: James Madden. 1846. 4to. pp. 41.

GOVERNMENTS are hard learners. The rulers of a nation are usually the last men to adopt the enlightened views of their age. Modern statesmanship, with all its boasted wisdom and foresight, is never in advance, but always in the rear, of public opinion. Antiquated notions, discarded by the large majority of the people, still linger within official precincts. And it requires leagues of tradesmen and mechanics to labour hard and long in order to teach privy councillors wisdom.

The recent triumph of free trade was a victory over the ignorance and prejudices of English statesmen. It swept away a huge blunder of legislation which successive governments, both Whig and Tory, had for a long period believed to be a wise system of policy. It compelled the authorities of Downing Street, in opposition to their previously avowed principles, to adopt a course which has already saved the country from incalculable evils, and which promises, in its future development,

to promote, not only the commercial prosperity of this kingdom, but the general welfare of the whole human race.

Amongst the many advantages which have resulted from the teachings of the League, not the least valuable in our opinion is, that the people have learned to take a deep interest in the fiscal policy and general government of the state. They are no longer entirely carried away by the specious pretences of official gravity. They find that the rules of common sense, by which matters of ordinary business are conducted, are equally applicable to the government of a country; and careful attention to the subject has shown them, that common sense and sound judgment have been constantly outraged by Acts of Parliament, brought forward at the suggestion, and supported by the influence, of leading statesmen. And they are the less likely to regard these errors and follies of legislation with indifference, now that they are beginning to trace to them most of the serious evils which have retarded the prosperity of the country, and have exposed the mass of the population to destitution and misery. We believe that this awakened attention on the part of the people to their own interests, as affected by governmental proceedings, will lead ultimately to a considerable change in the character of our legislators, and will greatly modify the system at present adopted in reference to taxation, the management of our colonies, and our foreign relations.

The government of British India forms no exception to the preceding remarks. Its policy, in many respects, might be adduced to show 'with how little sense the world is governed.' Sound principles of political economy have been disregarded by the directors, and oppressive fiscal regulations have been adopted, alike injurious to the revenues of the state, and opposed to the general happiness and prosperity of the people.

In the present article, we propose to consider a most important branch of the policy adopted by the East India Company, which we are glad to perceive is exciting public attention in various large towns, and has recently been brought by influential deputations under the notice of the British government.

The salt monopoly of India directly affects the interests of forty-eight millions of our fellow subjects, and produces a revenue of rather more than one million pounds sterling. Like all other monopolies, it has received zealous support from those interested in its continuance, who have not hesitated to assert that it confers a benefit upon the people, and is 'a branch of public resources upon whose stability and permanency the government of India can most confidently rely.' We shall inquire how far these apologies for the monopoly are supported by facts.

Salt is an absolute necessary of life to the labouring classes of

the East Indies. Their food consists chiefly of boiled rice, which taken by itself is very insipid. They, therefore, use salt to render it palatable; and to obtain this means of subsistence the poor ryot is willing to make almost any sacrifice. An article in such universal demand has been seized upon by the government in order to compel all, even the poorest of their subjects, to contribute to the revenue of the company. With this object, the directors have monopolized the manufacture of salt, and have adopted regulations which restrict the supply of the Indian markets almost entirely to their own article. That this has been the policy of the Court of Directors for many years, is shown by a letter from their secret committee, dated May 10th, 1816, and addressed to the Governor-general in council, in which the following direction is given:—‘Under the 53 Geo. III. chap. 55, sect. 6, salt may be legally exported from this country to India; and as many of his Majesty’s subjects, proceeding in ships navigated according to law, upon a voyage to the East Indies, are permitted by the 54th Geo. III. cap. 34, to touch and trade at the Cape de Verd Islands, where salt may be procured at a very low price, we think it necessary to instruct you to take immediate measures for the protection of our salt revenue. With this view, we direct you will lose no time in preparing and transmitting home, for our sanction, a regulation imposing such a rate of duty on the importation of all foreign salt as shall have the effect of securing the revenue derived from that article.’ This direction was at once attended to, as is proved by the reply from Bengal, dated Oct. 11, 1816, in which the Governor-general and council say:—‘It has appeared to us advisable that *such a duty be imposed on the importation of salt and opium as shall secure the exclusive trade in these articles from all interference whatever.*’

The process of manufacturing salt adopted by the East India Company, and which they guard with so much jealousy ‘from all interference whatever,’ is thus described in an unpublished report of a committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1836, to inquire into the state of the *salt trade in British India*.

‘The progress of the manufacture of salt in India is supposed not to have varied for centuries, and is very imperfect as compared with the European methods. The sea-water is dammed up at high tides, and conducted by canals into reservoirs. To strengthen this, the water is at spring-tides admitted over the lands prepared for the purpose. After the water is evaporated by the heat of the sun, the ground is periodically scraped, and is found to be strongly impregnated with saline particles. By a curious and somewhat tedious process of filtration, this is converted into brine, and by the application of artificial heat under earthen pots in the *choolahs*, or boiling-houses, becomes salt. The fuel used consists of grass, rice-straw,

and wood from the jungles, and these materials were annually becoming scarce, till arrangements were made for importing them from the island of Saugor.

‘ It is generally admitted that these districts are among the most unhealthy in the dominions of the Company. Situated upon a low shore, they are peculiarly exposed to the ravages of fever, cholera, and other disorders incidental to that country. Indeed, it appears that it is a constant subject of complaint from the higher powers, that the Europeans appointed to overlook these agencies are fearful of trusting themselves within the influence of this fatal climate, and that, consequently, many irregularities hurtful to the revenue take place among the native officers. Besides, being situated near the mouths of the great river Ganges, they are subject to dreadful inundations, one of which, in the year 1834, destroyed some thousands of families, and swept away the labour of many months. The labourers in these agencies are called Molunghees, and are the ryots, or peasantry of the adjacent villages.’—*Parl. Report*, quoted by Mr. Aylwin, p. 6.

To protect this very inferior and impure article from the competition of the cheap productions of other countries, the company have imposed a duty of three rupees per maund, or £8. 3s. 6d. per ton, upon all salt imported. But even this would not be sufficient to prevent very extensive importations, did not the government adopt a further expedient for discouraging interference with their ‘ exclusive trade,’ by levying the import duties in the most objectionable and oppressive manner. The ‘ Rules for Bonding Salt’ require that, ‘ on the expiration of three months from the date of the entry of the ship in which the salt may have been imported, the collector of customs will call upon the importer or consignee to pay the duty on the full quantity weighed over the vessel’s side, less three-and-a-half per cent. for wastage.’ And ‘ that all parties wishing to store and bond salt are to make a deposit of the amount of duty in government promissory notes, or in bills accepted by government.’

In order to show the objectionable character of these bonding regulations, Mr. Aylwin supposes the case of a British manufacturer who had consigned to Calcutta ten vessels laden with salt, each having on board a cargo averaging 500 tons, which, at 20s. per ton, the value in England, would amount altogether to £5,000. If, on its arrival in Calcutta, the consignee of such salt found either that the market was temporarily depressed, or that, as is often the case, there was a combination amongst the dealers against the importers, he would be compelled, as the only means of avoiding a great sacrifice in price, to bond the salt under the regulations above quoted. The consignee would in that case have to lock up, in payment of duty, capital to the amount of £40,875 upon goods, the total value of which was

only £5,000; and the importer would be exposed to a very heavy loss arising from excess of wastage, balance of interest, and additional commission charged upon the transaction. Mr. Aylwin, after a careful examination of the various facts, states:

‘ In reality, the case is reduced to this:—that if the Calcutta merchant does not sell, on arrival, over the ship’s side, whereby at the utmost he has only a few days to stand out against the native dealers, or say until the vessel is ready to deliver his goods, he is compelled to lock up in the shape of deposit of Company’s paper, an amount of capital eight times the home value of the salt, in addition to incurring for his constituent in England, extra charges, *caused solely and entirely by existing bonding regulations*, amounting on £5,000 worth of salt, to no less a sum than £4,061 19s.—say,

The extra sale-commission on the salt <i>duty paid</i> : or say, 5 per cent. on the duty, viz. £40,875.	£2043 15 0
Balance and loss of interest by depositing Company’s paper.	587 11 6
Balance of wastage between amount allowed, and the actual loss.	1,430 12 6
	<hr/>
	£4,061 19 0
	<hr/>

—p. 38.

It will be at once seen from the above facts, how effectively such regulations must interfere with the importation of British salt, by exposing the consignee either to the enormous losses entailed by the bonding system, or to a serious sacrifice of price arising from forced sales, effected within a limited period, to a combined body of sub-monopolists.

In adopting their present course, the company no doubt proceed upon the assumption that they can derive from the profits of their exclusive manufacture of salt a larger revenue than would be obtained from customs’ duties upon foreign imports. That their policy has not even this justification is well shown by Mr. Aylwin.

It appears from official tables, that during the year 1833-34, the quantity of salt sold by the East India Company at Calcutta amounted to 5,229,746 maunds, the net proceeds of which are given at 14,267,831 rupees. The charges of manufacturing and collecting amounted together to 3,434,948 rupees, or about thirty-one and-a-half per cent; leaving a net revenue for the purposes of government of 10,832,882 rupees, or £1,083,228 sterling.

If, therefore, instead of manufacturing an impure article in a very costly and objectionable manner, the company had allowed the Calcutta markets to be supplied with English salt, subject

to the duty of three rupees per maund, levied under fair and reasonable bonding regulations, the customs' receipts upon the 5,229,746 maunds (assuming that the importations would have equalled the actual quantity sold), would have amounted to £1,568,923. It is thus clearly shown that in the year referred to, the company lost nearly half a million pounds sterling by their absurd policy of manufacturing salt, instead of encouraging its importation from other countries. The loss of revenue upon manufacturing, similarly calculated upon the entire amount of salt produced and sold by the East India Company between the years 1793-4 and 1844-5, as compared with the customs' duties which might have been obtained upon the importation of an equal quantity at three rupees per maund, is proved by Mr. Aylwin to have been during that period not less than ten and a half millions sterling! (App. Nos. 7 & 8).

We have hitherto taken the question on the very lowest ground, and considered it simply in relation to the very large duty which the regulations of the company impose upon the importation of salt. But the monopoly, tried by the rules of sound fiscal policy, and by its influence upon the social condition and commercial interests of the people, will be seen to be still more indefensible.

The exorbitant price of salt, sustained by the monopoly of its manufacture, and by heavy 'protective' duties, reduces its consumption, compels the adoption of cheaper substitutes for seasoning food, and encourages smuggling to a very considerable extent. This will be fully shown by the following statements.

The Board of Salt estimates the average annual consumption of this article at twelve pounds for each individual. If, then, we calculate the ordinary number of a family at five (which Mr. Aylwin considers below the mark), we find that a Bengal labourer, whose annual earnings amount to about three rupees per month, or £3 12s. per year, has to pay for salt alone, not less than one-eighth, or one and a half month's portion of his yearly income! This, too, is a favourable instance, for there are many districts in which the condition of the wretched peasantry is still worse—where the poor ryot has to support his family and pay this oppressive tax out of wages not exceeding £1 16s. per annum. These people are of course quite unable to provide themselves with the necessary quantity of salt, and are driven to make use of either a very adulterated article, mixed with earth, and resembling saline mud more than anything else, or of substituting in its stead septic, impure, or bitter salts, consisting of saline matters extracted from the ashes of vegetables, &c. Mr. Crawford mentioned, in his evidence before the com-

mittee of the House of Commons, that in 1815, it was stated in a public report, that out of 800,000 maunds of salt consumed in Bengal, 150,000 consisted of impure salts not paying duty ; and as the population of that district was then estimated at 7,057,000, it would seem that about one-fifth, or upwards of 1,300,000 of the inhabitants, were compelled to eat impure salt. In 1834, the quantity of this impure article manufactured and used was admitted to have increased.

The inferior quality, deficient supply, and high price of the company's salt, offer great inducements to smuggling, which is carried on to an almost incalculable degree. It is, indeed, quite impossible for the government adequately to guard their vast extent of western frontier, intersected throughout with streams and rivers, affording every facility for carrying on an illicit trade. And the difficulty of preventing smuggling by custom-house or excise-officers, is very much increased in consequence of the aid and encouragement which the people everywhere render to the contrabandists. Nor can this be wondered at, when we consider the great temptation held out to an impoverished population of obtaining an article of prime necessity at rates so much below the charges of government. 'Every one,' says the report quoted by Mr. Crawford, 'gives encouragement and ready assistance to the smugglers of salt; the head men of villagers are most courteous in affording them protection; and all classes combine to defraud the government of its revenues, in order to obtain this requisite of life at the cheapest rate.' It appears from the same report, that the whole of the native custom-house officers are bribed and corrupted, while the practical result is, that 'frequently salt sells in the villages for half the amount which it ought to pay as duty.' Mr. Crawford stated in his evidence before the parliamentary committee that, in the western provinces of the Bengal presidency, 'two-thirds of the whole salt is smuggled, chiefly in consequence of the enormous amount of the duty, which is three times as great as the prime cost of salt in the native states along our whole line of frontier.' Mr. Blunt, a member of the council, states, in a minute dated Dec. 9, 1834, 'there exists throughout the whole entire establishment of a salt agency a combination, and an identity of interests, which is extremely adverse to an efficient control, and which renders the detection or the proof of fraudulent practices, however notorious, almost impracticable.'

Statistical returns of the consumption of government salt fully sustain the statements just quoted. The population of the districts subject to the salt monopoly increased between the years 1813-14 and 1844-45 upwards of fifty per cent., or from 31,716,655 to 48,607,061 inhabitants. But during the same

period, we find that the sales of salt by the East India Company had only increased six per cent! And the official tables given by Mr. Aylwin (App. No. 9) show, that the relative annual consumption per head had declined from eleven three-quarter pounds in 1813-14 to nine pounds in 1844-45; as also that the relative net revenue per head has fallen from nine one-quarter pence in 1813-14 to six one-quarter pence in 1844-45. That this has not arisen from any deterioration in the condition of the people is proved by the fact, that the consumption of the lower descriptions of calicoes, &c., used by the poor, has very greatly increased during the period in question.

We have already stated that the Board of Salt estimate the average annual consumption of each individual at twelve pounds. According to this estimate, therefore, and computing the population subject to the monopoly at 48,607,061, the consumption of government salt ought to amount to 7,113,228 maunds per annum, instead of being only 5,500,000 maunds, which is the amount at present manufactured by the company. And we may therefore presume that at least the difference between these two quantities, or 1,613,228 maunds, is annually smuggled.

But whatever may be the average consumption of salt under the present oppressive restrictions, we think there can be no reasonable doubt that, with improved means of supply at a much cheaper rate, the quantity consumed would be very materially increased. The company, with the usual obstinate blindness of monopolists, urge that this would not be the case. They profess to believe that, however good or however cheap the article might become, the 'simple habits' of the ryot would still restrict him to just the twelve pounds of salt, which he now procures with so much difficulty out of his scanty earnings! Mr. Crawford, in his evidence already referred to, proves the utter unsoundness of this opinion. He says:—

'The people of Bengal, I have no doubt, should they ever get cheap salt, will consume it as largely as any other class of men. There are even some circumstances connected with their peculiar condition, which would lead one to suppose it probable, that they would consume even in a somewhat larger proportion than the inhabitants of many other portions of the globe. Their climate is damp, most of their country is distant from the sea air, their soil is not impregnated with saline matter, their diet is almost wholly vegetable and remarkable for its insipidity, and the poverty of the people is so great as to exclude them from the use of almost any condiment than salt.

'These circumstances would lead me to believe, that in so far as the mere alimentary use of salt is concerned, the people of Bengal are likely to consume rather more than less than other people.

Indeed, the government of Bengal, when taxation is not at issue, must be either sensible of this, or very prodigal in its allotment of the article on specific occasions. Thus I find, that when it has to determine the quantity of salt necessary for the use of an individual, it never acts on the principle of considering twelve pounds as an ample allowance per head. A Bengal and Madras Sepoy, on foreign service, receives a ration of three quarters of an ounce of salt per diem, which is at the rate of above seventeen pounds per annum. A Bombay Sepoy is allowed the extravagant amount of two ounces a day, which is equal to above forty-five pounds per annum.

‘I may give another example: by the convention made with the French government in 1815, it is provided that the government of Bengal shall furnish yearly the quantity of salt that shall be judged necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants of the settlement of Chandernagore. Now, in 1823, the population of Chandernagore was 44,538; and in that year, and with few exceptions ever since, the Bengal government has furnished for the use of its inhabitants 12,000 maunds of salt, which is at the rate of between twenty-two pounds and twenty-three pounds per head.’

The facts which we have now placed before our readers will enable them to judge of the great advantages that might be expected to accrue from the adoption of a wise fiscal policy by the East India Company. If, instead of persisting in manufacturing an article which can be made cheaper and better elsewhere,* they imposed a reasonable duty, not exceeding one rupee per maund, upon imported salt; they would at once abolish the practice of smuggling, by rendering it unprofitable, and secure to the revenue the full advantage of the very large importations required for the supply of the immense consumption which would certainly follow a great reduction in price.

Nor would the customs’ receipts be restricted to the quantity required for the population of the districts at present subject to the monopoly. Mr. Aylwin says:—

‘To form some idea of the extent of the market that would be created in Hindostan, and particularly Bengal, for salt, were the East India Company, by lowering the duty, to place the natives in a

* The East India Company estimate the average cost of manufacturing their various descriptions of salt at one rupee per maund, or 54s. 6d. per ton.

Price of best English salt, free on board at Liverpool.	20s. 0d.	per ton.
Freight, from 15s. to 25s., say an average of . . .	20 0	„
Insurance and other small expenses at Calcutta . . .	4 0	„
	<hr/>	
	44 0	„
	<hr/>	

Leaves a difference in favour of British salt of 10s. 6d. per ton.
—(Aylwin, p. 9.)

condition to become consumers of the legalised production; it is only necessary to refer to Table No. 9 in the Appendix, whence it will be perceived that there exists a population of upwards of one hundred and forty-six millions, all more or less immediately dependent for the supply of salt on the three presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras; and whose total consumption, at an average of fifteen pounds per head, would amount to no less than 979,287 tons, which, at a customs or excise duty of one rupee per maund, would yield a total net revenue from the whole of India of not less than £2,668,557 sterling per annum.'—p. 13.

We have thus attempted, with the aid of the valuable information furnished by Mr. Aylwin's pamphlet, to show that as a revenue system, the salt monopoly of India is utterly indefensible. And it is open to still more serious objections, when considered with reference to its oppressive effect upon the people. The Board of Salt assert that 'it bears equally upon all!' In other words, we presume these honourable gentlemen mean, that *it makes all pay*: for nothing surely can be more unequal than a tax which, while to an opulent man it is so trifling as not to be felt, takes from the poor ryot a considerable portion of his annual earnings!

The very injurious influence which the salt monopoly has upon the sanitary condition of the poorer classes, is another and most urgent reason for its abolition.

'From personal experience,' says Mr. Aylwin, 'and after a seven years' residence in India, during the greater portion of which I have been brought into close and immediate contact with all classes of the natives, I have no hesitation in stating, that the absence of a proper supply of pure and wholesome salt, in tropical climates, predisposes the human system to many, if not most, of the maladies that are considered incidental to the East. Indeed, I have in my own mind no doubt, but that that fearful and loathsome disease '*Elephantiasis*,' so prevalent amongst the lower and poorer classes of Hindoos, is mainly, if not altogether, attributable to the want of an antiseptic to the vegetable diet so universal in India; as I have in many instances found, that when the disorganisation of the tissues has not been allowed to proceed to an advanced stage, very beneficial results have ensued from bathing the limb affected, in strong solutions of lime and salt-water.'—pp. 15, 16.

The advantages arising from the abolition of the salt monopoly would not be felt alone by the people of India. British commerce would be greatly benefitted by it. If the export of salt from England only equalled the quantity at present manufactured by the East India Company, say 165,000 tons,—and ultimately it might be expected to be much larger—it would materially improve the salt trade of this country, and furnish

employment for a very considerable amount of shipping. Indeed, amongst the arguments in support of the monopoly, it has been asserted that a sufficient supply of tonnage could not be provided for the transport of so bulky an article as salt, and in such large quantities as India would require. Mr. Aylwin has sufficiently answered this objection; and we perceive that his statements have since been supported by the testimony of Mr. Ridley, who, on behalf of the London Ship-Owners' Association, accompanied other gentlemen as a deputation to the President of the Board of Control, to bring the question of the salt monopoly under the notice of government. At present our ship-owners find great difficulty in obtaining cargoes for the outward voyage to India, and depend therefore for their profits chiefly upon the return freights.* This arises from the value of the goods shipped from England being so much greater in proportion to their bulk, than is the case with the articles brought back. In consequence, the average loading of vessels from this country to the East does not, we believe, exceed three-fourths of their tonnage; and hence it follows, that considerable provision is already made for the transmission of salt. And it is scarcely necessary to remark, that if the want of vessels was found to exist, the capital and enterprize of Englishmen would speedily provide for the deficiency. We take it for granted, also, that in abolishing their present monopoly, the company would effect it in such a manner as to afford time and opportunity for salt manufacturers and ship-owners to make the necessary arrangements for supplying the Indian markets.

Were the people of India relieved from the pressure of this exorbitant tax, the demand for cotton goods and other articles of British manufacture would no doubt be considerably increased. For it is amongst the pleasing characteristics of the Hindoo race, that their surplus earnings, after providing for food, are not spent in intoxicating liquors, or in vicious habits, but in the purchase of clothing. For although the nature of the climate does not *necessitate* the wearing of apparel, no sooner has the Hindoo the ability to purchase articles of dress, than he takes a pride in being decently clad. Already the improvement of their condition has induced millions of the people, who formerly went without any covering, to adopt habits more consistent with European notions of propriety. This is proved by the statement of imports into Calcutta, from which it appears

* Since 1840-41, the average freight of heavy goods from Calcutta to London has been £4 7s. 7d. per ton, and of light goods £3 14s. 6d. per ton; whilst during the same period, shipments from this country to the East of metals, &c., have been generally effected at from 15s. to 25s. and sometimes as low as 5s. per ton.—(Aylwin, p. 27, and App. No. 14).

that the entries of fabrics used by the poorer classes, increased from 190,770 pieces in 1837-38, to 2,479,542 pieces in 1843-4. And although the saving effected by the destruction of the salt monopoly might appear trifling in individual instances, it must be viewed very differently when it is considered that it would extend over so vast a population, and would enable perhaps millions to procure articles of British manufacture who are now entirely debarred from their purchase. We think, also, that it is probable that relief from heavy fiscal exactions would give an impetus to the industry and social advancement of the people, which would tend to increase our Eastern trade still further.

The oppressive nature of the monopoly is aggravated by the existence of a combination amongst the principal dealers in salt, who, by establishing a sub-monopoly, keep up the price to the consumers at very high rates. Mr. Aylwin remarks, 'it is very difficult to ascertain at what rates salt is retailed in the interior of the country, as much must depend upon the facilities of obtaining the smuggled commodity, the means of transit, and also various other causes; but from information I have obtained from the Patna and Dacca districts, which are both within the limits of the salt monopoly, I should estimate that the average bazaar price is rarely, if ever, below three and a half annas per seer, or say at the rate of eight rupees per maund.' Eight rupees per maund! that is, nearly 22s. per cwt. for an article the *cost price* of which, according to government estimates, is 2s. 9d.; or which could be supplied of very superior quality from England (including freight to Calcutta, &c.) at only 2s. 3d. per cwt.! Part of this enormous additional charge goes, as we have seen, to the revenue of government, and the other large portion into the pockets of the dealers. The abolition of the monopoly would affect not only the former but the latter increase of cost; because the additional supply and lower rates of salt would naturally place the trade in a much larger number of hands, and by that means break up the combination, or sub-monopoly, which at present presses so severely upon the interests of the consumer.

We have now laid before our readers the principal facts in reference to the salt monopoly of India. They appear to us to furnish a very strong case against the policy of the company. Viewed in any light, the system, in our opinion, is quite indefensible; and we cannot believe that after the great advance recently made in the fiscal legislation of this country, so flagrant a violation of all sound principles of government will long be maintained.

The facts which Mr. Aylwin's pamphlet discloses, coupled with the evidence that even for revenue purposes the present policy

is bad, must, we should suppose, have great weight with the directors of the East India Company. Probably some of them may not, hitherto, have duly considered the question. They will find, however, that public attention is now being directed too closely to the matter to allow of its remaining much longer in its present state. Clear as the case appears to be, it is not unlikely that the directors may be prevented for some time from coming to a wise decision. We suspect that they allow themselves to be biassed by the representations of certain agents in India, who derive considerable advantage from the present system, and who are not very scrupulous as to the means they adopt to preserve their own interests. But whatever may be the immediate decision of the company, it is only necessary that public opinion in this country should be thoroughly enlightened on the subject, to secure the exercise of the influence of the British government in such a manner as will compel the speedy modification, and ultimate extinction, of this obnoxious monopoly.

A question, indeed, arises, how far the East India Company are justified, under the provisions of their Act of Parliament, in carrying on the manufacture of any article. This Act (3 & 4 Will. IV.) was passed in 1833, upon the expiration of the company's charter, 'For effecting an arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better government of his Majesty's Indian possessions, till the 30th day of April, 1854;' and enacts that '*The Company shall discontinue and abstain from all commercial business that shall not be incident to the closing of their actual concerns, and to the conversion into money of the property herein before directed to be sold, or which shall not be carried on for the purposes of the said government.*' If, therefore, the plea that the manufacture of salt is 'carried on for the purposes of the said government,' be considered a sufficient justification for its continuance, we do not see why any other 'commercial business' might not equally be conducted for 'the purposes of government.' It certainly appears to us that the intention of the Act of Parliament was to enforce, as far as possible, the discontinuance of the company's commercial transactions; and there is the less reason to make the present case an exception to the general rule, as it is sufficiently evident that, so far from the manufacture of salt being *necessary* for the purposes of government, a much better revenue might be obtained without it.

Mr. Aylwin has already done good service in arousing the attention of the public to this important question. And in concluding our notice of his pamphlet, we can only express the hope that the present article will aid his endeavours for the speedy destruction of a monopoly which presses so severely

upon the millions of India; and that (to use the words of the Parliamentary Report on the salt trade) 'British commerce may be no longer shut out from the advantage of conveying a cheap, good, and bulky article of British produce to a distant portion of the globe.'

ART. VII.—*The Black Prophet; a Tale of Irish Famine.* By William Carlton, Author of 'Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry,' 'Fardorougha, the Miser,' &c. Belfast: Simms and M'Intyre.

STATISTICS are useful in their place; they give us the skeleton of society. But if we want to see it clothed in flesh, and animated by its own soul, we must have recourse to its popular literature, and to works of imagination written by those who belong to the nation, who are intimately acquainted with the manners and habits of the people, and deeply imbued with their predominant spirit. This is especially true in regard to the Irish. Unfortunately they are not a nation of shopkeepers. The genius of business has not marked them for its own;—utilitarian philosophy has not chilled their imagination; incredulous commerce, which invades and desecrates every haunted solitude, has not banished their superstition. An Oriental idealism still reigns over their minds, and has been but confirmed in its sway by ages of oppression and calamity, and of ineffectual struggles against their destiny.

England, having mastered the powers of the earth, and compelled them to minister to her wealth, and grandeur, and far-reaching dominion, has fallen down and worshipped the golden image which her indomitable industry has set up. Ireland, on the other hand, does homage to the powers of the air, and has her citizenship among the beings of imagination. Her fancy, her sentiment, her impulsive passions, strong natural affections, and local attachments, unfit her for the arduous and constant struggle of life by which, after long years of perseverance, we win 'the glorious privilege of being independent.' Her heart revolts from the prosaic realities, the hard habits, the sordid savings, the chilling reserve, the calculating distrust, the parimonious economy, which mark our progress in the tedious transition from poverty to wealth. This revulsion throws her into an opposite extreme, and makes her too often the passive victim of circumstances which energy might have conquered.

These are tendencies which legislation should aim to coun-

teract and balance by others of a nature to elevate the material condition of the Irish people. But in labouring to cure the body we should not shock the soul. Our remedies should not be outrages upon conscience and sentiment. We should enlist the national sympathies in our favour, instead of harshly setting them at defiance. Yet in this perverse and self-frustrating spirit, we believe our Irish legislation has been hitherto generally conducted—impelled in former times by animosity, and misguided more recently by an unsound political economy, which, putting on its statistical spectacles, contemplated Ireland as a ghastly skeleton to be moved at will by mechanical agencies. As an instance of this, we may refer to the existing poor-law, with its huge prison-like workhouses, its disruption of family ties, as the sole condition of relief to the poor,—and its outrages on popular feeling in the disposal of the dead.

Among all those who have painted the manners and customs and inner life of the Irish people, there is not one whose works legislators should read with so much care as those of William Carlton. He is a man of extraordinary genius, whose productions are full of poetry, which has force to thrill the soul, and to inspire it with the noblest sentiments and the purest emotions. In creative power,—in dramatic interest,—in vivid and life-like painting,—in the faculty of piercing and exposing the hidden heart of plausible villany,—in making beauty and goodness shine out in all their native loveliness, notwithstanding the disguises of poverty and vulgarity,—in developing in forms of appalling energy the strongest passions of the human heart,—and in fixing in the mind of the reader an abiding conviction of reality, few novelists, if any, have ever surpassed William Carlton. But in his own department, as a writer of ‘Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry,’ he is rivalled by no one.

We wish our countrymen would read his works, especially the handsome volume before us, in which we have three hundred and twenty pages for one shilling! It is one of a series—which is a prodigy of cheapness—now in course of publication by Simms and M’Intyre. This tale, which is reprinted from the ‘Dublin University Magazine,’ is said to be equal to the best the author has written, and we are inclined to concur in this opinion, though it bears marks of haste in the composition, and needs revision, which he had not an opportunity of giving it. As indicated by its title, it is peculiarly seasonable at the present time. It is appropriately dedicated to Lord John Russell, ‘the Prime Minister of Great Britain and Ireland,’ to whose hands the fate of the latter country seems to be committed by Providence, in this awful crisis of its history. May he have

wisdom equal to his need in the fulfilment of this great task ! He has taken some steps in the right direction, especially in his measure to legalize the rights of the poor, and to compel property to discharge its duties. But half measures will do no longer. The case is desperate ; and there must be no shrinking from violent remedies.

Famine is not a new thing in Ireland. In certain districts it is almost an annual visitant, following the failure of the potato crops, warning landlords and government, if they had ears to hear and hearts to feel, that the system which brought these frequent disasters, and threatened greater, should be discontinued, at whatever cost. There had been two or three famines, which affected all crops as well as potatoes, and visited nearly the whole of the country, but never one so dreadful as the present. This story presents a vivid picture of the condition of the country in 1817. In reading it we have been struck with the fact that truth far surpasses the powers of fiction. Mr. Carlton describes what he really saw, it is true ; but, of course, adorns his tale with the colours of imagination. Yet the simple recitals of men writing now from the scenes of suffering and death, detailing naked facts, are far more appalling and heart-rending than any thing we could extract from this volume. Nevertheless, its perusal will be found highly instructive, as revealing to us the spirit and character of the people. Mr. Carlton thus describes the season which ushered in the famine, to which his tale relates :—

‘The whole summer had been sunless and wet—one, in fact, of ceaseless rain, which fell day after day, week after week, and month after month, until the sorrowful consciousness had arrived that *any* change for the better must now come too late, and that nothing was certain but the terrible union of famine, disease, and death, which was to follow. . . . Low meadows were in a state of inundation, and on alluvial soils, the ravages of the floods were visible in layers of mud and gravel that were deposited over many of the prostrate corn-fields. The peat turf lay in ooze and neglected heaps, for there had not been sun enough to dry it sufficiently for use, so that the poor had want of fuel and coal to feel, as well as want of food itself. Indeed, the appearance of the country, in consequence of this wetness in the ‘firing,’ was singularly dreary and depressing. Owing to the difficulty with which it burned, or rather wasted away, without light or heat, the eye, in addition to the sombre hue which the absence of the sun cast over all things, was forced to dwell upon the long dark masses of smoke which trailed slowly over the whole country, or hung during the thick melting calms in broad columns, that gave to the face of nature an aspect strikingly dark and disastrous, when associated, as it was, with the destitution and suffering of the great body of the people.

‘In some parts the grain was beaten down by the rain. In airier situations, it lay cut, but unsaved, and scattered over the fields, awaiting an occasional glimpse of sunshine; and in other and richer soils, whole fields deplorably lodged, were green with the destructive exuberance of a second growth. The season, though wet, was warm, and it is unnecessary to say that the luxuriance of all weeds and unprofitable productions was rank and strong, while an unhealthy fermentation pervaded everything that was destined for food. A brooding stillness lay over all nature; cheerfulness had disappeared; even the groves and hedges were silent; for the very birds had ceased to sing, and the earth seemed as if it mourned for the approaching calamity, as well as for that which had been already felt.’

After giving a graphic description of what is too often seen in Ireland,—the appearance of decay that marks the home of a declining family struggling in vain against high rents, bad harvests, loss of cattle, sickness, and other calamities,—our author describes the painful feelings they experience when striving to maintain something of their former hospitality. The farmer’s name is Sullivan; and a hypocritical villain, who went by the name of the *Black Prophet*, comes to spend the night with him, the weather being too inclement for him to go home.

‘There is scarcely anything so painful to hearts—naturally generous, like those of the Sullivans—as the contest between the shame and exposure of conscious poverty on the one hand, and the anxiety to indulge in a hospitable spirit on the other. Nobody unacquainted with Ireland could properly understand the distress of mind which this conflict almost uniformly produces. On this occasion it was deeply felt by this respectable but declining family; and Marie, the ingenuous and kind-hearted girl, felt much of her unaccountable horror of this man removed by its painful exercise. Still her aversion was not wholly overcome, though much diminished; for ever as she looked at his swollen and disfigured face, and thought of the mysterious motions of the murdered man’s coat, she could not avoid turning away her eyes, and wishing that she had not seen him that evening. The scanty meal was at length over—a meal on which many a young eye dwelt with those yearning looks that take their character from the hungry and wolfish spirit, which marks the existence of a ‘*hard year*,’ as it is called in our unfortunate country, and which, to a benevolent heart, forms such a sorrowful subject for contemplation. Poor Bridget Sullivan (the mother) did all in her power to prevent this evident longing from being observed by M’Gowan, by looking significantly, shaking her head, knitting her brows, at the children; and when these failed, she had recourse to threatening attitudes, and all kinds of violent gestures; and on these proving also unsuccessful, she was absolutely forced to speak aloud—

‘Come, children, start out now and play yourselves: be off, I

say, and don't stand ready to jump down the decent man's throat wid every bit he aits.'"

'She then drove them abroad somewhere, but, as the rain fell heavily, the poor creatures were again forced to return, and renew their pitiable watch till the two men had finished their scanty repast.'

If you want to see a true picture of distress, an exhibition of the power of WANT in bringing down the heart of man and woman, you must go to the house of an Irish meal-monger and usurer, in a time of famine. *Darby Skinadre* belongs to a class very numerous in the rural parts of that country—a class to whom this is the happiest year of their existence. His home, though stored with an ample supply of meal, and other provisions, has about it all the marks of miserly care, and saving. There he stands, 'like the very genius of famine, surrounded by distress, raggedness, feeble hunger, and tottering disease, in all the various aspects of pitiable suffering, hopeless desolation, and that agony of the heart which impresses mildness upon the pale cheek, makes the eye at once dull and eager, parches the mouth, and gives to the voice of misery tones that are hoarse and hollow. Fathers of families were there who could read in each other's faces too truly the gloom and anguish that darkened the brow and wrung the heart. The strong man, who had been not long before a comfortable farmer, now stood dejected and apparently broken down, shorn of his strength, without a trace of either hope or spirit,—so wofully shrunk away, too, from his superfluous apparel, that the spectators actually wondered to think that this was the large man, of such powerful frame, whose feats of strength had so often, heretofore, filled them with amazement. But, alas, what will not sickness and hunger do !'

'Skinadre, thin and mealy, with his coat off, but wearing a waistcoat to which were attached flannel sleeves, was busily engaged in the agreeable task of ministering to their necessities. Such was his smoothness of manner, and the singular control which a long life of hypocrisy had given him over his feelings, that it was impossible to draw any correct distinction between that which he only assumed and that which he really felt.

' 'They're beggars—thim three—that woman and her two childre; still my heart bleeds for them, bekase we should love our neighbours as ourselves; but I have given away as much meal in charity, an' me can so badly afford it, as would—I can't now, indeed, my poor woman! Sick—throth they look sick, an' you look sick yourself: Here, Paddy Lenahan, help that woman and her two poor childre out of that half-bushel of meal you've got; you won't miss a handful for God's sake.'

‘ This he said to a poor man who had just purchased some oatmeal from him ; for Skinadre was one of those persons who, however he may have neglected works of mercy himself, took great delight in encouraging others to perform them.

‘ ‘ Troth it’s not at your desire I do it, Darby,’ replied the old man ; ‘ but bekase she and they wants it, God help them. Here, poor creature, take this for the honour of God ; an’ I’m only sorry, for both our sakes, that I can’t do more.’

‘ ‘ Well, Jemmy Duggan,’ proceeded the miser, addressing a new-comer, ‘ what’s the news wid you ? They’re hard times, Jemmy ; we all know that, an’ feel it, too, an’ yet we live, most of us, as if there wasn’t a God to punish us.’

‘ ‘ At all events,’ replied the man, ‘ we feel what sufferin’ is now, God help us ! Between hunger and sickness, the counthry was never in sich a state widin the memory of man. What, in the name o’ God, will become of the poor people, I know not. The Lord pity them, an’ relieve them !’

‘ ‘ Amen, amen, Jemmy ! Well, Jemmy, can I do anything for you ? But, Jemmy, in regard of that, the thruth is, we have brought all these scourges on us by our sins and our thransgressions ; thim that sins, Jemmy, must suffer.’

‘ ‘ There’s no one denyin’ it, Darby ; but your axin’ me can you do anything for me, an’ my answer to that is, that you can, if you like.’

‘ ‘ Ah ! Jemmy, you wor ever an’ always a wild, heedless, heerum-skeerum rake, that never was likely to do much good ; little religion ever rested on you, an’ now I’m afeard so sign’s on it.’

‘ ‘ Well, well, who’s widout sin ? I’m sure I’m not. What I want is, to know if you’ll credit me for a hundred of meal till the times mends a thrifle. I have the six o’ them at home widout their dinner this day, an’ must go widout it, if you refuse me. When the harvest comes round, I’ll pay you.’

‘ ‘ Jemmy, you owe three half-years’ rent ; an’ as for the harvest an’ what it’ll bring, only jist look at the day that’s in it. It goes to my heart to refuse you, poor man ; but, Jemmy, you see that you have brought this on yourself. If you had been an attentive, industrious man, an’ minded your religion, you wouldn’t be as you are now. Six you have at home, you say ?’

‘ ‘ Ay, not to speak of the woman an’ myself. I know you won’t refuse them, Darby, bekase if we’re hard pushed now, it’s a’most everybody’s case as well as mine. Be what I may, you know I’m honest.’

‘ ‘ I don’t doubt your honesty, Jemmy ; but, Jemmy, if I sell my meal to a man that can pay and won’t, or if I sell my meal to a man that would pay and can’t, by which do I lose most ? There it is, Jemmy—think o’ that, now. Six in family, you say ?’

‘ ‘ Six in family, wid the woman an’ myself.’

‘ ‘ The sorra man livin’ feels more for you than I do, an’ I would let you have the meal if I could ; but the truth is, I’m makin’ up my

rent—an', Jemmy, I lost so much last year by my own foolish good-nature, an' I gave away so much on trust, that now I'm brought to a hard pass myself. Throth I'll fret enough this night for havin' to refuse you. I know it was rash of me to make the promise I did; but still, God forbid that ever any man should be able to throw it in my face, an' say that Darby Skinadre ever broke his promise.'

' ' What promise?'

' ' Why, never to sell a pound of meal on trust.'

' ' God help us, then!—for what to do or where to go I don't know.'

' ' It goes to my heart, Jemmy, to refuse you—six in family, an' the two of yourselves. Throth it does, to my very heart itself; but stay, maybe we may manage it. You have no money, you say?'

' ' No money now, but won't be long so, please God.'

' ' Well, but haven't you value of any kind?—sure, God help them, they can't starve, poor creatures—the Lord pity them!'

' Here he wiped away a drop of villainous rheum which ran down his cheek, and he did it with such an appearance of sympathy, that almost any one would have imagined it was a tear of compassion for the distresses of the poor man's family.

' ' Oh! no, they can't starve. Have you no value of any kind, Jemmy?—ne'er a beast now, or anything that way?'

' ' Why, there's a young heifer; but I'm strugglin' to keep it to help me in the rent. I was obliged to sell my pig long ago, for I had no way of feedin' it.'

' ' Well, bring me the heifer, Jemmy, an' I won't let the crathurs starve. We'll see what can be done when it comes here. An' now, Jemmy, let me ax you if you wint to hear mass on last Sunday?'

* * * * *

' A woman now entered, whose appearance excited general sympathy, as was evident from the subdued murmurs of compassion which were breathed from the persons assembled, as soon as she entered the room. There was something about her, which, in spite of her thin and worn dress, intimated a consciousness of a position, either then or at some previous time, above that of the common description of farmers' wives. No one could mistake her for a highly-educated woman, but there was in her appearance that decency of manner resulting from habits of independence and from moral feeling, which at a first glance, whether it be accompanied by superior dress or not, indicates something which is felt to entitle its proprietor to unquestionable respect. The miser, when she entered, had been putting away the dish of butter into the outshot we have mentioned, so that he had not yet an opportunity of seeing her, and ere he returned to the scales, another female possessing probably not less interest to the reader, presented herself—this was Mave or Mabel, the young and beautiful daughter of the pious and hospitable Jerry Sullivan.

' Skinadre, on perceiving the matron who preceded her, paused for a moment, and looked at her with a wince in his thin features which might be taken for an indication of either pleasure or pain.

He closed the sympathetic eye, and wiped it; but this not seeming to satisfy him, he then closed both, and blew his nose with a little skeleton mealy handkerchief, that lay on a sack beside him for the purpose.'

'Hem—a-hem—why thin, Mrs. Dalton, it isn't to my poor place I expected *you* would come.'

'Darby,' she replied, 'there is no use for any length of conversation between you and me—I'm here contrary to the wishes of my family—but I am a mother, an' cannot look upon their destitution without feelin' that I shouldn't allow my pride to stand between them and death—we are starving, I mean—*they* are—and I'm come to you to ask for credit—if we are ever able to pay you, we will; if not, it's only one good act done to a family that often did many to you when they thought you grateful.'

'I'm the worst in the world—I'm the worst in the world,' replied Skinadre; 'but it wasn't 'till I knew that you'd be put out o' your farm that I offered for it, and now you've taken away my carrecther, and spoke ill o' me everywhere, an' said I bid for it over your heads—ay, indeed; an' that it was your husband that set me up, by the way—oh, yes—an' supposing it was—an' I'm not denyin' it, but is that any raison that I'd not bid for a good farm, when I knew that yez 'ud be put out of it.'

'I am now spakin' about the distress of our family,' said Mrs. Dalton; 'you know that sickness has been among us, an' is among us—poor Tom is just able to be up, but that's all!'

'Throth an' it 'ud be well for you all, an' for himself too, that he had been taken away afore he comes to a bad end, what he *will* come to, if God hasn't said it—I hope he feels the affliction he brought on poor Ned Murray an' his family by the hand he made of his unfortunate daughter.'

'He does feel it. The death of her brother and their situation has touched his heart, an' he's only waiting for better health and better times to do her justice; but now, what answer do you give me?'

'Why this: I'm harrished by what I've done for every one—an'—an'—the short and the long of it is, that I've neither male nor money to throw away. I couldn't afford it, and I can't. I'm a rogue, Mrs. Dalton—a miser, an extortioner, an ungrateful knave, an' everything that's bad an' worse than another—an' for that raison, I say, I have neither male nor money to throw away. That's what I'd say if I was angry; but I'm *not* angry. I do feel for you an' them; still, I can't afford to do what you want, or I'd do it, for I like to do good for evil, bad as I am. I'm strivin' to make up my rent, an' to pay an unlucky bill that I have due to-morrow, and doesn't know where the money's to come from to meet both.'

The Daltons, once respectable farmers, had been rack-rented by a middleman, till they were brought into a state of poverty; and though they had spent seven hundred pounds in improve-

ments upon their farm, they had been ejected; and found shelter in a miserable cabin, where they were now, most of them lying sick, while the farm had been given to Darby Skinadre for a consideration of one hundred pounds in cash.

'A pot of water hung upon a dark slow fire, in order that as little time as possible, might be lost in relieving their physical wants, on Mrs Dalton's return with the relief which they expected.

'Here is my mother,' said one of her daughters, looking with a pale cheek and a languid eye out of the door; for she too had been visited by the prevailing illness; 'An', my God, she is comin' as she went, empty handed!'

'She is n't able to carry it herself,' said the father, 'it will be sent afther her; or may be she's comin' to get one of you, Con, I suppose to go for it. Bad as Skinadre is, he would n't have the heart to refuse us a lock of meal to keep the life in us. Oh no he'd not do that.' In a few moments, Mrs. Dalton entered, and after looking upon the scene of misery about her, she sat down and burst into tears. 'Mother,' said the daughter, 'there's no relief then; you come as you went, I see.'

'I come as I went, Nancy: but there is relief. There's relief for the poor of this world in Heaven; but on this earth an' in this world, there's none for us, glory be to the name of God, still.'

'So Skinadre, refused, then,' said her husband—'He wouldn't give the meal!'

'No,' she replied, 'he would not; but the truth is, that our woful state is now so well known, that nobody will trust us; they know there's no chance of ever bein' paid, and they all say they can't afford it.'

'I'm not surprised at what Tom says,' observed our friend, young Con, 'that the meal-mongers and strong farmers that keep the provisions up on the poor, deserves to be smashed an' trampled under foot, an' indeed they'll get it too before long; for the people can't stand this, especially when one knows that there's enough, aye and more than enough in the country.'

'If I had tobacco,' said the old man, 'I didn't care—that would keep the hunger off o' me; but its poor Mary here, now recovering from sickness, that I pity; don't cry Mary, dear; come here, darlin'—come here and turn up that creelan' sit down beside me. Its useless to bid you not cry, avourneen machree, bekase we all know what you feel.'

'Mrs. Dalton had dried her tears and sat upon a low stool musing and silent, and apparently revolving in her mind the best course to be pursued under such distressing circumstances. The situation of her family and her want of success in procuring them food, had so broken down her spirits and crushed her heart, that the lines of her face were deepened, and her features sharpened and impressed with the marks of suffering as strongly as if they had been left there by the affliction of years. Her son leant himself against a piece of

broken wall that partly divided their hut into something like two rooms, if they could be called so, and from time to time he glanced about him, now at his father, then at his poor sisters, and again at his heart-broken mother, with an impatient agony of spirit that could scarcely be conceived.'

'Well,' said he, clenching his hands and grinding his teeth, 'is it expected that people like us will sit tamely undher sich thratement as we have resaved from Dick o' the Grange? Oh, if we had now the five hundhre good pounds that we have spent upon our farm—spent, as it turned out, not for ourselves, but to enable that ould villain of a landlord to set it to Darby Skinadre—for I b'lieve it's he that's to get it, with strong inthrest goin' into his pocket for all our improvements—if we had now,' he continued, his passion rising—'if we had that five hundhre pounds now—or one hundhre—or one pound, great God!—ay, or one shillin' now, wouldn't it save some of you from starvin'?''

This reflection, which in the young man excited only wrath, occasioned the female part of the family to burst into fresh sorrow; not so the old man—he arose hastily, and paced up and down the floor in a state of gloomy indignation and fury, which far transcended that of his son.

'Oh,' said he, 'if I was a young man, as I was wasnt—but the young men now are poor, pitiful, cowardly—I would—I would'—he paused suddenly, however, looked up, and clasping his hands, exclaimed—'forgive me, oh God!—forgive the thought that was in my unhappy heart! Oh, no—no—never, never allow yourself, Con dear, to be carried away by anger, for fraid you might do in one minute, or in a short fit of anger, what might make you pass many a sleepless night an' maybe banish the peace of God from your heart for ever!'

'God bless you for them last words, Condry,' exclaimed his wife, 'that's the way I wish you always to spake—but what to do, or where to go, or who to turn to, unless to God himself, I don't know.'

'We're come to it at last,' said the other daughter, Peggy; 'little we thought it, but at all events, it's betther to do that than to do worse—betther than to rob or steal, or do an ondaicent act of any kind. In the name of God, then, rather than you should die of hunger, Mary—you, an' my father, an' all of yez—I'll go out and beg from the neighbours.'

'Beg!' shouted the old man, with a look of rage—'beg!' he repeated, starting to his feet and seizing his staff—'beg! you shameless and disgraceful strap. Do you talk of a Dalton goin' out to beg?—take that.'

And as he spoke, he struck her over the arm with a stick which he always carried.

'Now, that will teach you to talk of beggin'. No!—die—die first—die at wanst; but no beggin' for any one wid the blood of a Dalton in their veins. Death—death a thousand times sooner!'

'Father—oh, father, father, why did you do that?' exclaimed his

son; 'to strike poor kind an' heart-broken Peggy, that would shed her blood for you, or for any of us. Oh, father, I'm sorry to see it!'

The sorrowing girl turned pale at the blow, and a few tears came down her cheeks; but she thought not of herself, nor of her sufferings. After the necessary pause occasioned by the pain, she ran to him, and, throwing her arms about his neck, exclaimed, in a gush of sorrow that was perfectly heart-rending to witness—

'Oh, father dear, forgive me—your own poor Peggy; sure it was chiefly on your account an' Mary's I was goin' to do it. I won't go, then, since you don't wish it; but I'll die with you.'

The old man flung the stick from him, and, clasping her in his arms, he sobbed and wept aloud.

'My darlin' child,' he exclaimed, 'that never yet gave one of us a bad word or an angry look—will you forgive your unhappy father, that doesn't know what he's doin'? Oh! I feel that this state we're in—this outhur desolation an' misery we're in—will drive me mad! But that hasty blow, avourneen machree—that hasty blow an' the hot temper that makes me give it—is my curse yet, has been always my curse, an' ever will be my curse; it's that curse that's upon me now, an' upon all of us this minute—it is, it is!'

How can the opponents of out-door relief contemplate cases of this kind without relenting? The Irish landlords have been so accustomed to this desolating process, that they have no feeling for the heart-broken victims. On the side of the oppressor there is power,—law, and law made in England, is the instrument of his arbitrary will. But what is the consequence on the state of society, especially in a time of famine, like the present? Behold the results of injustice and misgovernment!

'The whole country was in a state of dull but frantic tumult, and the wild crowds as they came and went, were worn down by such startling evidences of general poverty and suffering, as were enough to fill the heart with fear as well as pity, even to look upon. Their cadaverous and emaciated aspects had something in them so wild and wolfish, and the fire of famine blazed so savagely in their hollow eyes, that many of them looked like creatures changed from their very humanity by some judicial plague that had been down from heaven to punish and desolate the land. The united ravages of disease and famine had weakened the powers of their understanding, and impressed upon their bearing and features, an expression which seemed partly the wild excitement of temporary phrenzy—and partly the dull, hopeless apathy of fatuity—a state to which it is well known that misery, sickness, and hunger, had brought down the strong intellect and reason of the wretched and famishing multitudes. Every one acquainted with such awful visitations, must know that their terrific realities cause them, by wild influences that run through

whole masses, to forget all the decencies and restraints of ordinary life, until fear and shame and a becoming respect for order, all of which constitute the moral safety of society, are thrown aside or resolved into the great tyrannical instinct of self-preservation, which when thus stimulated, becomes what may be termed the *insanity of desolation !*'

Such terrible results in the present instance have been, to a great extent, prevented by the system of relief, both public and voluntary, which has been put into operation. This has quieted the turbulent and ill-conditioned, but it has, in a multitude of cases, left the feeble-bodied, the sick, the timid and retiring, to perish and to rot in their sepulchral cabins. One of the evils attending famine in Ireland, is the horror of typhus,—spreading a *panic* through the people, which paralyses their faculties, and causes them, in some cases, to neglect the last rites of humanity. Where the people are not reduced to this condition, they are enabled to prolong a wretched existence by the public works and the soup-kitchens. All—all tending to degrade them to the lowest point. In the meantime, after all the expenditure and demoralization, the land is untilled ; and the people, left to themselves, stripped of all capital, destitute of money and credit, are no more capable of doing it than they are of flying to the moon. To revile them for not putting in their crops, is about as reasonable as to blame them for their Celtic blood—or the Spanish marriage. Unhappy Ireland ! While we write, *The Times* (March 15) has come in, and it contains words which will stir into madness any vital blood which remains in that doomed country. 'Ireland is now at the mercy of England. *For the first time in the course of centuries, England may rule Ireland, and may treat her as a thoroughly conquered country.* To cause famine, pestilence, and servile war—to sweep nine-tenths of her population from the face of the globe, before the summer's heat has set in, to make her green valleys pestilential with worse horrors than the carnage of the battle-field,—to blot her in three months out of the list of nations, requires nothing more than that England should at once leave her to her own resources.' It is thus a savage-hearted planter in America might be supposed to exult over his refractory slaves, when he got them all down in fever ;—that is the moment magnanimously to extort absolute submission to his power, or else 'leave them to their own resources !'

- ART. VIII.—1. *Circular of the Central Committee appointed to aid in opposing the Government Scheme of Public Education.*
2. *An Alarm to the Nation, on the unjust, unconstitutional, and dangerous measure of State Education proposed by the Government.* By Edward Baines, Esq. London: Ward and Co.
3. *Brief Notices respecting the proposals of the Government for Popular Education, 1847.* Darwen. F. Gregson.

IN our last number we attempted a brief exposition of the main features of the government educational plan, and now recur to the subject, in order to note what is passing and to record our judgment on the measures that should be pursued. The crisis at which we have arrived is a fearful one, and he is no friend to constitutional liberty who does not give it his most serious attention. To represent it as a contention for supremacy between hostile religionists, or as arising merely from the oversensitiveness of dissenters, may suit the purpose of unprincipled partizans, or of men hostile to liberty, whether civil or religious. It is no such thing. The government know it is not: and the daily and weekly journals which advocate its policy are either grossly ignorant of our views, or they wilfully misrepresent them. The crisis involves larger interests than those of dissent. About the latter we care little, so far as mere forms and conventionalities are concerned. Give us the living spirit, the radical principle of dissent, and we are satisfied. Let religion stand alone,—unpatronized and uncontrolled by the state—an element of moral power, to live or die according to its inherent vitality, and we are content. We are not conscious of any undue partiality for the mere forms of our ecclesiastical polity, much less of any sectarian or bitter zeal for them. But, on the other hand, we know nothing of that spurious candour which regards with indifference the support, by our constrained agency, of what we deem unscriptural and pernicious. As the former would indicate zeal without knowledge, the latter would betoken a disregard to truth, and an acquiescence in the wrong done to conscience.

As Englishmen, we are jealous of every assault, whether covert or open, on our constitutional liberties, and regard with special distrust that centralizing system by which the spirit of despotism is made to consist with the forms of popular freedom. Of this system the educational scheme of the government is an offshoot; and on this ground, therefore, were there no other, we should take up a position of most determined hostility against it. For the present, however, we waive this, as we are solicitous, in the first place, to glance at the movements which

are taking place throughout the country. These are of an extent and character exceeding our expectations. It is only frank to make this acknowledgment, and we rejoice in the opportunity to do so. We had our misgivings, but the events which have occurred during the past month have entirely removed them. In former days we were deemed ultra and utopian on these points,—mere theorizers in the matter of education,—men of abstract principle, but of little practical acquaintance with the requirements of our country and the capabilities of voluntary effort. But the good seed has germinated. The public mind has been making healthy progress, and now that the time for effort has arrived, its convictions are found to be enlightened, and its views sound and wise. We rejoice in the result, and gather fresh confidence from it to persist in the advocacy of truth during its earlier and unpopular stages.

The various bodies of Dissenters which are organised throughout the country have been prompt and energetic in their movements. The London Deputies, the Congregational and Baptist Unions, the British Anti-State-Church Association, the Wesleyan Methodist Association, the Essex Committee of Education, the Wesleyans, the Ministers of the Three Denominations, the General Baptists, and other kindred bodies, have met and recorded their judgments; and numerous meetings in Leeds, London, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Norwich, Leicester, Colchester, Southampton, and elsewhere, have resolved on earnest opposition. A Central Committee, sitting daily at the King's Head, Poultry, has also been appointed; and the promptitude and vigour of their proceedings betoken thorough earnestness. Altogether, the signs of the times are propitious, and men of all classes and shades of opinion amongst us, are bestirring themselves actively against the government measure. This is as it should be. Our common principles are assailed. A covert attack is made on the truth which we hold, and we must unite, heart and soul, to resist it, if we would retain our religious faith or mental independence. The resolutions passed at the various meetings which have been held are proper to the bodies adopting them. Meeting in their character as dissenters, they have recorded the objections which they hold as such. Prominence is therefore given to their views as religionists. They speak as dissenters, and their language has been honourable alike to their clear-sightedness and their fidelity. The speciousness of the government plan has been exposed, its professions of liberality have been convicted of practical deceit, and its avowed object has been proved, beyond all candid denial, to be subordinate, in tendency at least, to the recovery of church power and the augmentation of its revenues. The general bear-

ings of the scheme on popular freedom have not, however, been overlooked. They are distinctly marked in the resolutions which have been adopted, and it will not be chargeable on dissenters if our liberal representatives fail to withstand this fearful stride of the prerogative. They have been forewarned of the danger,—have been summoned to the breach, and should the enemy gain possession of the citadel, on them will rest the guilt of remissness or of treachery. The unanimity which has been evinced by various bodies constitutes one of the most pleasing features of passing events. Our opponents calculated on our division, but the men who inspired their hopes have been amongst the first to rebuke their confidence. Few things have been more gratifying to us than the course pursued by Dr. Vaughan. It does him infinite honour, and deserves to be generously met. There was much to make him pause, but he threw from him with noble frankness all that was little and mean, and avowed without reserve the change which his views had undergone. 'My hope has been,' he said, at the Congregational Conference on Education, 'that some course might be devised by which the agency of the state might be made to act as a wholesome stimulus to voluntary effort in this field of labour. But I now utterly despair of anything of the sort; and my conviction is, after the most serious thought I have been able to bring on the subject, that we must, as nonconformists, from henceforth abandon all thought of looking to the state for aid in this work. It must now be our fixed resolve, that all we do in education shall be done wholly by ourselves; and in all justice we may insist that what is done in this way by our neighbours should be done after the same manner—done by themselves.'

The same honourable frankness has been displayed by other men, amongst whom we are specially gratified to name Mr. Blackburn of London, Dr. Raffles and Mr. Kelly of Liverpool, and Mr. Scott of Bradford. Come what may, therefore, as to the immediate effect of our labours, we cannot fail to gain by the present agitation. We have already done so to an extent beyond our expectations. Sound views have been extensively circulated, many converts have been gained to the doctrine of voluntary education, and the sentiments and purposes of the general body of dissenters, are obviously in progress towards a combined and earnest effort for the correction of the primary evil. We shall, at any rate, keep ourselves clear of governmental influence,—shall stand vindicated before our country of basely tampering with its interests, and be prepared, when the passion of the hour has passed away, to vindicate the truth before a respectful and attentive audience. But we are far from

anticipating present defeat. We say not this to stimulate unfounded hopes, but from a calm review of our position, and a clear conviction that the means of success are in our hands. The ground of our confidence will be more distinctly stated before we close. At present we simply remark, that if the activity which has been awakened be wisely directed against the assailable point of our enemies' position, we can scarcely fail. The citadel may be gained, if our approach be made in the right direction.

There are two points on which we are desirous of saying a word, and to these we shall mainly confine ourselves. *The first respects the ecclesiastical bearing of the measure.* We do not wish to overstate this, or to prefer charges against the scheme, which are not obviously and without doubt sustained by it. We therefore at once admit that there is a profession of absolute neutrality in the plan—a seeming fairness, which entitles it to respect. Its framers had to provide a machinery adapted to an existing condition of things. The case to be met was that of two parties, separately engaged in the work of education, and each averse from the oversight and control of the other. Government interference being resolved on, the only mode of administering its pecuniary aid with any semblance of impartiality, was to tender it to each party, in a form which did not involve the intrusion of the other. This, then, is the plan adopted; and so far there is no ground for impeachment or distrust. Aid is tendered to all schools willing to submit to the regulations adopted. No exception is made, either doctrinal or ecclesiastical. Unitarians and trinitarians, churchmen and dissenters, catholics and protestants, are equally eligible. The Minutes of the Council on Education theoretically embrace the whole. Nothing can well be fairer, or less open to what it is now fashionable to term sectarian objections. Hence the seeming force with which the 'Times,' 'Daily News,' 'Morning Herald,' and other advocates of the government scheme conduct its defence. True to the letter, but false to the spirit of the plan, they contend that our objections contradict each other, and affect to regard them with hauteur and contempt. It is easy to see through all this. We have been long accustomed to such treatment, and our past policy has encouraged it. It is difficult, however, to give our opponents credit for sincerity. They can scarcely fail to perceive the ground of our objections, or to mark its consistency with the *literal* latitudinarianism of the plan. We have never affirmed, we never shall affirm, that its sectarian complexion is avowed—that its provisions are, in words, designed to promote clerical power, or that its regulations are openly framed to put down dissent, and to rear a generation of churchmen. The

framers of the plan were too wise for this. Their sagacity would have been at fault had they done so, and we should have had no difficulty in rousing against them the indignant resistance of the English people. Mr. Kay Shuttleworth and others knew full well that the time was past for such things. The palmy days of churchmanship were too far gone to permit it; and they have therefore adroitly sought their end by less direct and more delusive means. Being wise in their generation, clever rather than sagacious, devoted to partizanship more than to truth, skilful in availing themselves of chances rather than high-minded and generous, more intent on their object than scrupulous about the means, they have clothed with an air of liberality one of the most sectarian measures ever submitted to the British parliament. The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hands are those of Esau. Amidst plausible professions, profuse avowals of impartiality, they seek to accomplish the policy of an intolerant and sordid hierarchy. The 'Morning Herald'—to be pitied if sincere, to be despised if dishonest—exults in what it deems our false position. It seeks to impale us on the horns of a dilemma which has no existence but in its own cloudy vision. Our readers shall judge for themselves of the truthfulness and severity of the logic which is arrayed against us. Referring to the admirable *Analysis* of the government plan which the *Central Committee* has published, the 'Herald' says:—

'Now, we can understand how a scheme might be so devised as to throw all power and influence into the hands of the church and its clergy; or how it might be so framed as to declare in plain terms the entire neutrality and indifference of the government, and its resolve to give no preference to the church;—but how one scheme can possess, at the same time, both these faults, passes our comprehension. Exclusiveness and latitudinarianism are not qualities which can co-exist in the same mind. If the plan be, as this manifesto states, in capital letters, 'intended to favour the established church,' how can it, at the same time, 'exhibit the government as directly engaged in the maintenance of all existing religious systems, as if all were equally true, equally false, or equally indifferent?' In a word, if the plan be partial, and intended to favour the church, how can it be also, and at the same time, impartial, and evincing 'equal' favour 'to all existing religious systems?'

'Unquestionably, the Dissenters must choose which of these two accusations they will bring against it. If they can show that it is latitudinarian, and affords 'equal' support to 'all existing religious systems,' then we shall be prepared to join with them in opposing it. But, if they prefer this charge, they must blot out the greater part of their manifesto, which alleges, that the scheme is 'designed to favour the established church,' and 'to throw the education of the people into the hands of the clergy.'

The seeming force of all this is instantly dissipated when the tendency of the measure is compared with its theory. The former is exclusive, the latter latitudinarian. The one is 'intended to favour the established church,' whilst the other exhibits 'the government as directly engaged in the maintenance of all existing religious systems, as if all were equally true, equally false, or equally indifferent.' Between these positions, therefore, there is no such discrepancy as is alleged. They are equally sustained by the evidence before us, and no large measure of candour was needed to perceive them. In truth, the latitudinarianism of the plan was essential to its sectarianism. There would have been no chance for the latter without the former. The doctrine now prevalent amongst our politicians is notoriously in favour of the support of all religionists, and the humiliating expedient is therefore adopted, of employing the language of this school for the purpose of restoring the power and repute of an ecclesiastical monopoly. The scheme, though disgraceful, was skilfully concocted. Its verbiage was open to all, and when interpreted by itself, could not fail to make an impression favourable to the liberality of its designers. On the other hand, the facts which disprove its professions, by convicting it of sectarian tendencies, are known to comparatively few, and can be notified to the many only by a long, laborious, and expensive process.

But these charges it may be alleged are too weighty to be advanced on mere surmise. This we admit. We do not conceal it from ourselves that they are so. We adduce them as grave accusations, and are prepared with evidence which must command the assent of every impartial jury. We say then to our countrymen; Look well at the whole case, take into account all the facts which pertain to it. Be not misled by a partial consideration of the matter, and specially guard against judging of its effect by a literal interpretation of its words. We ask you not to conclude that we are right, but simply to suspend your decision until you have rendered yourself familiar with all that relates to the question, and which must necessarily affect its working. Now it was known to the framers of this measure—a fact most important to be borne in mind—that very few dissenters would accept the aid they proffer. We say nothing now of the respect due to dissenters from their having been the earliest and most zealous friends of popular education; of the extent and variety of their labours in this department; or of the hostility they had long to encounter from the established clergy. These are matters of history, and the man who denies them is either ignorant of what is passing in the world, or wilfully misrepresents it. It is sufficient for us to say, that

a growing disinclination to receive government aid, even towards the erection of school buildings has been evinced by dissenters for some years past, and that this fact could not but be known to the framers of the government plan. There was no difference amongst us respecting the reception of such aid in cases where religious instruction was involved. On this point Mr. Baines and Dr. Vaughan were one. Their only disagreement respected the right and the expediency of state interference with secular instruction—a question intimately connected with, but still distinct from, that on which the public judgment is now invoked. Unless, therefore, we attribute to the advisers of government a measure of ignorance which is scarcely conceivable, the present plan must have been drawn up with the full conviction that it would encounter decided opposition from all classes of dissenters. The religious teaching it enjoins in the case of church schools—and which, as we shall presently see, constitute nearly all the schools that will accept government aid—is of an order against which the scruples of dissenters apply with special force, and towards being compelled to support which they feel more than ordinary objections. It is in vain to allege that this was not foreseen. It might have been, it ought to have been known. The recorded sentiments of dissenters on the compulsory support of religion in general, and especially of religious opinions which are deemed heretical, have long been before the public. They are no secret, but have been embodied in Memorials to the throne, and in Petitions to the legislature. Very recently they were expressed in every form which the constitution permitted, and were urged with no little earnestness on the Minister of the day. But the Committee of Council on Education were not left to ascertain the sentiments of dissenters even from these public and notorious facts. Their own proceedings admonished them of our views. Their votes furnished a species of evidence which ought to have been irresistible, and with which it may be presumed, without over-taxing their research, that they were familiar. The National or Church schools have received at least five-sixths of the grants already made, though the conditions imposed were far less objectionable to dissenters than those now prescribed. The Minutes of the Council, therefore, place beyond doubt the disinclination of dissenters to receive such grants, for it is impossible to account on any other ground for the disproportion observable. The 'Morning Herald' it is true, in its leader of to-day (we write on the 20th of March,) attributes this disproportion to the numerical superiority of churchmen, and—*proh pudor*—to their greater zeal in the cause of education. What an opinion must this journal have of

the intelligence and candour of its readers, when it thus outrages common sense and belies the most notorious facts! Not satisfied, however, with the grossness of its blunder, it appeals to the Returns of Marriages in proof of the correctness of its numerical averment; as though in its simplicity, it were ignorant of the special circumstances which affect the operation of the New Marriage Act. But let this pass. It will affect none but those who are determined unbelievers, and are, therefore, inaccessible both to argument and to fact. Now it was in the face of this disproportion in the classes of recipients of public grants, and with a clear conviction, as we believe, of the ground of it, that the present scheme was framed;—a scheme, be it remembered, a hundred-fold more objectionable than that of which dissenters already declined to avail themselves. What, then, can we think of the liberality professed, but that it is a mere device, a piece of state-craft, which insults our intellect while it assails our deepest religious convictions? We can respect the opponent who denounces our creed and manfully contends against it, but have nothing but contempt for those who, under pretence of liberality, seek to effect a sectarian policy.

Lord Brougham, in denouncing the opposition of dissenters as ‘unfounded and ridiculous,’ virtually admitted its reasonableness. So far from deeming the interference of the church an objection, his quarrel with the measure was, that it did not admit it sufficiently. He had no doubt about the fact of interference, but regretted that it was not carried much further:—

‘He should, perhaps,’ said his lordship, ‘be worse thought of than the noble marquis for saying it, but his objection to the government plan was, that it did not establish a more general and national system of education, with more interference on the part of the church. There would not have been a greater clamour against it from these worthy persons than against the present scheme, and the country would have gained something for its trouble, whereas now it got little or nothing. His own Parish School Bill of 1821 was borne down by the opposition of the dissenters, because the church supported it. He proposed to give the clergyman of a parish a veto on the appointment of a schoolmaster; but the noble marquis did not go nearly so far as that.’*

We need not comment on these words. Lord Brougham is his own worst enemy, and is, apparently, intent on tearing from himself every patch and shred of his former goodly covering. One virtue survives all others, and by this the hypocrite is un-

* ‘Times,’ March 16th.

masked—the false patriot is revealed to the indignant scorn of an insulted public.

Such was the evidence before the framers of this measure, when engaged in its concoction. Let us now see how this evidence is affected, by what has occurred since the plan has been made public. We shall thus be qualified to correct our conclusion if it be erroneous, or shall have it strengthened if additional evidence have been adduced of the repugnance to government interference, which we attribute to the dissenting body. We have already intimated, in general terms, the almost unanimous verdict which has been pronounced against it by the dissenters of England, and it is of importance to note whether the ground of their verdict sustains or weakens the conclusion to which prior evidence has led us. On this point, then, there is no difficulty, save in the selection of our proofs. The witnesses are so numerous, and their evidence is so perfectly harmonious, that we need do little more than refer to the resolutions which have been adopted by the various bodies existing amongst us. The Congregationalists, Baptists, Wesleyans, Wesleyan Methodists, and General Baptists, have concurred in denouncing the sectarian tendency of the plan, and on this ground, apart from other considerations, have ranged themselves amongst its determined opponents. The dissenters of London and of the country are here one; ministerial and lay associations know no difference on this point; the more conservative organisations are ranged side by side with the more radical; the 'practical grievance' men, with the advocates of an aggressive policy. All perceive the *tendency* of the measure, and denounce, as becomes them, its obvious subserviency to the church establishment. The unanimity observable on this point is paralleled only by the opposition in 1811 to Lord Sidmouth's bill, and in more recent times to the Factory Education scheme of Sir James Graham. The measure of information possessed on some features of the scheme, may vary in degree and accuracy, and different opinions may, to a slight extent, prevail respecting the expediency of government interference, in a modified and more popular form; but on the point we are now considering there is absolute agreement—a oneness of conviction and of feeling, which nothing short of absolute proof could have secured. A few illustrations will confirm our statement, and put the matter in a yet clearer light. At a special meeting of *The Deputies of Protestant Dissenters of the Three Denominations*, in and about London—one of the oldest and most temperate bodies existing amongst us—it was affirmed, amongst other resolutions:—

‘That the measure is particularly obnoxious to protestant dissenters, in consequence of its obvious partiality to the established church, by proposing to devote moneys contributed by the members of all religious denominations alike, to the maintenance of schools and schoolmasters identified with the established church, on principles which preclude protestant dissenters from consistently accepting any share of such grants: by giving to the established clergy a co-ordinate authority with the government in the administration of the scheme; and by authoritatively constituting, for the first time, the church catechism a lesson-book in schools, which, if supported by public money, ought to be open to all the children of the poor without distinction of religious creed or worship.’

The General Body of *Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations* have adopted resolutions in entire accordance with *The Deputies*, of which the following is a specimen :

‘That on so grave a question, the members of this body cannot stoop to the mere cavils of party, but are constrained by what they deem great principles to oppose the government plan of education: for they object, as free Englishmen, to its unconstitutional origin and servile tendencies; as evangelical christians, to its latitudinarian aspect, confounding all distinctions between truth and error; and as protestant dissenters, to its appropriation of national money for any religious purposes whatsoever.’

The *Congregational Board of Education*, which has raised, since 1843, about £120,000, besides the ordinary school outlay of its members, at an extraordinary meeting of its constituents, convened from various parts of the country, recorded its views on this point yet more fully in the following resolution:—

‘That, in the opinion of this assembly, it is a matter for just and great alarm, that the present plan of government education provides for grants to church of England schools, as such, and makes the teaching of the church catechism compulsory: and, in other schools, where the tenets of Independents, Baptists, Roman Catholics, Unitarians, and other bodies are inculcated, government grants are to be available, with the highest sanction, to the principle of teaching the doctrines of different sects to the rising population, and paying for such teaching out of the consolidated fund, thus making the members of the church of England contribute to the spread of Unitarianism—the Wesleyans, Independents, Baptists, and other protestant dissenters, contribute to the spread of the errors of the church catechism and of the Romish church: in one word, preparing the way for the payment and pensioning of the ministers of all denominations, and thus to bring religion into disrepute, promote indifference and infidelity, and inflict a lasting injury upon the consciences of all thoughtful religious men—calculated to lead to resistance and to strife,

until a principle so unjust, impolitic, and unscriptural be utterly abandoned.'

One more illustration must suffice, and we take it designedly from the minutes of a society more avowedly ultra in its views, and constituted for the very purpose of exposing, with a view to its practical correction, the working of the state-church principle. We refer to the British Anti-State Church Association, on which it specially devolved to lay bare the insidious policy of the government scheme. This it has done with minuteness and fidelity, in the following resolutions:—

That the proposed measure lies open to the strongest objections as involving a scheme of church-extension, amounting, in effect, to the imposition of a supplementary church establishment; and that in the following respects:—

1. 'The inspectors appointed by the committee of council to superintend the carrying out of the measure, are, for the most part, clergymen of the established church; and they will be, in almost every case, subject to the veto of the Archbishop of Canterbury or of York.
2. 'In schools connected with the established church, religious instruction, embracing the church catechism and liturgy, is made compulsory.
3. 'In such schools, the parochial clergyman is associated with the inspector in the examination of the children on religious subjects.
4. 'In the same class of schools, no child can become a pupil teacher or a stipendiary monitor, nor reap the subsequent benefits to be conferred—whether in the shape of such appointments, or of Queen's scholarships or other exhibitions in normal schools, or of appointments as schoolmasters and in the revenue departments, or of fees for the training of pupil teachers and stipendiary monitors, or of grants in aid of salary or annual gratuities for efficiency in the management of schools or of school field-gardens and workshops, or of retiring pensions—without a yearly certificate from the parochial clergyman while *in statu pupillari*, and his continued approval ever afterwards.

That the direct and inevitable operation of the measure will be, not merely to place the instruction of the people under the superintendence and control of the established clergy, but also to render a large section of the community utterly dependent upon their countenance and good opinion for daily bread and success in life; thereby giving to them an additional weight and influence in the country, highly prejudicial to the interests of civil and religious liberty.

That, should the proposed scheme be carried into full effect, the established clergy will probably have at their disposal, in addition to the enormous revenues already in their possession, a sup-

plementary income of little less than two million pounds sterling annually.

That, inasmuch as the repugnance of protestant dissenters in general to the reception of government grants for educational purposes is notorious, the pretended impartiality of the measure, in offering a participation in pecuniary benefits to schools and schoolmasters of all denominations, irrespective of ecclesiastical distinctions, is utterly delusive; while it is manifestly unjust and oppressive, that, from funds contributed by the members of all religious persuasions indiscriminately, large resources should be drawn to be distributed at the discretion and under the control of the clergy of the established church, for the manifest purpose of recovering and extending their influence over the popular mind, and of fortifying themselves against the opponents of ecclesiastical establishments and clerical despotism.'

Let it be borne in mind that we adduce these resolutions only as specimens of the views which are universal amongst us. They are sufficient for our purpose, and distinctly brand, in the judgment of the parties concerned, the ministerial measure with the worst species of sectarianism, and a contemptuous indifference towards our religious scruples. There are other and formidable objections specified, but we have at present to do with one view of the case only, and on this the language used is unequivocal and uniform.

From the whole, then, it appears that, come what may, dissenters—with an exception too inconsiderable to be noticed—will have nothing to do with the government plan, so far as the reception of its grants are concerned. Their conduct for some years past has shown this, and the resolutions now adopted place it beyond all doubt.

The scheme is in *fact*, whatever it may be in *words*, a church-school scheme; dissenters regard it as such, and denounce it accordingly. The public money will go exclusively in this direction, and its effect will be to bend the young intellect of England to the policy and spirit of the state clergy. Dissenters will not receive it, whatever may be the issue. A great change has been working in their views for some time past. When the grant of 20,000*l.* to the lords of the treasury, for education, was first proposed by Lord Althorpe, in 1833, dissenters had not reflected on the character of such votes. There had been no practical necessity for scrutinizing the principles they involved; whilst the form which the grant took was so simple, that we are not surprised at many being captivated by it. From the first some objected, but they were unquestionably a small minority, and were deemed an impracticable class, more intent on abstract principle than on practical utility. It would undoubtedly

have been more creditable to our sagacity, had we, in 1833, withstood the insidious proposal of the chancellor of the exchequer. This state of things, however, continued, with some misgiving, down to 1839, when Lord Melbourne's government proposed to increase the grant to 30,000*l.*, and to transfer its management from the lords of the treasury to a committee of the privy council.

In the meantime, and more rapidly since then, a conviction has been gaining ground, that the evils of such grants far outweigh their benefits; and that government, in making them, steps out of its province, and undertakes what is effected far better, and with more certainty, by voluntary enterprise. To charge dissenters with inconsistency on this account, comes with a bad grace from the government of Lord John Russell, who for many years was an opponent of free-trade doctrines, but ultimately avowed himself their advocate and champion. On the education question, dissenters have done only what the premier did in the abolition of the corn-laws. We feel, however, no hesitation in acknowledging, that they are blameworthy for their former doings in this matter. In 1833, and especially in 1839, they ought to have taken the alarm. Their sagacity or their honesty was at fault, that they did not. The truth of the matter is—and it is better frankly to admit it—the views of our leading men were yet unformed, or were favourable to a modified form of government interference, while their political affluities were then permitted greatly to influence their dissenting policy.

The '*Patriot*' of March 22, has furnished an able exposition of this point, to which little need be added. Every candid mind will admit its force, and we are content to rest our case upon it.

'Now we are bound to confess,' says the *Patriot*,—'we have not concealed—that a large portion of the dissenters, eight years ago, thought that government grants to the two great educational societies might beneficially aid in promoting the education of the people. There was an apparent liberality displayed in putting these two societies on the same footing,—so much seemed to be gained for the principle of religious equality in extending the parliamentary aid to all denominations,—the opposition to the government on the part of the Tories and high-church party was so factious, bigoted, and unreasonable,—the claims of the church were so arrogant and preposterous,—and the smallness of the grant was so adapted to strengthen the idea, that it was intended simply to aid and to encourage free education,—that it is no wonder, no disgrace, that the dissenters were deterred from opposing the Whig government on that occasion, which would have upset the ministry. . . . The experience of eight years, however, has strengthened objections, which we then felt

but forebore to urge. Between a parliamentary grant in aid of school-building, and a ministry of public education, there would seem to be no more necessary connexion, than between a grant for church extension and a minister of public worship, with a host of inspectors of churches and chapels. But now, out of the educational grant has grown up a dictatorship, unknown to the constitution, and hostile to religious freedom. Moreover, we have seen the fruitless issue of the experiment of government education in Ireland, which has but rendered school instruction more sectarian than ever, deteriorated the average character of the teachers, and raised fresh barriers against the diffusion of sound religious knowledge. We have also seen what can be achieved by the voluntary exertions of the people in providing the means of education. We have learned wisdom, too, from other countries. . . . It is just because the interference of the state in education has proved mischievous, an engine of despotism, an obstacle to moral and intellectual progress, in France, in Prussia, in Switzerland, in Holland, in Austria (and how little the experience even of the United States is in favour of state education, Mr. Baines has triumphantly demonstrated)—it is because the facts relating to the continental systems and their working are now better known and understood than they were eight years ago—that we are fortified in the conclusion, that the education of the people is not the business, not the duty of government; that governments are not able to perform the office of public educators; that governmental control and governmental patronage, in matters of education and religion, inevitably result in corruption and tyranny; and that there can be no safety for religious freedom, or freedom of opinion, unless education itself be left free; that, in a word, it is not the duty of government to provide education for a free people.’

The change which has been passing over us could not be unnoticed by the framers of the present measure. It was known to our rulers. They were distinctly apprized of the fact, and, as already shown, had long been in possession of evidence which ought to have convinced them of it. Yet they continue to laud their impartiality, and, what is more marvellous still, expect the nation to believe them. Lord Lansdowne has recently endeavoured to break down our case, but what can he mean in affirming, as he is reported to have done, on the 15th of March, on the presentation of a petition against the scheme, ‘That the sentiments of the petitioners were by no means universally those of the dissenters. A great portion of that body was favourable to the plan.’ We have too high an opinion of the personal integrity of the noble marquis, to believe he would have uttered these words, had he not been persuaded of their truth. But he has been grossly misled, and is responsible for having given his confidence to those who are either ignorant of our views, or are interested in

misrepresenting them. Men who live on the outskirts of dissent, or whose intercourse is restricted to its smallest, and, in relation to dissenting interests, least influential section, have too frequently been permitted to mislead our rulers in such matters.*

The *second point*, on which we are desirous of recording our judgment, is *the unconstitutional character of the scheme*. We rejoice that dissenters have acquitted themselves well in this matter. Their language has been clear, direct, and high-minded. With one accord, and with earnest sincerity, they have spoken as became the descendants of the patriots of the seventeenth century. We are apt to be misled by words. Names are frequently of mighty power, and when evil is designed, they are often used to conceal, rather than to indicate the real character of things. Something of this sort may be seen in the present case. The majority of our countrymen know little of the constitution of the Privy Council, and still less of the Committee on Education. Hence they fail to perceive the exceptionable nature of the movement now projected. They do not realise its bearing on constitutional liberty, or see how it establishes a precedent, before which all the bulwarks of English freedom may be made to give way. But strip the matter of its verbiage. Let all technicalities be laid aside, and the common sense of the nation be addressed in plain and obvious speech, and a different result will instantly be elicited. We all know what prerogative means, as opposed to liberty—the power of the crown, as the antagonistic element to popular freedom. This, then, is the origin of the present measure. It has no other parentage; it asks no other sanction. It throws contempt on those safeguards of English freedom, which the cautious policy of the illustrious dead has reared, and profanely supersedes the very forms of the constitution. Of personal despotism we have no fear. The spirit of the age, and the character of our

* A notable instance of this is mentioned in the recently published *Life of Lord Sidmouth*, which we hope to review next month. Referring to the opposition to his lordship's bill in 1811, which was universal and overwhelming, his biographer quotes from a manuscript note of Lord Sidmouth the following words relating to William Smith, Esq., M.P., who was for many years chairman of the London Dissenting Deputies:—'Mr. Smith repeatedly told me, that the bill was so reasonable in its principle, and so just and moderate in its provisions, that he could not oppose it. *The clause relating to probationers was introduced at his suggestion.*'—Vol. iii. p. 65. We suspect that Lord Lansdowne has derived his information from a similar quarter, and take leave to assure him that none are more ignorant of our views, or less likely to sympathise with them, than the members of the Unitarian body. We say this with all due respect for their intelligence and social worth. They are not in intercourse with our people, and cannot, therefore, report them accurately.

revered sovereign; alike preclude it, but we do dread ministerial despotism, the rule of an oligarchy, under the pretence of a mixed constitution. This is the real danger against which we have to guard; and of this, the scheme before us is a first-fruit. Its principle is vicious, the form in which it is proposed is unknown to the constitution, and the precedent it will establish is capable of indefinite and most disastrous application. If ministers are permitted to succeed here, what is to prevent their gradually withdrawing from the supervision of parliament other departments of the public revenue? Neither have we been without fair warning, though the quarter whence it came was suspicious, and the motives which induced it were, probably, of a mixed and questionable order. When Lord John Russell, on the 14th of June, 1839, proposed the vote of money to the Commons' House, Lord Stanley moved an amendment to the effect that, her Majesty be pleased to revoke the Order in Council appointing a Committee of Education. In submitting this amendment, he insisted on the unconstitutional character of the *Order*, and on the danger to public liberty with which it was fraught:

'So long,' said his lordship, 'as that board or committee was allowed to exist, so long he felt persuaded that they would find scheme after scheme produced for abstracting money from the public funds in furtherance of a system of education which a majority of the country condemned, and which was completely at variance with the constitutional principles which he and those on his side of the house supported and maintained, and which it was impossible they could abandon without the grossest dereliction of duty. He objected to the unlimited and irresponsible powers vested in the committee of the Privy Council, and from that *irresponsible, unfettered, and consequently despotic committee*, he appealed to the calm deliberation of the people, and *to the constitutional authority of the British parliament*. They were called upon by the proposition of the noble lord to delegate, *by a resolution of only one branch of the legislature*—(loud cheers)—powers undefined, unlimited, vague, uncertain, and irresponsible, to an irresponsible body—to a committee of the Privy Council, which was to execute these powers totally independent of all control, and without being responsible to Parliament.'

The vote, however, was carried by a majority of two, the numbers being, for Lord John Russell's resolution, 275, and for Lord Stanley's amendment, 273.

In the House of Lords a series of resolutions condemnatory of the *Order*, was moved by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the 5th of July, the fourth of which runs thus:—

'That it appears to this house, that *the powers thus entrusted to the committee of council are so important in their bearing upon the moral and religious education of the people of this country, and upon the proper*

duties and functions of the established church, and at the same time *so capable of progressive and indefinite extension, that they ought not to be committed to any public authority without the consent of parliament.*'

His Lordship's speech in support of these resolutions distinctly adverted to the unconstitutional powers which were thus created, and to the danger with which they were charged:—

'He appealed to their lordships, whether a very large and undefined discretion was not left to the committee,—discretion which might be very grossly abused. He could not wonder that the established clergy, the great portion of the protestant dissenters, and, indeed, all who had the interests of religion at heart, should feel alarmed at this enormous power being given to the committee. He agreed with a great portion of the people of this country, that a power was thus conferred upon the committee, which ought not to be entrusted in the hands of any number of men, and certainly not to men who were exclusively members of her Majesty's government. That one cause of the great sensation felt throughout the country was, that those minutes laid the foundation for a permanent system without application to parliament.'

These resolutions were carried by a large majority, two hundred and twenty-nine voting for them, and only a hundred and eighteen against them. Ministers, however, persisted in their policy, and the scheme, now developed, shows the worth of the official assurances given by Lord Lansdowne of the limited functions and temporary nature of their proposal:—

'How truly,' as Mr. Baines justly remarks, 'the lords declared that that measure was *'capable of progressive and indefinite extension,'* we now see. It is another lesson, in addition to the many we have received, of the danger of admitting false *principles* into our legislation. But if the measure of 1839 was objectionable on constitutional grounds, how much more objectionable is the present measure, which commences the system of annual grants, creates so large an amount of expenditure and patronage, presents so sinister an aspect toward the dissenters, and constructs so vast a machinery of state education! Can it possibly be in accordance with the constitution, that changes so great, not only in detail, but even in principle, should be carried by a mere vote of one house on the estimates, without the safeguard of the forms of an act of parliament! Judging from the ordinary usages of parliament, it is a monstrous and most dangerous infringement of the constitution: and it would be inexcusable in the nation to allow such an infringement to be committed without the strongest opposition.'—*An Alarm*, &c. p. 22.

The silence of dissenters, in 1839, may be accounted for from their mistrust of the party then in opposition, but a clearer sight into the nature of the ministerial policy, a better knowledge of their own principles, a more enlightened estimate of their

position and responsibilities, would have led them, at that period, to distinguish between the questionable and the true, and to have given effect, by their support, to what was constitutional on the one hand, whilst they protested against what was factious and sectarian on the other. This they ought to have done, and not doing this, they now reap the consequences of their shortsightedness, in the taunts of pseudo-liberals, and the more immediate danger with which they were threatened.

But the ministerial plan is open to another and most serious objection, in the enormous extension of government influence which it will effect. We have had nothing parallel to this. The history of our country furnishes no precedent like it, whilst the experience of France, Prussia, Holland, Austria, and other nations, warns us of the terrible abyss towards which it leads us. Hitherto we have been distinguished by our habits of self-government. Englishmen have managed their own affairs, and for some years past have been engaged in a gigantic struggle with the landed aristocracy, in order to break down the impediments which their selfish policy had raised, to their doing so. But an attempt is now made, a thousand-fold more pernicious, to restrain our energies, to emasculate the vigour of our action, to undermine our self-confidence, and to render us dependent on the patronage of the government of the day. Nearly ninety thousand stipendiaries are to be created, in the shape of masters, pupil-teachers, stipendiary monitors, queen's scholars, and such like, extending, beyond all doubt, 'the distinctly perceptible operation of government influence over 400,000 or 500,000 families.' We confess that we regard this with dread. It is an enormous peril, and if the nation submit to it, our children will have again to fight the battle of English freedom:—

'Nothing,' says Mr. Baines, 'approaching to this extension of government influence has ever taken place, so far as I am aware, in modern times. I have read the speeches of Mr. Burke on economical reform, with his great plan for the reduction of government influence and expenditure: I have read the speeches of Dunning, Fox, and Burke on the annual motion made for several years—'That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished:' I remember the zeal with which Tierney, Brougham, and the Whig Opposition of a later period, including the Ponsonbys and the Russells, supported the motion so frequently made, as the chief party motion of the session, to retrench *two* junior Lords of the Admiralty: and I bear in mind the justly-boasted reforms of the Grey ministry, and the number of government *employés* then dispensed with. But all the government influence ever constituted, or ever retrenched, sinks into insignificance, compared with the amazing creation of it now proposed.'—*An Alarm*, p. 12.

SECTARIAN AND UNCONSTITUTIONAL

The system of which this plan forms part, is the modern style of despotism, and it is seen in perfection on the continent. As yet we know little of it, but by report. The doings of the Poor Law Commissioners have indeed warned us of its approach, but instead of reconciling us to its presence, they have awakened alarm and indignation. Shall we then admit a still larger and more ruinous importation? Shall we sit quietly down while the citadel is undermined? Shall we contentedly pursue our calling while public virtue and manly independence are poisoned at their fountain-head? Let the education of the nation be entrusted, by any such plan as the present, to the government, and no Laud or Strafford need arise in order to crush our liberties, and establish an iron tyranny. The Machiavelian policy of the Whigs, will shame the sagacity of the ministers of Charles, by more effectually compassing their design. Against unmasked tyranny we are secure. The display of force would rouse our manhood, and rally to the defence of the constitution, men of every class and creed. But the corrupting influence of bribery is silent and unseen. It works stealthily as in the night, and prepares a nation of slaves over whom it is no glory to reign.

What then must be done? Everything, we reply,—within the limits of the constitution,—of which Englishmen are capable, and to which the momentous interests at stake can excite us. It is for no light or trifling matter that we struggle, and there is not a moment to lose. The Premier has announced that the vote for education will be taken on the nineteenth of April, and we must therefore instantly, and with all possible earnestness, address ourselves to the work.

Let petitions be presented to both houses of parliament, from towns, villages, congregations, Sunday schools, &c.

Let deputations be appointed to wait on her Majesty's ministers, to assure them of our strong and unchangeable determination to persist in hostility to their scheme.

Let public meetings be held in every locality, and lectures be delivered, in order to enlighten the public mind, and to arouse its constitutional resistance.

Above all, let electors communicate with their representatives, setting forth our objections to the scheme, and distinctly informing them of the loss of our support, in the event of their vote not being recorded against it. We need scarcely say that our main reliance is on this last measure. Ministers are committed. They have made terms with the church and will proceed to the accomplishment of their bargain. But our representatives are subject to our influence. As yet we are an unbribed and uncorrupted people, and if our power be skilfully

exerted, we cannot well fail of success. In order to this, however, we must make up our minds to a decided and straightforward course. There must be no hesitation, no looking back, no double-dealing, no truckling to political expediency. We must speak firmly and without equivocation. Our Members must see that we are in earnest, and when the time comes to redeem our pledge, the poll must bear witness to our fidelity. A general election is happily at hand, and we know how this operates. Our electoral strength is sufficient to determine the contest in most of the boroughs of the kingdom, and we must not be deterred from carrying out our principles by the fear of unseating any Whig partisan. This is the bugbear which has hitherto frightened us from our propriety, and if we are not now ready to look it in the face, and act worthy of our professions, we had better at once spare our labour, and submit to the irreparable loss of our civil and religious liberties.

Two remarks and we shall close. First, the course of events is obviously disengaging us from political partizanship. What principle ought to have done, but has failed to accomplish, events beyond our control, and which most certainly we have not originated, are bringing to pass. Dissenters have hitherto acted as members of the Whig party. They have constituted the advanced and movement section of this political fraternity, and have rendered it, unquestionably, large services. Their political fidelity has been proved beyond all question, whilst their activity and intelligence have been the main dependence of liberal candidates throughout the empire. They have always been in the foreground of the liberal contest, and it is not too much to affirm, that the Whig party has been indebted to their efforts for a large proportion of the seats they have retained in the Commons' House. To such an extent has their fidelity to political leadership been carried, as frequently to induce a practical disregard of their ecclesiastical principles. The course enjoined by religious duty has been abstained from, lest the Whigs should be embarrassed and an advantage be given to their opponents. Against this policy we have frequently protested, and, when left in a minority, have forewarned our associates of the bitter penalty they would have to pay. We have never known good ultimately arise from the subordination of the religious to the political. It may accomplish a party purpose, may aid the policy of statesmen, may be lauded for its liberality, and be followed by a field-day exhibition on our behalf. But, in the mean time, it sacrifices principle to expediency, the permanent to the temporary, consistency and high-mindedness to the favour of men who despise our truculency while they

gladly receive our aid. We do not undervalue the historical services rendered by the Whigs, nor are we unmindful of the aid received from them in former times. It may be permitted us, however, to remark, that that aid has been fully repaid. The Whigs have had a *quid pro quo*, and no member of the party knows this better than Lord John Russell. If they have done us service, they have received an ample recompense, and it is ungenerous in the last degree, for them to refer to the former without frankly acknowledging the latter. As the matter stands now we are wide as the poles asunder! Lord John Russell's education resolutions of 1843 clearly indicated this. His votes on the Maynooth Endowment Bill rendered it still more apparent. His advocacy of the payment of the Catholic clergy of Ireland by the state, threw additional light on the fact, and the system of church-extension, now submitted, sets incredulity itself at defiance.

From this apparent evil good will come. Without affecting to be prophets we have long foreseen it, and now that the crisis is arrived, we counsel Dissenters to review their position, and calmly, yet firmly, to take their stand. Thrown off by the leaders whom they have followed, their scruples despised, their principles covertly assailed, they must withdraw confidence from the chieftains whom they have served, and trust, under God, only in themselves. They have higher interests than those of party politics, and their simplicity of purpose and their earnestness, must be commensurate with these. They must not fear endangering the liberal interest. At every hazard they must be consistent at the coming election, and if the result should be the unseating of many Whig candidates, a salutary lesson will be read to our rulers. At present we are despised, and we shall well deserve to be so, if the next election do not read Lord J. Russell, Mr. Macanlay, and other members of the government, a lesson which they will readily understand. Our primary duty at the present hour is to secure a parliamentary representation of our principles. Until we have men in the House of Commons who thoroughly understand them, in whose integrity we can confide, and who are competent to expound and defend our views, we shall obtain little justice from the legislature. To this, therefore, we should address ourselves. Everything else is subordinate, and he who facilitates its accomplishment, will render to religious liberty the most important service which the present century has witnessed.

Secondly, the course of events is clearly directing attention to the primary source of the danger by which we are threatened. Many amongst us are reluctantly driven to the conclusion, that they must grapple, immediately and in real earnest-

ness, with the master evil out of which so much of our vicious legislation springs. Were this the case with our ultra men only, we should not deem it so significant or decisive, and should pause before drawing any general conclusion from it. But the case is far otherwise. We do not wish to overstate it. We would rather under-rate than exaggerate the prospect before us, but if we do not greatly err in reading the signs of the times, Dissenters of all classes—we speak of such only as are voluntaries in principle—are beginning to realize the necessity of a united and earnest movement against that connexion between things secular and divine, out of which these perpetual aggressions on the rights of conscience spring. They may be dissatisfied with particular organizations, but there is growing up amongst them the conviction, that until the existing union is dissolved there is no safety for religious freedom, or free scope for the extension of beneficent agency. ‘Recent experience,’ remarked Dr. Vaughan, when referring to the case of America, at the Congregational Conference on Education, ‘has convinced me that in Old England nothing of this kind is practicable, that would not in its working be rather injurious than beneficial. So long as our church establishment exists, so long our state agency in regard to education must take along with it the whole principle of a religious establishment, with all its error, favouritism, and injustice.’ The views of Mr. Baines on this point are one with those of Dr. Vaughan. The ministerial plan, he tells us, ‘revealed a truth which some had never before been able to recognize, that impartiality is unattainable so long as an established church exists in this country.’ *

How could it well be otherwise? Thoughtful men, who love and value their principles as Dissenters, have been driven by the force of recent circumstances, again and again to ask themselves, how it has arisen that their quiet has been so frequently interrupted, and their dearest interests assailed? We have been living in alternate excitement and exhaustion. The Factories Bill, the Maynooth Endowment Bill, and the present scheme of education, have successively taxed our energies to the utmost, and, in the future, we are threatened by the concurrence of leading politicians of all classes, with an enormous system of endowment, designed to sustain one falling establishment by the creation of another. Whence have these measures issued? Have they not some common parentage? Is there not some one evil out of which they have grown, and of which they are the appropriate fruits? Such are the inquiries which have been forced upon our more cau-

* Leeds Mercury, Feb. 27th.

BRIEF NOTICES.

tious and temperate brethren, the r
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sions, and honourable to their Christian

Brief Notices.

The Supremacy of the Scriptures the Divine Rule of Religion. By the
Rev. James Davies. With a Recommendatory Letter. By the
Rev. J. Pye Smith, D.D., F.R.S., F.G.S. Pp. 305. London:
Ward and Co. 1846.

IN order to give a view of the ample field traversed by Mr. Davies,
we copy the table of contents. Chap. 1. 'The Visible Creation
an insufficient Guide in Matters of Religious Belief.' Chap. 2.
'Human Nature incapable to dictate all that it is necessary to believe
in Religion.' Chap. 3. 'The Writings of the Fathers of the Christ-
ian Church not to be received as a Rule of Faith.' Chap. 4. 'The
Decrees of Councils shown to be an unsafe Rule of Faith.' Chap. 5.
'Tradition not to be received in Religious Matters as a Rule of
Faith.' 6. 'The Ability and Right of separate Christian Churches
to dictate a Rule of Faith, impartially considered.' Chap. 7. 'The
Inward Light of Quakerism an insufficient Rule of Faith.' Chap. 8.
'The Bible the only sure and safe Rule of Faith in Matters of Re-
ligion.' Chap. 9. 'Concluding and Practical Observations.'

The importance of these topics will be universally admitted, and,
we are happy to be able to say that they are discussed so as
to impart considerable value to the volume. As a work for gene-
ral circulation, we should find it difficult to point out one pos-
sessing a greater adaptation to promote clear and intelligent views
of this important subject. Without affecting profundity of learning,
subtlety of argument, or splendour of style, there is no lack of
knowledge; the reasoning is solid and satisfactory, the spirit is fair
and candid, and the language perspicuous and forcible. We have
much pleasure in seconding Dr. Smith's recommendation of the
work.

John Knox, his Time, and his Work: A Discourse delivered in the Assembly Hall of the Free Church of Scotland, on Monday, May 18th, 1846. By Robert S. Candlish, D.D. Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1846.

A DISCOURSE in Dr. Candlish's usual style, and, though hastily prepared, marked by his usual excellencies. It does not aim at being philosophical, and it succeeds in being practical.

Hill of Zion; or, the First and Last things Illustrative of the Present Dispensation. By the Rev. Thomas Watson, M.A. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1846.

MR. WATSON is a very pious and warm-hearted writer, and in this little treatise there is much which simple-minded Christians will doubtless enjoy and profit by. The topics selected for remark are the principal doctrines of grace, such as predestination, calling, etc. They who seek original views, close, logical reasoning, flights of imagination, or charms of style, need not peruse these pages; but those who are satisfied with obvious thoughts on important truths, expressed with earnestness and boldness, may consult them with advantage. There is no hesitation about Mr. Watson's mind. He speaks like an oracle—and with not the less decision because his mind is not constituted to appreciate the greater difficulties attending the momentous matters on which he treats. Like many, if not most, of his evangelical brethren, he is a thorough disciple of the millenarian school.

Pen and Ink Sketches of Poets, Preachers, and Politicians. London: David Bogue. 1846.

WHO the author of these 'Sketches' is, we know not, and have no means of knowing. He seems, judging from the work itself, to have had a personal acquaintance with many of the great men who have recently left the world—especially those connected with Bristol. Of these he has given descriptions, and recorded anecdotes, that impart a considerable degree of interest to the volume. But it has great defects. The classification is miserable. There is a strange jumble of men and things dissimilar. The criticism is often very poor—in the case of some popular preachers, it is altogether incorrect. We have noticed inaccuracies in some of the statements; more than one, for instance, in the brief account of Dr. Raffles. Instead of the present title, it strikes us that a better one would be, 'Rambling Recollections of an Old Man.' The only worth of the book consists in the additional insight (not much), which it gives us into the private characters and lives of some persons whose public works and repute excite a curiosity to be better acquainted with them.

Observations on the Books of Genesis and Exodus, and Sermons. By the late Robert Forsyth, Esq., Advocate. To which is prefixed a Memoir of the Author. Pp. 203. Blackwood and Sons. 1846.

MR. FORSYTH was brought up to and became a preacher of the Church of Scotland, but soon gave up the pulpit for the bar, and attained to very considerable professional and literary eminence.

The present volume consists of two parts, the former written at the close of his life, and the latter at its beginning. Mr. Forsyth was a man of clear and comprehensive mind, general knowledge, and deep reflection. There is much in these pages to instruct and interest the intelligent reader.

Horæ Apostolicæ; or, a Digested Narrative of the Acts and Writings of Apostles of Jesus Christ. Arranged according to Townsend. By the Rev. William Shepherd, B.D. Pp. 287. London: Longman and Co. 1846.

THIS is a useful work. Great evils flow from the want of that connected view of the acts and writings of the apostles which it is intended to present. The subject does not admit, as treated by the author, of much serious controversy. Occasionally we differ with him about a date, a doctrine, or a deed; but, as a whole, he has written a volume which many need, and which, we hope, many will profit by.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published:

The Records of a Church of Christ, meeting in Broadmead, Bristol, 1640—1687. Edited for the Hanserd Knollys Society, with an Historical Introduction. By Edward Bean Underhill.

The Life and Correspondence of the Right Honourable Henry Addington, First Viscount Sidmouth. By the Hon. George Pellew, D.D., Dean of Norwich. In Three Volumes. London: John Murray.

Memoir of William Knibb, Missionary in Jamaica. By John Howard Hinton, M.A.

The Three Wives; or, Woman Morally and Religiously Superior to Man. By John Reid Miles.

Thoughtfulness and Thankfulness. A Book for the New Year. By John Cox.

Memoir of the Rev. Henry Francis Cary, M.A. Translator of Dante. With his Literary Journal and Letters. By his son, the Rev. Henry Cary, M.A. 2 Vols.

The People's Dictionary of the Bible. Parts XVIII. and XIX.

An Analysis and Exposure of the New Government Scheme of Education; showing its Precise Nature, its Objectionable Character, and its Mischievous Tendencies. By J. M. Hare.

Memoir of William Yates, D.D., of Calcutta. With an Abridgment of his Life of W. H. Pearce. By James Hoby, D.D.

Practical Remarks on Popular Education in England and Wales. By H. P. Hamilton, M.A.

National Education; What it is, and what it should be. By John Dufton, M.A.

A Letter to the Rev. Arthur Fane, containing Strictures on his Letter to Lord Heytesbury, and a Statement of Facts connected with his Refusal to Read the Burial Service at the Interment of a Pauper, who was a Dissenter. By W. Morgan.

A Word of Warning and Expostulation to the Clergy and Friends of the Church of England; addressed to them in a Letter by a Presbyterian of many years' standing.

A Sermon occasioned by the lamented Death of Joseph John Gurney, Esq.; and preached in Prince's Street Chapel, Norwich, By John Alexander.

Florentine History, from the Earliest Authentic Records, to the Accession of Ferdinand the Third. By Henry Edward Napier. Vol. IV.

Diseases of the Million with Antipathic Indications. By J. Jeffrey, M.D. Part I.

How to Reconstruct the Industrial Condition: a Letter to Lord John Russell. By James Ward, Esq.

The Christian Treasury; containing Contributions from Ministers and Members of Various Evangelical Denominations. Part XII.

Epistles to the Few; being a Real Correspondence from the year 1840 to 1844. Vol. II.

Free Thoughts on Protestant Matters. By the Rev. J. D. Gregg, M.A.

European Library: History of Spanish Literature. By Frederick Bouterwek. Translated from the Original German by Thomasina Ross. With Additional Notes by the Translator.

The Pictorial Gallery of Arts. Part XXVI.

Discourses by the late Archibald Bennie, D.D. Minister of Lady Yester's Church, Edinburgh; and one of the Deans of the Chapel Royal. To which is prefixed a Memoir of the Author.

Oxford Protestant Magazine. No. I.

A New Solution in Part of the Seals, Trumpets, and other Symbols of the Revelation of St. John; being an attempt to prove that, as far as they are fulfilled, they denote the rise, increase, and maturity of the Man of Sin, and the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ for his Destruction. By the Rev. R. Gascoyne, M.A. Meikleton near Campden, Gloucestershire.

Steepleton; or, High Church and Low Church, being the Present Tendencies of Parties in the Church, exhibited in the history of Frank Faithful. By a Clergyman.

London Missionary Society. A Reply to the Animadversions of the Rev. Dr. Reed in his Appeal to the Constituents of the London Missionary Society. By the Directors of the Society.

The Comprehensive Tune Book. Edited by H. J. Gauntlett, Mus. Doc. Part I.

The Widower's Counsellor and Comforter. By the Rev. Nathaniel Rowton, Coventry. With a Preface by the Rev. John Angell James.

The Pulpit and the People; or, An Inquiry into the Cause of the Present Failure of Christian Agency. By Peter Rylands. Author of the Mission of the Church.

Letter to Dr. Candlish, of Edinburgh, on the Word of God as to the Jewish Sabbath, and Sunday, to be read by Serious Christians of all Denominations.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR MAY, 1847.

- ART. I.—1. *Commentary upon the Psalms.* By E. W. Hengstenberg, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated by the Rev. P. Fairbairn and the Rev J. Thomson. Two volumes: being Volumes First and Second of Clark's Foreign Theological Library. Edinburgh, 1846.
2. *A Literal Translation of the Book of Psalms, intended to illustrate their Moral and Poetical Structure: to which are added Dissertations on the word Selah, &c.* By the Rev. John Jebb, Rector of Peterstow. Two volumes. London: Longman, 1846.
3. *The Psalms in Hebrew, with a Critical, Exegetical and Philological Commentary.* By the Rev. George Phillips, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Cambridge. Two volumes. London: John W. Parker, 1846.

No book of scripture has been held in higher or more general estimation than the Psalms, none has been more frequently and extensively employed in divine service, popular exposition, or private meditation. We do not wonder at this wide and general attachment to the songs of Sion, for the diction of poetry forms a language universal in its adaptations, and ever welcome in its tones; and especially when sanctified and inspired as in the Psalter, it speaks to all experience and awakes the susceptibilities of the Holy Catholic Church. Yet, perhaps, there is no portion of the Bible which has been so variously interpreted, or which has been so rudely and wantonly handled by its professed admirers and expounders. The lyrics of the sweet singers of Israel have been profaned by crude and vain speculations, equally opposed to enlightened piety and sound erudition. On the one hand, they have been so degraded and secularised as to

be viewed and described as mere odes of war, victory, or peace: hymns of friendship, gratitude, or patriotism, sung by the priesthood round the altar, with the accompaniment of timbrel, harp, or organ. On the other hand, they have been so spiritualised by a morbid pietism, and their mystic senses have been so multiplied by a polydynamic exegesis, that all questions of their age and authorship, their original composition and use, their historical allusions, oriental spirit, and poetic forms, have been contemptuously set aside; as springing from that bondage which belongs to 'the oldness of the letter,' and totally foreign to that freedom and superiority which are always associated with 'newness of spirit.' What a wide distance stretches between Horsley and Hitzig, Mudge and Mendelsohn, Venema and De Wette, not merely in scholarship, but in the development and application of hermeneutical principles in their respective commentaries on the Hebrew Anthology! But surely the Psalms of David are not, in themselves, either so difficult of apprehension, or so intricate in their style, as to form any excuse for such confused and fantastic aberrations. For these relics of the Hebrew muse are simple in structure, exquisite in language, and striking in imagery. They are rich in the beautiful creations of impassioned genius, and teeming with all the contagious ardour of eastern minstrelsy. They are animated, at the same time, with the breathings of a piety which fits the humblest of saints, and would not dishonour the loftiest of seraphs. They present us with the choice and endeared material of our devotional exercises; and are but the earthly version of those rapturous and eternal melodies which delight and occupy the inhabitants of heaven. The various pieces which form our 'Book of Psalms' whether they be lyrical or didactic, jubilant or elegiac, retrospective or prophetic; whether they are adapted to personal repetition, domestic worship, or ecclesiastical rehearsal, are of their own nature plain and practical; and though their poetical texture creates occasional obscurity, they are less enveloped in difficulty than many sections of symbolical prediction. True, indeed, he who attempts to interpret them must be qualified for his work—the work of analysing poetry, religious poetry, in the ancient tongue of a foreign people, the greater part of whose literature and language has ceased to exist. We need thus be at no loss to detail the qualifications of a successful expounder of the Psalms. The union of these preparatory gifts has seldom been possessed by one individual; the want of any of them can only embarrass and mislead, while the commentary so produced is defective and unshapen. The plectrum must strike in its place and turn, every cord of David's harp, ere the thrilling harmonies of the 'New Song' be evolved.

It need scarcely be laid down as a first principle, that he who would translate and interpret the Psalms must be well skilled in the Hebrew language. We do not refer to such a knowledge of Hebrew as busies itself with a common grammatical praxis, and whose small prattle about Piel and Hithpaël, and status constructus, and hiemantic derivation, exhausts all its Hebrew philology. Such acquisitions in Hebrew are easily acquired and cheaply expended. A higher acquaintance with the tongue of the bards of Judah is demanded, such an acquaintance as from long and laborious familiarity passes beyond the forms and penetrates into the soul of their language. Too many self-named expositors remain in the outer court of the Gentiles, and catch but a distant and passing glimpse of the sacred mysteries. To plod one's weary way with a grammar and lexicon brings no pleasure, and is very far from that intuitive sensibility which has added to the task of acquiring a language, the unspeakable pleasure of feeling the beauties of its diction, and of comprehending its anomalies, through sympathy with its spirit. When we are thus initiated into oriental modes of thought and feeling, the language which is their natural vehicle is instinctively understood, its technicalities can be instantly unravelled, and its poetical idioms and ellipses safely and promptly analysed. Might we not by the application of this righteous test disfranchise, and declare unqualified, one half of those who have written versions of the Psalms, or notes and scholia upon them. Some of these authors give us what they term a root—a word having no existence but in some paltry lexicon they have consulted, or, perhaps, by printing a triliteral vocable, they show their dexterity in creating a stem-word for the occasion. Others, glorying in the supposed uncertainty which attaches to Hebrew terms, enumerate a score of meanings, and yet, not finding one to suit their purpose, add one other from some trite analogy. Some can give us glibly and correctly, person and number, tense and mood, of separate words in such variety as might suffice for the pages of a chrestomathy, but fail to elicit the meanings of the terms in their clauses and connection; while others twist and pervert the text with all manner of emendations so as to destroy its integrity, and rob it of its inspired authority. To multiply examples of the 'baser sort' referred to would require a space disproportionate to its value.

Names of higher note are no exception in some cases to our remarks. We might point to many places in which even Calvin has failed from want of thorough acquaintance with Hebrew. How often has Horsley started aside like a deceitful bow from radical defect in his Hebrew acquirements. His work on the Psalms is to us the least satisfactory of all his treatises. His

Hutchinsonian whims are continually beguiling him into some fantasy; his adherence to the grammatical system of Masclef led to a superficial philology: his unwarranted tampering with the text renders many of his peculiar views unsound and suspicious; while his constitutional inclination to paradox and startling opinion, unconsciously prompted him to defend versions and interpretations in complete opposition to grammatical accuracy, or lexical definition, and in utter defiance of scope and connection, Chaldee targums, Jewish tradition, or Christian information. Horsley's general character, as a biblical scholar, has alone given any name or weight to his exposition of the Psalms; and his son, the editor of the posthumous volumes proved himself a very incompetent judge, when he pronounced them the most learned and momentous of his father's productions. Mr. Jebb, the author of one of the works before us, evidently looks up to Bishop Horsley with great admiration, and endeavours to walk in his steps. But we cannot compliment him on his knowledge of Hebrew, at least he has not displayed it, nor do we imagine that he possesses it. In defence of this opinion we have but to say, that he is of the school of Parkhurst, that he adores this antiquated lexicographer, and solemnly declares, 'that his dictionary is at least equal in real learning to the popular work of Gesenius, and far superior to it in philological science and philosophical arrangement.' Our readers, who are versant with the progress of Hebrew philology, will need no farther criticism on the work of a man so far 'beside himself' as to pronounce such a judgment on the comparative merits of Parkhurst and Gesenius. His translation of the Psalms has been made from such a recipe as this. — Take the English version of the Psalms, and compare it with the Hebrew in the position of the words; arrange this new English version as nearly as possible after the order of the Hebrew; turn up Parkhurst for a few of the leading words,—give them a novel rendering, and impart to them an air of solemn mystery by prefixing an asterisk, then divide off the translation when finished into lines of nearly equal length to show that you are ignorant of the fact of Lowth's dissertations on Parallelism. The work is done, as Mr. Jebb has performed it. Does the reader wish a specimen of a few of his notes? For example, his version reads, 'God hath forgotten;' the corresponding note is, Heb. 'hath forgotten God.' His translation is, 'the foolish shall not stand before thine eyes,' to which the annotation is, Heb. 'shall not stand the foolish.' His reading is 'out of many waters;' but he appends the learned scholium, Heb. 'waters many;' and there is not a page of his translation which is not copiously marked by such profound erudition, worthy, indeed, of a pupil of Park-

hurst. Nay, there are very few notes added to his version which even attempt a higher style of criticism. And this is the man who takes Bishop Marsh to task for having introduced Michaelis to the English public,—who scowls upon German scholars, and is not ashamed to confess in reference to them, ‘I should neither advantage my own mind, nor the cause of sound theology and criticism, by making use of them.’ Had he only translated Ewald, or De Wette, he would have done valuable service to the church, whereas the good to be achieved by his own work will be chiefly confined to those who have earned a remuneration in its printing and publication. The truth is, Mr. Jebb is not without good sense, as many remarks in his preface abundantly testify, but his error is, that he can see nothing praiseworthy, or profitable, out of the pale of the Church of England, beyond its ‘venerable cathedrals and glorious universities;’ and these, according to him, are ‘the strongholds of godliness, good learning, sound Christian doctrine, and holy living.’ Wonderful faith! Are not the cathedral towns of England proverbial as haunts of dissipation? At which of the ‘glorious universities’ did Mr. Jebb receive his biblical instructions and learning? ‘Sound Christian doctrine and holy living!’ Has he never heard of Puseyism, or is he ignorant of the profanity and dissipation of the gownsmen of Oxford? Mr. Jebb’s second volume, to which, perhaps, he would appeal in proof of his Hebrew acquirements, does not by any of its dissertations alter our expressed opinions. It has more pretension than his first, it is composed in a loftier tone, and it assumes a higher authority. The largest dissertation in it is an essay on the term *Selah*, professing to establish some new and momentous theory. *Selah*, according to Mr. Jebb, is a part of the inspired text, and after years of incessant labour and investigation, his erudition in a happy moment discovered its use. That use is one, at the same time, which hundreds had seen before him; a use, moreover, which is only partial, for the *Selah*, or music-pause, does not, as he affirms, always indicate some alteration or transition in the thought or construction of the psalm. Mr. Jebb’s essays on the titles of the Psalms are feeble, though well meant; his ideas on the connections of the various odes are often visionary and fanciful, while his fond abuse of the parallelism proves his ignorance of its real nature and purpose. His notions of it often resemble Bishop Jebb’s applications of it to the text of the New Testament—applications neither so successful, or happy, as they would be, if employed in measuring the rhetorical cadences of Samuel Johnson or T. B. Macaulay.

The work of Mr. Phillips, also a clergyman of the Church of

England, is of a very different character. Mr. Phillips is an excellent scholar, and proves himself skilled in the cognate languages. Whatever be the subject he discusses, he writes with precision and power. His volumes are beautifully printed both in the English and Eastern tongues. The entire text of the original Psalms is given in a bold symmetrical character. Mr. Phillips is not ashamed to own his obligations to continental scholarship, and the names of the brightest German scholars adorn his pages. The fault of the book is, that it is too elementary—that too much of it is occupied with the explanation of such etymological, or syntactic principles as every one should have mastered ere he set himself to read and analyse the Hebrew Psalms. It is, however, but just to Mr. Phillips to add, that he avows it as one of his main objects in this Commentary, ‘to render it in some degree useful to those who possess little or no acquaintance with the Hebrew language.’ We more than question the propriety of such a step. What kind of a book would an author compose who set himself to write a commentary on the ‘Principia,’ for the use of those who are almost ignorant of mathematics? Much valuable space is, therefore, taken up in Mr. Phillips’s publication with the detail of mere technicalities and minutiae, which ought to have been occupied with exegetical development, critical investigation, or doctrinal discussion. The general description of the tenor and style of thought in every Psalm is well given, but we lack the higher criticism, which, rising above verbal remark, elicits the author’s ideas in their order, beauty, and power, and brings to view their connection and dependence by a simple and masterly exegesis, like that exemplified so often in the pages of Hengstenberg.

The work of the last named commentator on the Psalms is yet incomplete, and his introductory dissertations on their poetry, christology, and literature, is not yet published. The author now enjoys an European reputation, and is universally admitted to be one of the few consummate Hebrew scholars of the age. He possesses all the qualities which distinguish German literati, with few of their constitutional vices and defects. His mind is essentially of a practical cast. He unites English clearness to Teutonic ingenuity. No haziness or dubiety rests in his paragraphs. He never wades among difficulties or conflicting opinions with feeble step or uncertain aim; but with noble honesty and chivalrous resolution he indicates his intended path, and rapidly frees himself from every incumbrance. You feel, in reading his exposition, that you are in the hands of a man of uncommon energy, as well as unwonted erudition—of a man who never scruples to discover his purpose, nor falters in his efforts to secure it. You admire his boldness when you may

lament his indiscretion, or smile at his failure. Perhaps this ardour of temper occasionally warms into vehemence. Such intrepidity in the midst of formidable antagonists, which, springing from the consciousness of invincible powers, casts aside all mildness of tone and gentleness of epithet—tramples where it has conquered, and still defies where it has been repulsed—has its origin not only in some individual peculiarity, but has been confirmed and augmented in that incessant warfare with neology, in all its forms, which Hengstenberg has maintained from the period of his entrance upon public life. And he has some right to vindicate an equality with all his contemporaries; he is not a whit behind the chiefest of them—though, certainly, his remarks are often arrogant, and sometimes unjust; for in denying one quality to an opponent, he detracts from all his acquirements, and leaves no talent to console him—no covering to conceal his poverty. The hostility of Gesenius towards him was well known, and Hengstenberg has repaid it with interest by the exaltation of Ewald, the great rival of Gesenius, on every possible occasion. Though he would laugh outright at Parkhurst, the god of Mr. Jebb's literary homage, yet we believe his opinion of Gesenius would almost coincide with that of our friend, the rector of Peterstow.

The Hebrew learning of Hengstenberg is brought out with peculiar prominence and advantage in his exposition of the Psalms. How rapidly he solves intricate formulæ! with what ease he summons to his assistance whatever auxiliary he requires! with what vigour he clears his way to a simple and consistent interpretation! If he err, it is not from ignorance. Conceit may mislead him, the love of singularity does now and then beguile him, and he loses time in flaying a foe when he might have allowed his corpse to rest in peace. In respect of its Hebrew scholarship, we place his work first among Commentaries on the Hebrew Psalms. It is more acute than Venema; more consistent than De Wette or Hitzig; more elaborate than Koester or Paulus; more sober than Mendelsohn or the Rabbis; and a more complete specimen of Hebrew exegesis than is afforded by the treatises of Ewald or Tholuck. We have thus tested the writers before us by one qualification. We may proceed to try them by a second.

Another qualification for the interpretation of the Psalms is the possession of such taste and temperament as shall lead the exegete to relish, appreciate, and comprehend the beauties and peculiarities of Hebrew poetry. He who analyses prose may fail to give a correct sense to poetry; his nature and habits may not qualify him for such a delicate task. And poetry of the lyrical order is peculiar in its construction. It resembles Aaron's rod, that budded, and blossomed, and brought forth almonds; so that, in order fully to enjoy it, we must inhale the fragrance and

admire the foliage while we taste the fruit. The genius of oriental poetry does not confine itself by those critical laws which have been promulgated under colder skies ; but it will not offend the taste of him who transports himself to the cliffs of Lebanon, whence he may survey the glory of Carmel and the vegetation of Sharon, and the white skiff on the waters of Tiberias ; where he may gaze on the majesty of the unclouded heaven, and feast his vision with the fields, vineyards, and pastures that smiled in luxuriance throughout ‘thy land, O Immanuel.’ The interpreter must have a kindred feeling with the bard, conscious that his spirit thrills in tremulous response to the music and imagery of the hymns of Sion. Not a few have failed to elicit the power, elegance, and dignity of many portions of the Book of Psalms from want of this natural talent. They have not possessed tact and æsthetical discrimination. They are too apt to crawl in literality, forgetful of the excitement and fervour which belong to the sacred minstrel.

Mr. Jebb evidently imagines that he is blessed with no little share of poetical taste and sensibility, and he has, in proof, given us a pretty long chapter on the poetical imagery of the Psalms, with another on the metrical construction of Hebrew verse. But the whole is juvenile, and consists for the most part of some vague comparisons between portions of Hebrew and classic poetry. Mr. Jebb writes A.M. after his name, and we may therefore give him credit for knowing a little of Æschylus and Homer, but the pointless and diffuse comparisons he has made are altogether lost. Neither can he support his theory that the archetype of the Greek chorus, and many of the best thoughts in the Greek tragedians, are to be traced to the Psalms. He has also peculiar favourites among occidental poets. He is in raptures with Dyer ; and the more so, because it was ‘his good fortune to have escaped the hackneyed recitation of Grongar Hill in his youth.’ Southey is to him ‘the greatest and most religious poet of the age.’ He seems quite at home in criticising the music of ‘our cathedrals,’ and of the choirs of the Queen’s chapel, and has no doubt of its resemblance to the Jewish orchestra. Nay, he imagines that by a single brief note he has settled the whole Wolfian theory on the nature of the Homeric poems. As he is ignorant both of the vast quantity and clever quality of German literature on this subject, he thinks that the dispute ‘has not been sufficiently expanded.’ He seems yet to have to learn that the power of quoting a few very fine similes from Shakspeare, Milton, and the Greek poets, and setting these by the side of similar passages from the Hebrew bards, is an easy thing—a kind of thing that may be found to satiety in Lowth’s Prelections, or taught by Blair’s Lectures—but something very far below that tact and penetration which

belong to such writers as Eichhorn, Herder, and De Wette—writers who can analyse the idea without robbing it of its warmth and life, and bring the image into prominence without defacing its beauty or marring its proportion, can unfold the painted glory of the flower without withering its bloom or spoiling its fragrance.

Mr. Phillips does not make any unnecessary pretensions, nor does he generally fail. He does not fall into such blunders as those which occasionally tempted Calvin and Horsley. Hengstenberg is not devoid of the poetic temperament, though certainly he is inclined to judge of a figure too much by the rules of logic and syntax; yet, like all his countrymen, he can be a tasteful critic, for in his youth he had dwelt in '*Cloud-land*,' and revelled amidst the scenery which a German fancy alone can create and enjoy. In this department of qualification, he is not only equalled but far surpassed by De Wette—a man of most exquisite and delicate taste. Yet his excellent judgment preserves him from any notorious eccentricities. He can write not the less correctly about Hebrew poetry, that he writes without rapture, at least without cant.

A third and very important preparative for the right interpretations of the Psalms, is the possession of a spirit of sincere and candid piety. This is a primary qualification. No real or lasting advance in hermeneutical science can be gained without it. The Bible is a religious book, and can only be fully understood by religious men—by such as have the mind and spirit of its divine Author. The Psalms are 'an epitome of the Bible for the purposes of devotion,' and devotion is the heart of religion. The Psalms treat not of doctrine—are not meant to enforce morals or persuade to the exercise of the virtues. They are the language of devout experience, with which no one can sympathise who is not 'created anew.' If the enjoyment of a pious spirit is necessary to the complete understanding of other parts of scripture, much more is it indispensable in these odes, which form a subjective illustration of the power, the joy, the humility, the trials, the hopes, and the destiny of a child of God. Without a portion of similar experience, the words of the psalmist will be to the critic an unknown tongue—a dialect not found in books—for it is engraven only on 'the fleshly tables of the heart.' How can he comprehend the meaning of a tongue he has never learned,—the spirit of a 'song which no man knoweth' by the mere use and application of grammar and lexicon? The greater portion of the word of God is objective in its character; the Psalms are entirely subjective. The religion portrayed in them is not that of a system, but that of the life—religion as it lives in the consciousness of the saint, clothed in his own mental peculiarities, and indicating both the stage of his own spiritual

advancement and the path by which, through divine grace, he has reached it. And while we are lingering on this part of our subject, it would be culpable not to allude for a moment to the work of Bishop Horne. His only qualification to expound the Psalms lay in his possession of a deep and powerful piety. We almost forget the incorrectness of his interpretations in the beauty of his remarks; and are charmed by that sanctity and elevation which ennoble his reflections. His delicious preface woos us again and again to its 'nectared sweets.' His own spirit at length caught inspiration from the heavenly muse; and who can forget, that has once read it, his beautiful record of his studies on the Psalter.—Commentary on the Psalms. Introduction, p. xxiv.

Mr. Jebb makes no secret of his piety, yet we do not exactly know what it is. We can tell what it should be, and we hope it is not the faith which has flourished of late at one of the 'glorious universities.' He has a high veneration 'for the fathers of our own church,' for that 'church is the stronghold of Catholicity; though, in these days, the ancient foundations of temporal policy, of religion and morals, are shaken on every side.' His religion lies greatly in his churchism. Principles he does not relish are branded not for their folly, but as 'nearly allied to puritanism.' He utters no word against Puseyism, but writes vaguely and loosely about degeneracy. He complains of the want of a 'systematic devotion;' that is, as we understand, a want of due attention to the prayers, songs, scriptures, and responses of a liturgy. Might he not complain of the utter dishonesty of thousands who subscribe a Calvinistic creed, and yet preach Arminian tenets or worse? Might he not, in the phraseology of the Psalter, declare of such, 'all men are liars?' Yet Mr. Jebb obtrudes upon us no heterodox sentiment. We hope he is a good man, possessing somewhat of the psalmist's experience, and so fitted to interpret his thoughts; only his piety is 'cabined and confined' by the shell of his churchism; while true exegesis knows no sect, and its secrets are monopolised by no party in Christendom. We must not draw an evil augury from Mr. Jebb's declaring Southey 'the most religious poet of this age.' Yet what does he think of the religion that could write the 'Vision of Judgment?' Whether it or its fearful parody be the more impious, it is difficult to tell. The late Edward Irving well said of both productions and their authors,—'with the one, blasphemy is virtue, when it makes for loyalty; with the other, blasphemy is the food and spice of jest making.'

Mr. Phillips appears to be a man of simple, unaffected piety, and he earnestly prays that his book 'may contribute, by God's blessing, to the increase of faith and piety among his people,

and so to the glory of his holy name.' We cannot but transcribe the modest conclusion of the preface:—'and now that I am about to retire from academic life to engage in another department of theological labour, I feel much satisfaction that, in submitting these volumes to the public, I am enabled to render to it some account of the manner in which I have employed those opportunities for literary pursuits, through the kind providence of God and the munificence of pious foundresses of a college, I have long enjoyed.' It would be well if every fellow and tutor had the courtesy and grace so to acknowledge his responsibility, and give an account of his stewardship, in so laudable a shape as these two volumes of scholarly criticism. At the same time, a few expressions of piety mingled with the general train of the exposition would have been both natural and pleasing.

The fame of Hengstenberg's religion is co-extensive with that of his scholarship. His enemies have thrust him into notoriety, as the great leader and shield of the most orthodox party in Germany. His stern and uncompromising hostility to every form and shade of neology—to the followers of Schleiermacher as well as those of Strauss, as continually expressed in his own magazine and in all his writings, have made him universally known and generally hated. Hengstenberg's intolerance has passed into a proverb. The very servant girls of Berlin, as Tholuck once informed us, have his name in their mouth as a by-word. Wherever evangelical religion is contemned, Hengstenberg is maltreated. Few at his period of life have borne so much of the reproach of the cross, or borne it so well. The magnates of Berlin attacked him lately, and prayed the king for his removal. Continued persecution has almost worn out his frame. We expected to have heard him in his own class room during the spring of last year, but he was confined; the remark of his physician being,—'though his spirit was firm, the body was not of equally durable materials.' We cannot in all cases free him from blame. We cannot say that he has not given unnecessary provocation by the freedom and harshness of his remarks; yet we cannot but applaud his late warfare against the so-called liberal party, who virtually destroy the truth and authority of the Old Testament, and whose notions of inspiration are so low, that their distinctive adage is,—the word of God is in the Bible, but the Bible is not in the word of God. Hengstenberg predicts the kind of opposition which the piety of his Commentary on the Psalms will provoke. But 'none of these things move him.' 'The author foresees that the spiritual element that pervades the Commentary will give rise to many objections. The Psalms are expressive of holy feeling, which can be only understood by those who have become alive to such feeling; so that

to bring out this is quite properly the purpose of the expositor.' In this spirit is the Commentary executed. The dry bones of criticism live under the vivifying influence of religious sympathy.

The last qualification on the part of an expositor of the Psalms to which we shall allude, is the knowledge of correct hermeneutical principles. This qualification implies the possession of those attainments, the nature and uses of which we have faintly sketched. It presupposes an accurate and extensive knowledge of Hebrew, a correct taste in Hebrew poetry, and the cultivation of a pious spirit. The mere possession of this threefold attainment will not, of itself, create good exposition, apart from a thorough comprehension of those great laws of interpretation which are founded in universal language and experience, and especially of that peculiar province of them which relates to the exposition of symbols and prophecy. Did the Psalms refer to individual experience or ecclesiastical privilege or persecution, the interpretation of them would be comparatively easy, and the application of their sentiments to other persons and modern times would admit of little dispute. The dispensations of God to his church, and the exercises of his people under them are similar in every age, for 'whatever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning.' An inspired history becomes a species of prediction, imparting foresight and faith in the hour of discipline. But the Psalms contain a prophetic element, strictly so called, an element of actual prediction in reference to the person and work of Messiah. The questions that perplex critics then are: how far such an element pervades them; are they all predictions; if not, how many of them point to the great hope of Israel; and in those acknowledged to refer to David's great Son, is there only a simple and plain prophecy, or is there a double sense; and does the Psalm admit of two applications, a nearer and a literal, with a more remote and spiritual meaning? Here opinions vary and verge into extremes. Some find Messiah in every Psalm, others find him in few, a section of modern exegets discover him in none. The New Testament is an infallible guide, and whatever may be said of some of its references to the Old Testament—that they are mere allusions or accommodations—it appears to us very plain, that many portions of the Psalms are quoted by the Lord and his apostles as prophetic oracles directly fulfilled in the life and death and ascension of Jesus of Nazareth. Are we then warranted to apply no Psalms to Christ save such as are quoted in the Christian scriptures? If such a limitation be an error, it is an error on the safe side. At the same time it would be rash to affirm, that every Messianic Psalm has been quoted, or referred to, by the writers of the New Testament. While, then, we

take the New Testament as our guide, may we not regard as prophetic some other Psalms similar in structure, language, and spirit, to those which are quoted by inspired authority as oracles bearing witness to the incarnate Redeemer? This rule may be deemed lax and uncertain, yet surely the prudent use of it might be of invaluable assistance. But with the theory of a double sense, as it generally governs the interpretation of the Psalms, we have no patience. We have seen it map out a Psalm in the most fantastic style, declaring this verse to refer to the literal David because it cannot apply to the mystical David, and that verse to refer to the mystical David because it cannot be applied to the literal David. Who, in such a case, is to be the judge? The principle of separation is quite arbitrary. What one affirms from his own taste to be primary, another from a similar consciousness may assert to be spiritual and secondary. It would need something like inspiration to warrant us in making these distinctions which we are reprobating. Surely no one will demur to the canon which teaches, that if one portion of a Psalm refer to Christ every other does—if not, by what chymical criticism are we to disengage the non-Messianic parts. We believe, too, that the really Messianic Psalms have but one sense. The imagery may be borrowed from Jewish scenes, or the personal history of the poet, yet it has only one signification—Christ, and he alone, being the subject. Is it not so in the second Psalm, the forty-fifth, and the hundred and tenth, as well as others? Our theory is simple, and it has the virtual concurrence of the authors whose works are under review.

Mr. Jebb has, in his introduction, some judicious remarks on this and analogous subjects. He proposes to adhere to the literal sense, while, he adds, the allegorical sense will be given its due weight. We know not what he can mean by an allegorical sense. We know what the sense of an allegory is, and we know what is meant by its application. The phrase 'allegorical sense' does, however, puzzle us. Mr. Jebb admits, that in many cases the literal sense is identical with the prophetic sense. But we apprehend that he has not a clear and distinct view of these guiding principles, for in the whole course of his exposition he violates them without remorse. His grasp of hermeneutical principles is not very distinct or comprehensive, so he is easily induced to quit them. His statement of them is by no means clear, and the memory of what he had written seldom troubles him. He has not, indeed, given us a regular commentary, but the majority of the Psalms are briefly descanted on in his dissertations; and in these many unfounded and mystical theories are broached. Speaking of the

titles of some of the Psalms, he says, 'Aijaleth he-shahar means a harp of Aijalon, and Gittith of Gath, as we now speak of a German flute, or Cremona violin.' Alluding to the twenty-third Psalm, he says, 'the valley of the shadow of death announces our Lord's descent into hell, and the rest in the house of God, to the end of his days, his future glorification.' Again, he tells us, that the words 'Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption,' while 'literally fulfilled in our Lord, are yet imperfectly applicable to the prophet that uttered them.' Mr. Jebb forgets in this last illustration the very principle for which he feebly contends, and contradicts the very argument which the apostle founds upon the words; for the apostle affirms, that in no sense can they be applicable to David who 'was laid with his fathers and saw corruption.' Such mischief results from the notion of a double sense, and from overlooking the subjective nature of the Messianic prophecies found in the Psalms.

The views of Mr. Phillips on this, as on other subjects, are clear and distinct. He indicates the path he means to pursue with great plainness and decision; and, generally, he adheres to it with vigorous resolution. He says justly, in speaking of former works on the Psalms, 'that the public has been favoured with numerous translations. Some of them have been accompanied with critical notes on certain passages, made, chiefly, for defending the particular translations which their authors preferred.' This critique is very true; no independent treatise on the Psalms has for a long time issued from the British press. Mr. Phillips describes the basis of sound hermeneutical sense in these words,—'indeed, we may safely infer, that as God has condescended to make a revelation to man, and, in so doing, has employed the language of men, he intended that, in interpreting the language of holy scripture, man should subject it to the same laws, and employ the same means, as those which are in use for establishing the sense of words and sentences in general.' He maintains that the Messianic Psalms are prophetic, not in a secondary but primary sense; that the theory of a double sense only unsettles the text; that it receives no support from the New Testament which assigns a primary or literal Messianic sense to the Psalms; and that it is opposed to all ordinary linguistic properties; for, 'if a document have two distinct senses, it must also be granted that it may have three or four, or as many as a fertile imagination can invent.' This rejection of a mystical sense does not diminish the number of Messianic or prophetic Psalms, or destroy the spiritual character of any of them; for, as Mr. Phillips remarks, after stating the principles of interpretation he has adopted, 'I think I have been enabled

to establish, upon principles of sound exegesis, a spiritual sense in no inconsiderable numbers of the Psalms, which the tendencies of the age in which we live have led many persons to disregard or deny.' Any one reading Mr. Phillips's Commentary, will perceive the truth of his statement,—he has not overcharged it.

As Hengstenberg has not published his prolegomena, we can gather his principles of exposition only from actual exemplification in the course of his Commentary. That they are in general judicious and sound, no reader of Hengstenberg's other writings will be disposed to question. Yet we think that his ideas on some questions are neither so clear nor so orthodox as those expressed by him in the portions of his 'Christology' which comprise the Psalms. Not to speak of alteration in sentiment, as to the disputed text of two very important passages in the sixteenth and twenty-second Psalms, there are indications that Hengstenberg is disposed too greatly to limit the number of the Messianic Psalms. We must wait, however, till we have his own explanations. These he has promised along with his concluding volume.

It may be gathered from our remarks, that we set a high value on the Commentary of Hengstenberg. Few men possess such qualifications from nature, culture, and grace, as he does, for expounding those fine collections of devotional poetry which we term the Psalms. The work certainly excels all ancient commentaries, and stands foremost among those of a more recent date. Yet we do not reckon it perfect. A better exposition might still be made. We yet need one as ardent in piety and erudite in criticism, but one less rugged in its polemics and less imperious in its demands; one more succinct in its statements and luminous in its conclusions; one more thoroughly imbued with 'the testimony of Jesus which is the spirit of prophecy.' We are glad to see the Commentary of Hengstenberg in an English form, and we wish all success to the enterprise of Mr. Clark, the publisher of the Foreign Theological Library. The issue of the first year has been completed within the prescribed period, and comprises these two volumes of 'Hengstenberg on the Psalms,' along with other two volumes—'Hagenbach's History of Doctrines,' and 'Gieseler's Church History.' These four volumes are a handsome return for the annual subscription. Much depends for the future success of the Library not merely on the character of the books selected for translation, but on the competency of the translators. The two gentlemen who have rendered Hengstenberg into English do not certainly stand in the highest rank as translators. The version is sometimes clumsy and occasionally inaccurate. In other places where they have given the general sense, they have missed the peculiar

point and raciness of the original. The printing, too, might be vastly improved. The Hebrew letters are too large; and therefore they cause an ugly interval between the line in which they occur and the lines immediately above and below it. The page has thus an irregular appearance. A fount of Hebrew types smaller in size, besides being more elegant in form than those large, awkward, sprawling characters, would remedy the evil. Otherwise, the volumes are handsome specimens of the Edinburgh press.

- ART. II.—1. *Essays on subjects connected with the Literature, Popular Superstitions, and History of England in the Middle Ages.* By Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., &c. &c. 2 vols. London. 1846.
2. *The Literary History of the Middle Ages : comprehending an Account of the State of Learning, from the close of the Reign of Augustus, to its revival in the Fifteenth Century.* By the Rev. Joseph Berington. London : Bogue. 1846.
3. *Histoire des Révolutions de la Philosophie en France pendant le moyen age jusqu' au seizieme Siècle : précédée d'une Introduction sur la philosophie de l'Antiquité et de celle des premiers temps du Christianisme.* Par le Duc de Caraman. Paris. 1845.

THE continual appearance of new works having reference, direct or indirect, to the state of learning and society in the middle ages, indicates an increasing desire on the part of the public for a deeper and more extensive acquaintance than has been hitherto generally attainable, with that portion of the history of the more advanced European nations. In order to throw light on the state of mediæval literature and manners; and in all respects, to do justice to the subject, more particularly as regards our own country, a competent knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language is doubtless indispensable; and that is what the author of the first of the above works is well known to possess. These essays are, therefore, a valuable acquisition; not only on that account, but also from their intrinsic worth, as setting forth juster and more correct views on many subjects relating to this epoch, than had been done by the generality of preceding writers. As a whole, they relate more especially to the literature and history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, or to subjects which may be traced back to that period, although their influence has been felt down to later times. 'The two volumes,' says Mr. Wright, 'give a tolerably complete, though necessarily slight, picture of the

middle ages taken in one point of view. I have endeavoured to paint the spirit and manners of the age truly: concealing none of what appeared to me to be its beauties or its excellencies on the one hand, nor on the other hiding those great vices in the texture of society, and defects in the mediæval system, which ought to make us look back upon it, with thankfulness, as an age that has long passed away.'

The second volume in our list has already been briefly noticed by us, but we advert to it again, as connected with the subject under review. It is a reprint of the quarto work, published by its author, and has been wisely selected by Mr. Bogue, as worthy to constitute a volume of his European Library. It had become somewhat scarce, and, from its inconvenient size, hardly known to the general reader. The first edition appeared in 1814, and was admitted on all hands to be the best account extant of the important subject to which it refers. The author, Mr. Berington, though an ecclesiastic of the Romish church, was conspicuous in his day for advocating moderate views of her peculiar doctrines. Two excellent appendices are added to the work, one on the learning of the Greeks, from the sixth century, to the fall of the Eastern Empire in 1453; and the other, on the Arabian or Saracenic learning.

Of the third publication prefixed to this article, one volume only has yet appeared; which brings the subject down to the time of Anselm, or the end of the first of the three epochs into which it is proposed to divide the whole work. In adopting these three divisions, the author has departed from the plan of some of the historians of philosophy, such as Tiedemann, Tennemann, De Gerando, and M. Cousin, inasmuch as his is not a general, but a particular history of philosophy. The first period commences with the rise of literature among the Gauls, in proportion as the Christian religion introduces the light of civilization and thought, and as the genius of Charlemagne, by the establishment of schools, seeks to cultivate the understanding, and extinguish barbarism. This epoch terminates with the commencement of *nominalism*, towards the end of the eleventh, or beginning of the twelfth century. The second period begins with Roscelin, the founder of the sect of the *Nominalists*, embraces the disputations of William de Champeaux, Abélard, and other scholastics, and ends with John of Salisbury, whose writings contributed in a remarkable degree, to the downfall of the transitional system of scholastic theology. The third division of the work will comprehend the career of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, and Roger Bacon, the renovator of the natural sciences; and is intended to close with the decadence of the confused

philosophy of the middle ages, which yielded at length to a more rational, and positive system, originating in the great intellectual movement of the Reformation. It was Luther who achieved the demolition of the scholastic edifice.

It is not our intention to dwell at any great length on this branch of our subject, being more solicitous to draw attention to some of the topics relating to our Saxon ancestors, so ably discussed in the work of Mr. Wright. But since the curiosity of the literary public has been of late somewhat enlivened by the publication, by M. Cousin, of the inedited works of Abélard,* we may venture to touch upon the two distinguishing doctrines of scholasticism, as treated by two, at least, of our present authors.

‘There is no field of observation,’ says Mr. Wright, ‘more instructive and interesting than that which is presented to us by the study of man’s intellect; and that equally whether we follow it with wonder, untrammelled amid the glorious dreams of Grecian philosophy, even the errors of which show us not only the infinite difference that distinguishes the workings of mind from the workings of matter, but also how necessary to the former is the pole-star of revealed religion to enable it to steer clear of the dangerous shoals of vain speculation; or whether, with no less degree of admiration, we trace its efforts, in a barbarous age, to burst the shackles of bigotry and ignorance; when released, the very impulse which its struggles had generated, carried it far beyond the appointed goal.’

The scholastic philosophy, which took its rise in the eleventh century, consisted in the application of logic (or dialectics) to theology. The Greek writers had been hitherto known to the people of Western Europe, only through some imperfect Latin versions. A few of the works of Aristotle, and the *Isagoge* (or introduction) of Porphyry, translated by the celebrated Boethius, were long the text books in the schools. A passage in the latter of these works again raised among the scholars of the middle ages the question which had so long divided the ancient philosophers. The subject of Porphyry’s work is the different branches of dialectics;—when speaking of genera and species in a logical point of view, he observes with regard to them, ‘I beg to be excused from saying whether they are things that exist in themselves, and have an objective reality, or whether they be mere abstract notions, existing only in the intelligence; as, also, if they exist in themselves, whether they be corporeal or incorporeal, and whether they exist separate from sensible

* *Ouvrages inédits d’Abélard, pour servir à l’Histoire de la Philosophie scholastique en France.* Edited by Victor Cousin. 4to. Paris. Imprim. royal, 1836.

objects, or in and about them; for this is a most profound matter, and requires another and more extensive examination.' The different solutions of this knotty question had already distinguished the two contending systems of Plato and Aristotle; the former having taught the independent existence of ideas (*i. e.* genera and species), whilst the latter held, to a certain extent, the contrary doctrine. But Boethius had introduced a new term for the ideas, or the genera and species, which he called *universalia* or universals. The Aristotelian philosophy, which thus took the name of *nominalism*, (from its teaching that the *universals* consisted in mere words or names,) had now to contend with a far more powerful antagonist than Platonism, and of course more in accordance with the spirit of the times, namely, Christianity, the doctrine and tendency of which involved the presumptions of idealism in almost all its relations. Here then we find two conflicting systems, each of which had its truths and its errors; 'but of their true principles, with their necessary consequences,' as M. Cousin has justly remarked, 'people were profoundly ignorant; their connexion with the great religious and political questions was not even suspected. It was as yet only two different modes of interpreting a passage of Porphyry; but, as they became better understood, and as they enlarged and developed themselves, these two interpretations were called up to raise memorable discussions, to trouble the church and the state, and in this manner to take their rank in history.'

Roscelin, a native of Britany, who flourished in the latter half of the eleventh century, is considered as the father of nominalism. He denied *in toto* the existence of the universals; and, admitting reality only in the individuals, he taught that every thing which was not in itself individual, was a mere word or name. So with the qualities of bodies; for instance, while admitting the existence of the body coloured, he denied entirely that of the colour. But Roscelin did not confine himself to what had hitherto been allowed as the domain of philosophy; he had the temerity to go further. He ventured to apply his philosophical system to theology, and the doctrines he introduced, though professedly advanced in defence of Christianity, were soon found to strike at its very roots. The dogma of the Trinity was the rock on which Roscelin was wrecked. His doctrines were condemned by a council at Soissons, in 1092 or 3, and he was obliged to quit France; whither, however, he afterwards returned, and lived till after 1121. One extreme begets another. The strong opposition made to the nominalism of Roscelin gave rise to a directly contrary system. Anselm, who had triumphantly attacked his theological opinions, adopted at

once the extreme doctrine that the universals were real, which hence received the denomination of *realism*. But the great philosophical opponent of Roscelin, and the father of scientific realism, was William of Champeaux, who died in the beginning of 1121. Great, however, as was the fame of this teacher of the new doctrine among his contemporaries, none of his various philosophical works seem to be preserved to the present day; and it is only from the newly edited works of Abelard, that we are enabled to learn the exact form of the system which he taught.

The characteristic merits of the two schools, as represented respectively, at the beginning of the twelfth century, by Roscelin and Anselm, are so ably and briefly summed up by M. Cousin, that we extract the following passages as cited by Mr. Wright :—

‘The school of the realists admits the reality of the universals, that is to say, of species and genera, of the human race (*genre humain*) for instance; and this example, which is traced up to Aristotle, once put in circulation by Boethius, and accepted by St. Anselm, as very probably it was by Roscelin, became the example on which the two parties give each other the rendezvous. Within these limits the realist school is right; but it overleaps these limits, and, confounding with the true universals,—with the true genera—pure abstractions, such as colour separated from the body coloured, it falls into the celebrated vice of realising abstractions. On another side, nominalism shows the illusion of abstractions realised, and gives the secret of it; this secret is the power of language, which realizes, in some sort the conceptions of the mind by clothing them in a form at which we afterwards stop, as though it had an intrinsic reality. Nominalism is, therefore, right in its turn, and it is useful in pointing out the danger of realised abstractions, and in calling attention to the wonders of language; *but it is wrong, and it is itself profoundly dangerous, when it reduces essential attributes to accidental qualities, and confounds with conceptions that are purely verbal, existences, that are immaterial indeed, but real; which, without doubt, are conceptions in man's thought, and words in his language, but which are independent of the conceptions which man forms of them, and of the words with which he clothes them*; existences, without which the conceptions which we form of them to ourselves, and every general conception, and, consequently, language itself, would be impossible; existence, in fact, the reality of which being destroyed, carries with it that of all our sciences, with their classifications, and reduces them to the footing of conventional arrangements devoid of truth, and unworthy to occupy, for a moment, the attention of a serious man. To see everywhere nothing but abstract conceptions borrowed from sensible data and realized by words, is the tendency of nominalism, and of the school of which it is the extreme but faithful expression, namely, the empiric school;

and to realise abstractions is the tendency of the opposite school, and the fatal precipice to which the genius of idealism pushes it. Such were the two schools represented, at the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, by Roscelin and St. Anselm.'—Introduct. p. cviii.

Nominalism, though discomfited in Roscelin, was resuscitated in Abelard, and became, in a modified form, the assailant in its turn. Peter Abelard was born at Palais, near Nantes, in the year 1079. This extraordinary man, extraordinary both for his talents and his misfortunes, 'is thought by some,' says Mr. Berington, 'to have been first a hearer of Roscelin:'—we have now his own authority, in the works brought to light by M. Cousin, to prove that he had first studied under that celebrated teacher and founder of the *Nominalists*, while the latter was living in obscurity in Brittany. Hence, strongly imbued with the peculiar tenets of his master, he repaired to Paris when twenty years old, and placed himself under William of Champeaux, the head of the opposite school. After making himself thoroughly acquainted with the doctrines there expounded, he began to attack them with unceasing perseverance, and compelled William to modify in some measure his own opinions. But this partial change of sentiment did not satisfy Abelard; for, by the tracts lately edited by M. Cousin, it is proved, that he attacked both theories of the realist doctor with equal vehemence, and likewise opposed, in the same manner, the schools of his master Roscelin. Without reproducing here the arguments he employed against them, (which are first brought to light by the publication just alluded to,) we may proceed to remark that as a disputant, Abelard was, in fact generally right against all the systems he attacked, because, each system contained something of wrong to fall before his assaults. 'The tactics of the combatants, in the war of opinions which perpetuated and gave life to the scholastic philosophy, were always the same; each party attacked the weak parts of his adversary, the possession of which gave him the temporary victory, until his own weak parts were attacked and carried by the same, or by another opponent. Such was the case with Abelard.' On the whole, a decided victory over realism was the result: the reputation of Abelard soon became established, and his school crowded by students. However, the system, which Abelard erected on the defeat of the two others, appears to have been nothing more than nominalism a little disguised. According to Mr. Wright, who follows M. Cousin in his exposition:—Abelard, in opposing realism and nominalism, held that the universals were neither things nor words; individuals only exist, and they are in themselves neither genus nor species; but they have cer-

tain resemblances which the mind can perceive; and their resemblances, considered alone, with abstraction of differences, form classes more or less comprehensive, which are called species and genera. These do not exist of themselves, yet they are something more than words—they are *conceptions* of the mind. Such was the doctrine of Abelard, which has hence received the name of *conceptualism*.

He is considered by M. Cousin, as being, in regard to theology, what he is in philosophy, neither altogether orthodox, nor entirely heretical; but much nearer to heresy than to orthodoxy. What effect his theory of *conceptualism* had upon the solution of most of the theological questions stated by him in the celebrated treatise of *Sic et Non*, there is no evidence to prove; all that is known is, that it drew upon him the indignation of the church, as it was calculated to do. He fell upon the same rock as his predecessor. The fate of his early master, Roscelin, awaited him. He was thrown upon the same dilemma. ‘In the philosophy of Abelard, God becomes a simple unity; and the Trinity, as far as we can understand him, seems to be reduced to something like one of his *conceptions*.’

As Roscelin had his Anselm, so Abelard had his St. Bernard. He was summoned before councils, and his life became a scene of trouble and calamity. His school at length declined; but the contest between nominalism and realism, under different phases, and modifications, has continued even to the present day.

Of the various other subjects treated by Mr. Wright, some have appeared to us particularly interesting and instructive; none more so, perhaps, than his Essays on Mediæval Poetry, on proverbs and popular sayings, on the adventures of certain Saxon heroes, such as Hereward and Fulke, Fitz Warine, and on old English political songs. The deep general knowledge he exhibits of the theme on which he writes, his evident cautiousness as to the authenticity of the sources from which he collects his information, and his intimate acquaintance with the dialects of the middle ages, conspire to render him a guide on these subjects, and entitled to great confidence.

It is worthy of remark, that though Anglo-Saxon literature has been studied to a much greater extent of late years than at any previous period, so that many of its productions are now being made accessible to the general reader by means of literal versions in English, glossaries, and annotations, yet it did not escape public attention at the time of the Reformation. It is now ascertained that the Saxons did not hold many of the most objectionable doctrines which afterwards distinguished the Romish church, and which were opposed by the reformers.

The Saxons had, fortunately, translated the scriptures into their own tongue, and hence an edition of the Saxon gospels, with an English version, was printed in 1571, by the celebrated John Foxe, who had already published some extracts from Ælfric, and the whole of the homilies against transubstantiation. Other treatises of Ælfric afterwards saw the light, their genuineness having been attested by several English prelates, among whom was Archbishop Parker, the great patron of Saxon literature.

The prose writings of the Anglo-Saxons are numerous, frequently abounding in noble sentiments and acute observations, though oftentimes not very interesting. Foremost among them, both for elegance and purity of language, stand the works of Alfred, which consist principally of translations; but showing by his own observations, not sparingly interposed, how his great and noble mind improved every thing to which he put his hand.

Of Anglo-Saxon poetry, Mr. Wright observes that—

‘Its characteristics may be described in a few words—they are loftiness of expression, exuberance of metaphor, intricacy of construction, and a diction differing entirely from that of prose,—precisely the characteristics of the poetry of a people whose mind is naturally poetical, but which has not arrived at a state of cultivation and refinement. To feel this poetry, it is necessary that we should understand well the language, and that we should also be acquainted with the character of the people. The form of Saxon poetry is alliteration—not rhyme; instead of two lines always rhyming together, they are joined by the circumstance of the first containing two words commencing with the same letter, and the second having its first word, on which stress is laid in the pronunciation, also beginning with the same letter. This is the strict rule of alliteration. As far as we are able to judge, the Saxons did not measure their verse by feet; the only rule we can discover seems to be that, in the common kind of verse, there must be two raisings and two fallings of the voice in each line,—so that it would appear that a verse ought never to consist of less than four syllables.’

Mr. Wright further remarks—what is probably true as regards many other nations in their primitive state—that the Saxon bards appear to have possessed most of inspiration while their countrymen retained their paganism. Hence two periods of their poetry may be distinctly traced,—a period when it was full of freedom, and originality, and genius; and a later time when the poets were imitators, making free use of the thoughts and expressions of their predecessors.

Of the former of these periods, there is remaining but one complete monument—the adventures of *Beowulf the Great*;

which has been recently edited by Mr. Kemble, together with a glossary, a literal translation of the poem, and a few philological notes. There are many reasons for believing that this poem was composed at a very remote period,—that it was brought here by the first Anglo-Saxon settlers. It is described as a magnificent and accurate picture of life in the heroic ages. The plot is simple; the story is made up of a few striking incidents, gravely traced, and casting deep and broad shadows; a tale of open, single-handed warfare, where love is never introduced as a motive of action, or stratagem as an instrument. The beauty and interest of the poem are not in the plot, but in the accessories, and in the strong and natural pictures of the manners and feelings of the persons introduced—delineations which strikingly prove the intimate acquaintance of the bard who drew them with the state of society he describes.

Mr. Wright mentions a scriptural poem of the Anglo-Saxons—the story of the Creation—as deserving attention, not only for its own great beauty, but as still more interesting from its singular correspondence, sometimes even in expression, with the *Paradise Lost* of Milton. Lucifer ‘one of the most favoured angels of heaven,’ as he appears in this poem, presents indeed a striking coincidence of character with the Lucifer of Milton: but it is, perhaps, needless to dwell on this point here, inasmuch as Mr. Thorpe has given an edition of the poem, (which is attributed to Cœdmon,) accompanied with a good English translation.

Our Essayist next presents us with a long and learned, but entertaining article on Anglo-Norman poetry. We will cite one or two passages on the Norman language and literature, and pass on:—

‘Early in the fourteenth century, the influence of the Norman tongue in England began to lose ground fast; its best, or, at least, its most popular literary productions were translated into English; the use of the language itself was by degrees restricted to the courts of law, and at last rejected even from them; and the English language threw away more and more its adventitious words, and became more native in its character, till that character was fixed by the host of luminaries who gave to the seventeenth century so brilliant a place in our literary annals.’—vol. i. p. 32.

Again:—

‘If the Normans ever had a literature of northern origin peculiar to themselves, it seems to have been nearly forgotten before their entrance into England, where their literary productions were formed upon the models presented to them by the language which they had then adopted in place of their own. Their first romances were those

of Charlemagne and Arthur. The class of poetry, however, which was first popular among the Normans in England, consisted chiefly of chronicles and saints' legends. Our libraries contain many early Anglo-Norman metrical lives of the saints, which, though the subject is not very inviting, are often valuable to the philologist for their language; and are sometimes extremely curious in affording us not only incidents which illustrate the manners and modes of thinking of our forefathers of the twelfth century, but also historical information.'—vol. i. p. 34.

The distinguishing characteristics of a people may often be discovered in the nature and spirit of its proverbs and popular sayings. The results of civilisation and education have, indeed, a tendency to obliterate the stronger marks of national character; nevertheless, it cannot be denied that England still abounds in proverbs and popular superstitions. Not a few of these may have been as familiar to our Saxon forefathers, who came hither under the banners of Hengist and Horsa, in the fifth century, as they are to us of the nineteenth. Some, there is no doubt, are of comparatively modern origin, and others have arisen from circumstances and ideas of a later growth. In France and Germany several large collections of proverbs have been published, but a complete history of English popular sayings, both in prose and verse, is still a *desideratum*. Such a work would require extensive reading and deep research; but the materials are plentiful, for, irrespective of the allusions to them in our old writers, there exist in printed books and manuscripts partial collections of popular proverbs at different periods. A valuable collection of English proverbs of the sixteenth century is found in a rhyming treatise by John Heywood, printed in black letter, quarto, in 1547.

Mr. Wright alludes, though doubtingly, to the very singular and ingenious theory of Mr. Bellender Ker, as to the origin not only of our proverbs, but of our nursery rhymes; the latter being accounted for as follows. About the time when Charlemagne was oppressing the Saxons on the continent, and when the Anglo-Saxons held possession of this island, it was a sad time for the poor farmers and labourers, oppressed, as they were, by a foreign and onerous church-sway, bringing with it a ministry to which a goaded people imputed fraud and vexation. The outcries of the oppressed were loud and vigorous; as were the scorn and insult heaped upon them by their oppressors. The monks and priests succeeded always in keeping the power in their own hands. The insulted peasantry sought some consolation in making lampoons on their tormentors in the shape of songs, in which they freely dealt forth their complaints and imprecations. These were at first despised by the other party, but

at length they became so numerous and violent, that it was found necessary to adopt some decisive measures. 'The remedy,' says Mr. Ker, 'was ingenious, and worthy of the astuteness of friars. An unparalleled and constant corruption of the dialect in which they were composed, was taken advantage of, and the invective of the lampoon was gradually undermined by the introduction of a harmless, unmeaning medley, of a precisely similar sound and metre, in the latest forms of the altered dialect; till in time the original import was forgotten, and its venom and familiar use replaced by the present *nursery rhymes*.' The success of the scheme has been complete, and the ingenuity and dexterity employed, conspicuous. Mr. Ker adduces, in proof of his theory, some dozen examples of these singular compositions, all which breathe equal vengeance against the parson and the tithe-collector. For one, we may imagine a select vestry in the habit, in those days, of sitting in committee at a village ale house, where the shouts of satisfaction at every new rate imposed, rendered, probably, still more vociferous by copious potations of brown stout, would be heard, as we can easily fancy, by the poor labourer, obliged to put up with an inferior beverage, and 'singing loudly and ferociously these homely rhymes, smothering his indignation for the present, in threats of future retribution. Thus, then,' says Mr. Wright, 'or something in this manner, he sang, in home-spun ballad rhyme:—

' Hear their insolent clamour!
 The committee, what axes,
 From us church-ridden elves,
 Nought but rates and new taxes.
 There they sit in the tap-room,
 Nor once think of compassion:
 We must pummel their noddles
 If they grind in this fashion.
 Let us stop their long speeches,
 Their high vaunting words;
 And when they're gone to pot
 We shall all live like lords.'

'In the 'outlandish' tongue, indeed, which people spoke in those days, the song ran thus:—

' Guise guise gae'n daer!
 Wcêr schell—hey waene daer
 Op stuyrs aendoen stuyrs;
 End in mélyd is schem baer.
 Dere ei! met een ouwel-man!
 D'aet, woed n'aet, sie ee is Par-heers.
 Hye tuck heim by die left leyghe
 End seer ruwe hem due aen stuyrs.'—p. 259.

This song the cunning and politic monks exchanged for the following, which, as our readers will observe, might be passed upon a dull and illiterate peasantry for the original, whose meaning and point are entirely destroyed :—

‘ Goosy goosy gander !
Where shall I wander ?
Up stairs, and down stairs,
And in my lady’s chamber ;
There I met an old man
That would not say his prayers :
I took him by the left leg,
And threw him down stairs.’—Vol. i. p. 155.

Mr. Wright’s admirable essay on the Anglo-Latin poets of the twelfth century, as well as many others, both in the first and second volume, we are compelled to pass by, from want of space, till we arrive at that on ‘ Old English Political Songs.’ This is, indeed, no new theme. Our early English poetry has formed a prominent subject of research and study to several antiquarian writers and editors, within the last half century. Warton, Percy, Ritson, and some others, have profitably laboured in the same field. It is, however, within the last twenty years that this class of literary antiquities has progressed more rapidly with us, and may be said to stand on a much better footing than heretofore ; inasmuch as more accurate philological notions have been brought to the study of our language in its earlier and middle stages.

Between the disappearance of the pure Anglo-Saxon poetry, and the commencement of the early English, there were only two poems of any magnitude, and one or two shorter pieces, written in a language commonly termed, Semi-Saxon. The English language regained its position of supremacy after the great baronial struggle under Simon de Montfort ; and from this period to the war of the Roses, it has been sometimes denominated Middle-English. ‘ During the latter part of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, English poetry appears with the forms and much of the spirit of the French and Anglo-Norman poetry, of which it was taking the place.’ In the reign of Edward III., appeared the popular political allegory of the ‘ Visions of Piers Ploughman.’ And immediately after this work arose Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of modern English poetry, who was succeeded by an age of more than ordinary intellectual darkness. Meanwhile, the greatest share of poetic spirit appeared in the popular songs and ballads. ‘ We have much good lyric poetry,’ says Mr. Wright, ‘ in the fourteenth century, and a few charming specimens even in the fifteenth. The political songs partake largely of this character, and they always present at least that vivacity which

is the necessary consequence of popular excitement.' During the reign of the first three Edwards, indeed, down to the time of Chaucer, poetry seems to have been much cultivated. And from this time forward may be collected a regular series of poetical attacks on the vices of the Romish clergy, till the Reformation, and a few poetical pieces by the monks, in their own defence. In the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, very little political poetry, of any interest, appeared. The manners of society were undergoing a great change; and the accession of James witnessed the decline of what is so expressively termed the 'old English hospitality'—a circumstance not unfrequently alluded to in the popular poetry of the day. The reign of the first Charles presents a continuous scene of enthusiastic conflict, defying all restraint—and hence a new spirit was infused into poetry; and in place of a quaint, stiff, constrained manner, we have all at once a style 'whose characteristic is an extraordinary flow of wit, combined with ease, and readiness of expression.'

ART. III.—1. *The Code of Prisons; or, a Collection of Laws and Regulations for French Prisons, and Houses of Correction, from 1670 to 1845.* By M. Moreau Christophe, Inspector General of the First Class of Prisons in France. Paris, 8vo. 1845.

2. *Reports upon the Agricultural Colony of Mettray, the first Institution in France without Walls, for Young Criminals.* Paris, 8vo. 1839—1846.

3. *Bill laid before the French Chamber of Peers, with the Comments of the Minister of the Interior.* Paris, 25th January, 1847.

4. *Circular of the Minister of the Interior to the Eighty-six Prefects, or Lords Lieutenant of France, concerning Young Criminals.* Paris, 17th February, 1847.

5. *Reports of the French Society for the Department of the Seine for Apprenticing Young Criminals.* Paris, 8vo. 1835—1847.

6. *Address of the French Roman Catholic Society for apprenticing Young Female Criminals.* Paris, 8vo. 1847.

7. *Reports of the French Protestant Societies for Reforming and Apprenticing Young Criminals of both Sexes.* Paris, 8vo. 1844—1847.

8. *Report upon Five of the Institutions for Young Criminals in France.* By the Marquis de Montpezat. Blois, 8vo. 1846.

UNLESS the state of society in France, in regard to moral and physical influences upon criminals of the younger classes, differs from that which prevails in the British Islands to a degree not yet marked by the acutest observers, these French records of

fifteen years' experience of new methods of penitentiary discipline, and of disposing of the young criminals reformed by that discipline, merit our very serious attention. In fact, the French have made what really amounts to a discovery in the management of young criminals of both sexes. It is even so; for, although it is unquestionable that important portions of their plan have been anticipated in this country and elsewhere, nevertheless the system, complete in all its parts, as established among our neighbours across the channel, is so new, as to be fairly entitled to the designation of a GREAT SOCIAL DISCOVERY.

It consists of two branches; the one, that young criminals may be reformed *without being shut up within prison walls*; the other, that a dense European community is capable of receiving, as apprentices or labourers, with advantage to every body, a great number of young criminals so reformed, who, until now, were largely destined to a career of fresh delinquency at home, or to become the dangerous or despised members of convict colonization. The former of these two branches of penitentiary improvement is carried out in the institution of *Mettray*, recently selected by ministers for immediate imitation, and in other similar institutions; the latter is pursued with great success by the united efforts of the French government and of those various private societies, called paternal or patronage societies. In the report of the oldest of these private societies (of August last), it is mentioned that our secretary of state for the home department had applied for a complete account of its proceedings, in order to the adoption of the plan in England. That purpose is not persevered in. In Sir George Grey's recent letter, announcing the determination to form a *Mettray* for our young criminals, he declares that, when reformed, they are still to be furnished with facilities to emigrate. He does not even mention the new system of providing for them at home, so successfully tried on a large scale in France, Austria, Italy, and Switzerland, as well as in the United States of America.

Although *Mettray* is not the most valuable of these new French institutions, its celebrity calls for a brief account of it. It was founded in 1839. It is supported by private subscriptions, by grants of money from the government, and by the profits made from the labour of the young inmates. It began with ten boys in 1839; in 1840, it had one hundred and two; and three hundred and forty-eight in 1845; after a gradual increase in the four intermediate years. It has now, in 1847, more than four hundred. The objects of this institution are, to exercise a benevolent superintendence over children acquitted by the courts of justice on the ground of *their tender age* having, in the terms of the law, caused them to act without due conside-

ration; to provide an agricultural colony in France for them when set free provisionally; to furnish them there with religious and elementary instruction; and after teaching them a trade, or making them skilful agricultural labourers, *to find masters for them as apprentices or paid servants*. Lastly, the institution continues to watch over them and their masters during three years after they have left it.

From the foundation of Mettray it has had six hundred and sixty-nine boys, of whom one hundred and forty-four were natural children, and ninety children of first marriages, where the father or mother was married a second time. Of one hundred and fifty-one, the fathers or mothers have been in prison. Of the whole six hundred and sixty-nine, three hundred and fifty were unable to read when received; and these have all been taught to read, whilst three hundred and four of them have also learned to write and to cypher. In May, 1846, there were four hundred and twelve boys in the institution, of whom two hundred and seventy-six were labourers on the farm, thirty-one were in the garden, forty in the blacksmith's and wheelwright's shop, learning various branches of iron work; twelve were shoemakers; twelve carpenters; eighteen tailors; fourteen makers of wooden shoes; six masons; and three sailmakers. These last are employed in a trade very necessary at Mettray. All the boys sleep in *hammocks* made there; and many of them belong to the sea-coast of Brittany. Some of the latter have been in the coasting service; and 'their love for a sea life cannot be got over,' says the report. An old sailor, a petty officer, is employed to teach them sailmaking and navigation.

The result of this wise effort to improve the condition of the most unfortunate class in civilized society may be stated in a few words; and will precede, conveniently, a short description of the means by which this result has been produced.

Of the six hundred and sixty-nine boys received at Mettray, one hundred and ninety-seven have been sent back, well trained, into the bosom of society. Most of them have gone to their friends; twenty-four have gone into the army; fifteen into the navy.

Of the one hundred and ninety-seven so disposed of, one hundred and seventy-three 'have never committed a fault;' eight have behaved 'tolerably well;' four have been lost sight of; and twelve have been brought to justice again.

The value of this statement may be inferred from the well-established fact of the public orphan school at Wurtemberg, with one thousand eight hundred children, producing twenty-five per cent. who turn out ill, whilst Mettray gives only six per cent.

The plan pursued at Mettray, which has had this great success, is that of a large farm, well cultivated, chiefly by the hands of the boys, under good superintendence, and under skilful heads of all the different branches of business.

After a small beginning upon twenty-four acres of land, the able and zealous founders of the Mettray colony rented four hundred and six acres of land of a middling quality for £462. a-year, in addition to the original establishment, where the buildings were placed; and the first great difficulty as to capital, was arranged by the liberality of M. Gouin, the banker, who placed a credit of £2,400. on his books in favour of the benevolent undertaking. This sum provided cattle and other stock of all sorts for the farms, and by vigorous exertions to improve the soil, the produce soon met the expenses, and gave a handsome return upon the agricultural operations.

The discipline of Mettray is severe to the ill-conducted; but the rewards for good behaviour are liberal.

In a particular case of theft in the school, the culprit was taken by the constables openly, just as would have happened if a common labourer on a farm had stolen anything. He was then carried to the police court at Tours, and his sentence was afterwards read to all the assembled boys of the institution. The solemnity of the proceeding was believed to have had a salutary effect.

Religious instruction is carefully attended to. But, says the report, it is studiously endeavoured to make the boys, as much as possible, conscientiously free agents, in all that concerns their religious observances.

It is chiefly sought to make them good farm labourers, without any pretensions to superior intelligence. They are brought up as is fitting for young men who have only the work of their hands to depend upon. Those who are taught trades are selected according to their disposition for them. The management of domestic and farm animals is taught with the greatest care.

The usual healthiness of the boys may be judged of from a few figures. In 1840, there were two deaths in one hundred and two; in 1841, five in one hundred and thirteen; in 1842, four in one hundred and sixty; in 1843, four in one hundred and eighty-seven; in 1844, two in two hundred and eighty-nine; and in 1845, four in three hundred and forty-five:—and most of the twenty-one who died in these six years had incurable complaints on arrival, fifteen of them dying within the first year afterwards.

It is a pleasing proof of the good character of the institu-

tion, that one of its boys who has turned out well, is called, affectionately, in the regiment in which he serves, *the little Mettray*. Another, who is a servant to a judge at Nantes, is reported of with proper consideration by his master, for the good action of contributing handsomely from his wages to the support of a sick father. Others of the young colonists who have settled happily, have given pleasing proofs of their attachment to the school to which they owe so much, by bringing their young wives to visit it. Their little capital to set up as house-keepers is provided out of the rewards given to them for their labour and good conduct, and saved for them.

The money required for this institution, for four hundred boys of the most unpromising class, was a little short of £10,000. for the year 1845.

The government provided £6,400. of this sum; the profits of the farm and workshops £1,800.; the sale of books and pictures of Mettray to visitors etc. £65.; subscriptions of the Royal Family £104.; and miscellaneous subscriptions, the rest, £1,631.

The great expense of Mettray is an objection which is understood not to prevail at the institutions founded by the French government upon its model.

Mettray is limited to the Roman Catholics. The French Protestants, whose young criminals amount to about one hundred, have lately founded, with success, a similar institution near Bordeaux.

The whole number of young criminals of both sexes in France is three thousand six hundred, the great portion of whom are still *within the walls* of houses of correction of an improved character; and exclusively appropriated to young people. This number is an augmentation of more than thirty per cent. in four years. But the French minister takes a consolatory view of this fact which many have looked upon with much alarm. The increase is caused, says he, in his circular of February last, by the judges, who now send more culprits than formerly to prisons, because the prisons have ceased to be places of corruption.

The distribution of the young culprits of all classes in France, including those placed out in service, is not accurately known.

In the bill of January last for a new law upon prisons, no provision is made for the multiplication of Mettrays, or institutions for young criminals without prison walls. But upon the second branch of the subject, the *placing of young criminals in apprenticeship, or service under the inspection of paternal, or patronage societies*, that bill, and the comment of the French

minister, together with his circular of January last, contain most important matter. The bill authorises the formation of such societies in every hundred in France; (Art. 2.) and the measure is not confined to young culprits. It is part of a great reform of the penitentiary system of France; and the minister, in his comment on the bill, speaks with confidence of this reform guaranteeing the public against all hazards in the completion of no less a work than the abolition of the *Bagnes*; and the ultimate restoration of a large portion of thirty thousand reformed convicts to society at large.

The bill is the more remarkable, as it is introduced into the French legislature at the very same time at which our ministers announce their intention to *abolish transportation*, and reform the prisons at home.

But, whilst Sir George Grey proposes his bold measures concurrently with those of the French minister, he lays aside, entirely, the particular branch of the new system, upon which the French minister relies as its complement and crown.

That branch, *as applied to young criminals*, was established officially in 1832 by M. D'Argout, whose circular on the subject was the first of a series of papers closing with the circular of M. Duchâtel, issued in February last.

More interesting and important documents cannot be found than those which have thus been promulgated by the French government, during the last fifteen years.

The last report of the Paternal, or Patronage, Society of the Seine puts the great merits of this new system for disposing of young criminals, after their reform, in a strong point of view, by a few figures.

'Before the formal foundation of this system in 1832, such criminals, after their discharge from prison, were regularly brought before courts of justice for fresh offences at the rate of seventy-five per cent.; the new system made a gradual change for the better. By simply placing the culprits in situations where proper attention was given to their conduct, the number of fresh convictions was reduced by degrees to nineteen, then to seventeen and a half, and at length to fourteen and three-quarters per cent. But when to this system of disposing of them in good houses there was added in 1841 an improved discipline before they were so placed out, the proportion of fresh criminals among them fell in 1842 and 1843 to eight and nine per cent; in 1844, to seven and a quarter; and in 1845, to seven and a less fraction per cent.'

Here is a great triumph indeed for the philanthropist; and the patient execution of the system which has produced such a result does great honour to the eminent persons in France who have shared in the work. In it the government has admirably

seconded private efforts. The Protestants have zealously followed the Roman Catholics, who took the lead; and societies of ladies have been formed of late for the young female criminals, as successfully as those which take care of the boys. The system extends to the children whom unfortunate circumstances must soon expose to crime, as well as to actual criminals; and as has been remarked, its principle is capable of reaching even the tens of thousands of criminals of all ages who now fill the Bagnes and the prisons in France. The bill, quoted above, for the general reform of all the French prisons, really aims at applying this wise and humane system with prudence to the whole mass of those tens of thousands.

It is not to be presumed lightly, that our ministers are unaware of all the bearings of this *successful* paternal system of houses instead of prisons for young criminals. But certain it is that very good things are often overlooked. The British government—and the British people, too—have so long been used to the blunder of thinking that they get rid of crime at home by transporting the criminal, that when Sir George Grey, after stating ‘the difficulty as to what to do with the young *reformed* culprits,’ added, that they were still to be made **EMIGRANTS** of, the probability is, that the better experience of the French was substantially unknown to him. Lord Brougham is a frequent visitor in Paris; yet he, too, in giving a remarkably clear account of *Mettray*, left out its most brilliant result—the fact of its having already, in five years, out of six hundred and sixty-nine boys, of whom four hundred and twelve were still there, sent one hundred and ninety-seven into society again, with the satisfaction of being able to say of them—One hundred and seventy-three have not committed a fault; eight have behaved tolerably well; four are lost sight of; twelve only have committed fresh crimes. This is unparalleled in the history of fallen man.

Our Parkhurst is an admirable penitentiary institution, but it is a *prison*; whilst the Mettrays of France have *no walls*. It is also, as now destined, a school for colonists; whilst the Mettrays prepare their inmates for homes *in France*.

The distinctions are striking; and until the French system be better understood by our ministers, by parliament, and by the public, there is no hope of settling the more important question, whether what is so good within ten leagues of Dover is not applicable to England, Ireland, and Scotland—whether, in the bosom of British society, there cannot be found a large mass of families, and intelligent, kindly people, ready to receive, and capable of watching over with advantage, reformed and well-behaved criminals. This is a subject that cannot be neglected without deep disgrace to us as members of a civilized community;

as a means to facilitate the abandonment of the *national crime*, TRANSPORTATION, it will be found to be of the greatest importance; and proper inquiry will shew that British experience is not wanting in favour of a system so eminent among our neighbours.

ART. IV. — 1. *Gerald; a Dramatic Poem: and other Poems.* By J. Westland Marston, author of 'the Patrician's Daughter,' a Tragedy. London: C. Mitchell.

2. *The Patrician's Daughter.* A Tragedy, in Five Acts (as represented at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane). Fifth Edition. By J. Westland Marston. Author of 'Gerald,' a Dramatic Poem, and other Poems. Fourth Edition, enlarged and adapted for representation. London: C. Mitchell.

3. *Borough Politics.* A Comic Drama, in two acts, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket. Correctly printed from the Prompter's copy. London: Webster and Co.

THE author of these works is one of the most remarkable of the many writers who have in the last ten years devoted themselves to the production of dramatic poems. *Gerald* is a dramatic poem, not intended for the stage. The 'Patrician's Daughter' was acted for a sufficient number of nights to be called decidedly successful; and 'Borough Politics' is a comic drama, in two acts, which was performed with applause frequently at the Haymarket Theatre last season. A literary journal cannot well overlook a feature of the age so remarkable as the enthusiasm for dramatic literature. Few theatres pay their expenses, and scarcely any of their poets earn the wages of merchant's clerks, yet the enthusiasm for writing dramas has raged during the last ten years, and filled our shelves with many productions acted, unacted, and unactable. This enthusiasm was kindled by a vision, a dream of a Victorian dramatic era, as there had been an Elizabethan dramatic era. The few managers who pay their writers, are said to be very haughty and very capricious. Some managers, the rumour goes, are insolent, lubricious, slippery, and do not pay. Actors are creatures of precedent, who will not act parts which are not full of 'situations,' 'points,' and 'hits,' adapted to their peculiarities. The parts must be written for them, or they will not appear in them. The instant the negotiations with the manager come to a successful close, the criticisms of the green room fasten themselves like moths on the piece, to the destruction of its prettiest similes and most precious descriptions. The agonized and remonstrating author cries in vain, 'It is like cutting out the very flesh, sir.' The finest.

gems, the sweetest plums of the composition are left out. The author describes the operation by the dentist-like phrase 'extracted,' but the manager uses the euphous circumlocution, 'omitted in the representation.' Effects and situations are the chief things prized and sought in the green room, and the kind in request are neither the newest nor the best, but those least out of the common way. To add to the mortifications of the dramatic author, his histrionic critics are not good judges of the public taste. They admire chiefly the parts and words which seem likely to enable them to display themselves. Distinguished actors have been known to expect fresh honours in their profession from the recitation of sublimities which elicited gusts of hisses, and of pathetic passages which have called forth bursts of merriment—tears of woe on the stage, tears of mirth in the pit. On the first night the friends of the author fill the dress circles, having admission by gratis orders, and being ready to act the part of *clacquers*. Every box, that there may be acting everywhere, contains a performer of applause. His entertainment costs him nothing, and he is determined to do a good-natured thing. If a few hisses of disapprobation arise, friendly hands split their white kid gloves in clapping it down, and all goes merrily like the fiddles in the orchestra. But all will not do. The doomsman is in the pit. Sibilant, sarcastic, many-headed, the monster rears his horrid front in the shape of travesties, waggeries, shouts, hisses, noises, bestial and infernal. The *clacquers* cannot lay the spectre. Before the vision of the author the lights grow dim, and the gay scene blackens. Perhaps he escapes the punishment of Thomson the poet, who when he made his hero exclaim, 'O Sophonisba! Sophonisba, O,' heard a wag in the pit travestie the line into, 'O Jamie Thomson! Jamie Thomson! O!' Most probably the author escapes downright failure, and his piece is not hissed off. It is only in gross cases that the newspapers assail the manager for insulting the public with a piece. Generally the fact of the failure is conveyed to the author in the courteous condolences of acquaintance who dislike him, and whose sneers are wrapt up in compliments. The kindness of newspaper criticism, and the tact of managers, avoid the horrors of conspicuous failures. Dreadful, indeed, must the solitary hours of the dramatist be in the first night of his failure, conscious, as he is, of having stood before the huge, jeering, dastardly, deadly public, convicted of aspiration, and failure. Probably the doom does not come in its most dreadful shape. The friendly *clacquers* assert their own efficiency. Sometimes over a sumptuous or a savoury supper, they proclaim their friend the greatest dramatist since Shakspeare, and hail the hope of the Victorian era. From a fevered

sleep he wakens to read the morning newspapers. Some of the criticisms, done by known and responsible writers, are intelligent and just. Others, the contributions of any chance reporter, only surpass the stupidity of their censure by the vileness of their praise. On the second night there are few friends of the author in the theatre, and by the fifth night the curtains are up, and the boxes are empty. But the shore at Hastings, or the pier at Brighton, braces the nerves of the unsuccessful author. On his return to town, a decidedly successful author, whose piece ran twelve nights, sily assumes a tone of superiority over him, whose drama was withdrawn on the fifth. But they have one heart, the hope, for a bright and comfortable Victorian era of the drama, about to break and dawn upon their dark and cloudy day. Wit against critics, and managers, and audiences, enlivens their talk, and the compensation for all their ills is their beautiful dream. But their ills are not over, for the bills of printers and publishers follow them. Dramatic authors must pay 'gentlemen's prices.' The sum hoped for from the manager is not forthcoming, and the expenses of the publication are treble the original calculations. The public, who would not see, will not buy the play. The critics do not know the author, and do not read the play, discussing as some do a 'Quarterly Review' in an hour, a magazine in a quarter of an hour, and a drama in ten minutes. Disinterestedness, fortitude, perseverance, forbearance, are all needed by the man who takes up his pen to write dramas, to produce a Victorian era against hissing pits, carping green rooms, tyrannical managers, incompetent critics, and a public mad for Mammon.

The truth is, the Victorian era is most unfavourable to dramatic literature. Writers of dramas have now a-days more hindrances and fewer helps than in the seventeenth century. The Elizabethan age was favourable to the production of the cluster of writers of whom William Shakspeare was the chief flower. Undoubtedly, the puritan spirit does not, in these days, make the city authorities of London try to put down play houses. But this fact cuts both ways. The frequenters of the play are not, as of old, stimulated by the opposition of puritanism. The passion for the drama is not stirred by hostility into enthusiasm. Dramatic inclinations find indifference more formidable than opposition. Players and dramatists do not hold their old relations to the aristocracy. Social equality is now a thing conceded to all gentlemen, although the idea would have been inconceivable to Burbage or Shakspeare. 'Sheridan, make room for Mathews between us,' cried George the Fourth, when Prince of Wales, at a banquet. Actors and authors have now an aristocratic, in addition to a dramatic position. Shakspeare lived with

his brother players, Hemmings and Condell. Modern dramatists, when young, hover and hesitate between the bar and the drama; and when old, finesse for places at the corners of the tables of the leaders of fashion. The dramatists of the Elizabethan age sought greatness—where alone it could be found by them—in the creations of their genius. They worked with undivided impulses, and undistracted purpose. Shakspeare had all their lights and all their stimulants concentrated upon him. He was a proprietor of the theatre in which he acted, and for which he wrote. His solvency or insolvency depended on it. He knew stage effects practically as well as theoretically. The fitness of the speeches of his characters he could himself test, by uttering them on the stage. The finer beauties of his compositions were not lost in large theatres, adapted only to *spectacles*. Familiar with every actor in his theatre, he was spared the fruitless labour of writing characters which no one could act. The pecuniary interests of the proprietor, the considerations peculiar to the manager, the excitements of the actor, the splendid ambition of the poet, all combined in the mind and in the circumstances of William Shakspeare, to spur his spirit to its utmost, and guide his efforts for the best, when composing his dramas. His dramas were not published as a matter of course, on the night of their first representation. His best thoughts and finest passages were not quoted into fifty journals before the end of the first week. The pleasure and instruction they contained were not given to the public in a way which yielded him no pecuniary benefit. All who wished to elevate and delight their minds by his genius, were obliged to frequent the theatre in whose receipts he was a sharer, as a proprietor, an actor, and an author. To enjoy his mind, the public must go to his theatre. Small though his public was, it was a highly cultivated one. His humble social station did not tempt him into habits of expense, and did not induce him to keep up 'the dignity of literature' by giving champagne dinners to lords. The energy and freshness of his mind were not wasted in exasperation at the charges of printers, publishers, paper makers, and booksellers. Shakspeare was not the victim of the caprices of managers, and the exactions and the torments of a system of which he knew only that somehow it worked ill for him. A few pounds, it is true, were all he nominally received for the copyright of his play. But the dramatic system of his age worked well for him. He left Warwickshire because his father's house was too bare to yield any thing to the distress warrant of his creditors. He left London to become a squire in his native place. The system of his age yielded him a competency in manhood, and wealth when the prime of life was over.

Without presuming to say what is the precise weight to be attached to these circumstances, they certainly do make a great difference between the Elizabethan and the Victorian era.

On the whole, they indicate the decline of dramatic literature—a decline not to be averted even by the private theatricals, or the wits of Punch. The spirit of the beautiful is to assume less objectionable, and let us hope nobler, forms than that of dramatic literature.

Mr. Marston has had the boldness to embody the feelings of the present time in his 'Patrician's Daughter.' His work originated in a desire to produce a tragedy which should be entirely indebted to the habits and spirit of the age for its incident and passion. Mordaunt, his hero, is a parliamentary Liberal; Lynterne, his antagonist, is a Tory earl. The beautiful and imaginative daughter of the earl, aristocratic by position and education, democratic by sympathy and love, is the victim of the antagonism. In her the hostile elements of the age are tragic.

In the preface to the first edition of his tragedy, Mr. Marston states eloquently the theory on which he worked.

'To speak truth, the many find it difficult to credit the tragic capacities and sensibilities of men whose dress, deportment, and pursuits, correspond to their own. The vulgar mind cannot easily resign itself to mental illusions, when the machinery which they employ is of a familiar description. Nevertheless the poetical dictum—

' 'Tis *Distance* lends enchantment to the view,'—

is by no means to be accepted as an invariable principle; but as a mere general fact;—the experience of the *common* mind,—not the law of a great one. The elevated and gifted spirit sees the sublime in the present, recognises the hero *in undress*, and discovers greatness, though it be divested of pomp. On the other hand, it is the sure indication of an inferior character, that it tests the essential by the superficial; and if too intimately acquainted with the latter to reverse it, finds itself on terms of indifference, if not contempt, with the former.

'This is a difficulty which all who purpose to depict the nobler features of their own age, must encounter. He who would make his heroes his contemporaries, must also be prepared to dispense with many of the melo-dramatic effects incident to the earlier drama. The display of the passions is now more subtle and less obvious than formerly; and their signs, while exciting deeper interest in the cultivated and thoughtful man, fail in their appeals to the gross apprehension.

'Still the operation of human feelings in an intellectual era, must form a higher subject for delineation than that furnished by the

runder stages of their development. To limit to the past, the dramatic exhibition of our nature, is virtually to declare our nature itself radically altered. But, consider our merchant when he returns from 'Change,—the poet as he walks unnoted in our streets,—the calm demeanour of the agitated diplomatist,—the smooth brow, and accustomed smile, of a regnant beauty, while jealous rivals wound with courtesy, and torture *selon les règles*. What suspense! what aspirations! what inward struggles! what subdued emotions! There is truly stuff for tragedy in the age of civilization. The awful gulfs and frowning precipices of the moral landscape are no more;—but broken hearts are resting beneath this same floral *Père la Chaise*!—Preface, pp. 10, 11.

Mabel Lynterne, the Patrician's daughter, has cherished an ideal of a husband—a dream on which the tragedy turns.

'Now if you grant me audience, I will
 Possess you of my secret thoughts, till now
 Nursed in the solitude of my own heart.
 He whom my will shall for its king elect
 Must bring me something more than that I have;
 Women who marry seldom act but once;
 Their lot is, ere they wed, obedience
 Unto a father; thenceforth to a husband;
 But in the one election which they make,—
 Choice of a mate for life and death, and heaven,—
 They may be said to *act*. The man they wed
 Is as the living record of their deed,
 Their one momentous deed. If he be base
 It veils their deed with shame, if he be great
 Encircles it with glory; and if good
 Haloes it with religion. Wouldst thou know
 Whom I would have to be *my* husband, sire?
 In brief terms I will sketch him. He shall be
 High born, handsome, I'd rather—but at least
 With features lit up by the sacred light
 Which marks the elect band of noble men!
 Whose history is the world's, and whose high names
 Linked close with empires, sound—their synonymes,—
 With eye that quails not in the war, with voice
 That thrills the popular ear, and o'erawes senates,
 And of a wide, ceaseless benevolence,
 Bounded but by the walls of the great world;
 And oh! whene'er affection breathed his name,
 Or mind did homage to it, should my heart
 Rush back to the bright hour when first it chose him,
 Saying it was *My Act*.'

A mutual passion springs up between her and Mordaunt—a poet, a politician, and an orator. The aspiring plebeian is rejected disdainfully. The aunt of the lady, a malignant

patrician, plots against him with success. However, in the course of time, Mordaunt rises in fame and consequence in the political and literary worlds, while the fortunes and influence of the Earl of Lynterne decline. The successful adventurer becomes an eligible match for the Patrician's daughter, and Sir Edgar Mordaunt pays back the disdain from which he had suffered. The scene in the library is the most exciting in the drama. The critics have found fault with the author for making Mordaunt guilty of a base revenge on Mabel. The fault arises from the necessities of dramatic effect. Mordaunt believes that Mabel has never loved him, and has only subdued her aristocratic pride to his plebeian worth out of deference to the condition and will of her father. With this belief he was right in rejecting her. He is in collision with Convention when favourable as when hostile to his wishes. But the manner of the rejection, in the presence of a notary and her relatives, though theatrical and effective was ungentlemanly, if not unmanly. The speech of Mordaunt on the occasion is splendid.

MORDAUNT.

Why see,
How much your expectations mock your acts !
You sow the heart with bitterness, and marvel
That it bears kindless fruit. The slave's treatment
Is what you give man, and the angel's meekness
Is what you demand from him. 'Tis five years
Since this same Lady Mabel lured my soul
With such soft phrases, and such winning looks,
As only leave the words 'I love,' unsaid ;
'Twas not my vanity that thus construed
These signs of tenderness. The Lady Lydia
Noted their import—nay, with earnestness,
Not willing then our union, besought me
To quit the castle ; and though afterwards
She gave herself the lie,——

PIERPOINT.

Audacious——

LYDIA (*interrupting*).

Nay ! hear him, for although we have no wedding,
We'll have the mirth of one.

MORDAUNT.

Though afterwards she gave herself the lie,
Avowed that Mabel had confessed her love.
Encouraged thus, I straightway sought the earl,
Entreated his permission to be ranked
As Lady Mabel's suitor, when it pleased her
Smilingly to admit, that she had toyed
With me, to wile away an idle hour.
I hasted home ;—in a few days the tale

Of my crushed love was blazoned to the world,
 A proud heart's honest passion woke to life
 By specious smiles, and studied blandishments,
 But to be trampled on—the deep excess
 Of passionate devotion—charm of day,
 And dream of night, and hope of life—it was,
 It was all this to me—blown, published, chorused,
 In the quick ear of scoffers! This low churl,
 This foiled plebeian aspirant, supplied
 Mirth to a thousand jesters.—What presumption
 In him to love thus!—What effrontery
 To have a heart! Now for once be men
 And women, or if you can, be human.
 Have you loved ever? known what 'tis to stake
 Your heart's whole capital of blessedness
 Upon one die, the chance of love returned!
 To lose the cast; be beggared in your soul;
 Then to be spurned and made a public scorn
 By those who tempted to the fatal throw,
 Which drained your heart of riches,—and all this,
 Because your birth was lowly?—Had you borne it?

THE EARL.

Enough, sir! you have had your vengeance. Hence!

MORDAUNT.

I have not sought for vengeance in this act.
 My life, my energies, my talents all
 Did I task for the deed! Such apparatus
 Was meant for nobler uses than belong
 To a mere private feud—but I have fought
 A battle for high principles, and taught
Convention, when it dares to tread down *Man*,
 MAN SHALL ARISE IN TURN, AND TREAD IT DOWN!
 As for this lady!—she has never loved me,
 Nor have I lately sought to win her love:
 I would not wreak on her such wretchedness,
 As she caused me for pastime! I have done,
 My mission is fulfilled! (*Moves towards the door.*)

PIERPOINT (*half drawing his sword*).

You shall not quit this house until you answer
 For this indignity!

MABEL (*who rushes forward and arrests his arm*).

(*With great agitation.*) Upon your life,
 Injure him not, put up your sword, I say,—

(MORDAUNT *regards her earnestly.*)

(*Haughtily.*) He is not worthy of it! [*Exit MORDAUNT.*]

Gerald is a dramatic poem on the struggles and experiences of genius. Gerald is a literary aspirant, who pursues his own ideal of merit to the neglect of the obvious paths to success.

He leaves his country home for London. After an apparent failure, though a real success—failure in obtaining wealth, success in obtaining renown—he returns to his village home a heart-broken, if not a disappointed, man, to die celebrated. There is a keen sense in the poem of the sufferings of the man of genius, who is too well fitted for the highest successes of literature to obtain ready applause and abundant payment. We have marked many passages as worthy of admiration and comment. However, we must content ourselves with the following beautiful illustration of the diversities of character. It may be called an expression of the dramatic aspect of the eclectic philosophy of human nature.

‘ Each Philosophy

Is centred in the being of the sage—
Or fool, mayhap—terms are indifferent.
A general error oft is private truth ;
What’s falsehood here, is there veracity ;
The right hand’s nothing is the left hand’s all !
For natures as they limit, or expand,
Determine faith or doubt,—ourselves the bound
To our own fate. That caterpillar’s bliss
Is in luxuriant idleness to crawl
O’er the sweet leaves of roses, wondering
Why yonder bee should wear his wings with toil,
Touring from flower to flower. Perchance the bee
Much marvels that the ringdove builds her nest
So high, that garden odours, and the scent
Of thyme-banks reach it not. That very dove
Hath never solved the charm the martlet finds
In eaves of human dwellings ; unto him
’Tis mystery why the kingly eagle dwells
On the rock’s peak in solitude. We judge
Out of our life—or want of it ;—our friends
Who passed just now, from theirs—*which was not mine*.
Since men must measure ; let them—and in dreams,
Belt great Orion with a wisp of hay !’

‘ Borough Politics’ is a comic drama, the humour of which turns upon a contest between a rich farmer and a poor physician for the office of mayor. There is a vein of genuine English humour in the piece, indications of which, in the mind of the author, are to be found in ‘ Gerald.’ Humour rather than wit, geniality and not satire, are the chief characteristics of the comic powers of Mr. Marston. His farmer, to humble the pride of the physician, beats him in the contest, and for the sake of their children, his daughter being attached to the son of the medical man, in the hour of success, secures the election of his rival to the mayoralty, and the happiness of the lovers.

We part with this young author, assured we shall yet have to meet him in still brighter pages than those before us, and never in any not warmed by benevolence and elevated by high purpose.

ART. V. *Vigilantius and his Times.* By W. S. Gilly, D.D. London: Seeley & Co. 8vo. pp. 488.

It has been with us a settled opinion for many years past, and we perceive it to be gaining ground in other quarters, that if we could know all about the men whose names are registered by the fathers, and handed down by the ecclesiastical writers, in the black catalogue of *heretics*, we should be able to pick out many a faithful witness for apostolic simplicity and truth. From the fourth century downward, most men, aiming at public influence and professing Christianity, deemed '*the church*,' a phrase that they might conjure with. It became mightier than the scriptures, and carried against all gainsayers a more formidable aspect, because it assumed to embody, not only the voice of scripture, which admitted of debate, and diversity of judgment, but the decisions of emperors, and the power of their swords, which allowed of no debate, and demanded uniformity of judgment. Which party soever could command a majority, and by whatever means, was, of course, *the church*, and all the rest were heretics; not always treated with severity in the ratio of their divergence from important and apostolical truth, but just as they impugned some novel conceit, or fond ceremony, or heathenish superstition, which it had pleased the said '*church*' to decree. It, therefore, by no means follows that all those should be left in the roll of heretics, delivered over to eternal perdition, whom it has pleased that *soi disant* church, or some of its apochryphal and disputatious fathers to place there. The infallibility of such decisions has been brought into discredit with all discriminating judges, by the very rashness, passion, and violence, which mark the condemnations recorded, and, as it must appear to all candid and charitable readers of ecclesiastical history, the frivolousness and puerility of the charges upon which those denunciations are founded.

When the so-called church set itself to the filigree work of rites and ceremonies, and all the other ornamental trappings, by which it sought to assimilate the spiritual temple of Christianity to the Jewish economy, perhaps with the view of render-

ing it more acceptable to the notions and habits of the heathen populations, among whom they had to spread it, nothing was more natural than to expect that some simple-minded and faithful men would impugn these proceedings, and incur all hazards in protesting against them. And such arose, though at first few, and far between, but afterwards more frequently.

The precise period of the first introduction of Christianity among a heathen people, is the season of danger to the purity and simplicity of the system itself. Then the temptations are the strongest to give up something or superadd something, by way of conciliating prejudice and ensuring success. When Christianity had so far succeeded in its mission, despite the length and severity of the conflict, as to make it a matter of policy, on the part of the emperor, to take it into the pay of the state, its ministry must have been sought after as one of the most promising avenues to fame, power, and wealth; and the consequence must necessarily have been the rapid growth of secularity, and of that class of men whose aim it would be to aggrandize the exterior of religion, rather than to abide by the example of the fishermen of Galilee. They were now become the priests of an established and richly-endowed church, and that the church of the Roman empire; and consequently the Institute must be made worthy of its patrons, and appear adapted, by its worldly respectability, to take the place of the Olympian Deities, with all their temples, rites, and mysteries. The transition, no doubt, was gradual, but coming on with the sanction of the men who had been the disciples of martyrs and confessors, it had proceeded far, and taken firm hold, before any private individuals could muster courage enough to question the wisdom or the grace of their teachers. The unsuspecting confidence with which their dictates had been received, and the simplicity with which the testimony of men, so generally reputed holy and faithful, would be confided in, gave the most favourable opportunity for human inventions to come in side by side with inspired truths; and thus, without the slightest suspicion of the mixture, or of the fatal issues to which it would lead, the masses that embraced Christianity believed as they were taught, and did as they were bidden, becoming the dupes of the grossest impostures. Their inability to discriminate between the doctrines which Christ had left, and those which men had appended; their lack of the documentary evidence, or of the biblical knowledge essential to a right judgment, must in a great measure exculpate the people from any designed corruption of the gospel, or any wilful departure from its simplicity. A religion founded in miracle they readily believed might require the same to sustain it.

Yet, when the growing evils had proceeded to such a length as to neutralise Christianity itself, and threaten the prevalence of a system of worship, approximating in its corruptions even to heathenism, it was to be expected both that some should detect the source whence all these evils had arisen, and that, after a due trial of their patience and provocation of their zeal, they should lift up a testimony for the simpler doctrine and purer practice of the apostles. They had long borne with the burdensome and unprofitable inventions of their superiors, and there was a depository of truth, not commonly consulted, but yet not inaccessible, which professed to contain the essentials and the exemplars of their religion; and in that they could discover no sanction for those observances which had taken the place of love and purity; and the more they meditated upon the discrepancies they perceived between the inspired documents of their religion and the dogmas of its most influential doctors, the more deeply did they feel the duty of taking up at length a solemn protest against the ecclesiastical spirit of their age. The individuals may have been few and feeble who indulged such thoughts. Many difficulties prevented intercourse. No printing presses could make those thoughts public, and they often died out in vain regrets and sighs after reformation. Obscure men, who proved troublesome with their conscientious scruples, were easily silenced, driven into corners, held up to public clamour, or otherwise got rid of as troublers of the church, whom the civil authorities might remove into the land of oblivion, from whence their voices would never be heard. But now and then comes a bold reformer who cannot so easily be dealt with. He has wealth and learning, influence and friends, and he will be heard. He lives, perhaps, in some remote part of the empire, and he has gained adherents before his *heresy* is detected. The simple-minded listen to him, the truly pious are convinced by the force of his appeals, and even his superiors in the church find it difficult to check his progress, or they even become inwardly convinced that he has truth and reason on his side; hence they wink at his innovations, and protect him against accusers. Many, no doubt, agreed in judgment with such reformers who were reluctant openly to espouse their cause. Hence they were often left to fight the battle single-handed against the hydra-headed monster of corruption, which was laying all waste. Celibacy, relic-worship, asceticism, nocturnal devotions, with all the vicious and licentious abominations which grew out of them, were becoming so rampant towards the end of the fourth century, that it was difficult to ward off the censures and complaints of upright men. And many such uttered their voices about this period,

though with various emphasis; and all, alas! with little success. The recluses had won the reverence of the world, and whoever impugned their dogmas or condemned their practices, not only incurred their bitterest crimination, but had to encounter public opinion, so far as that was a thing then known and expressed. Such a reformer must set himself against the universal church, and, in consequence, is to be treated as an enemy to its greatest lights and ornaments—the men who were second only to the martyrs, and were indeed honoured as living martyrs.

The task was no doubt an arduous one, yet there were several who stood out conspicuously about this time, of whom, indeed, we know little, except from the writings of their enemies; but, even from that source, it may be inferred that their greatest sin consisted in calling for the reformation of abuses, and a return to primitive simplicity. If honour is to be given to whom honour is due, then many a name which stands on the page of ecclesiastical history with the brand of *heretic* legibly burnt in, must be placed among the witnesses who have prophesied in sackcloth, and to whom the great Lord of the church has said, 'Well done, good and faithful servant.'

There were, no doubt, real heretics in abundance—men who departed from the faith of the apostles, and perverted the truth of Christ by their metaphysical subtleties and philosophical theories, who caused trouble and contention for many a long age; but the methods generally employed on both the orthodox and heterodox side to secure success, were altogether alien from the spirit of the gospel and its Founder. Each party invoked the *ultima ratio* of kings; and the consequence was, a perpetuation and multiplication of savage controversies, which never ceased till it was discovered that only one bishop had brains, that is, infallible brains, and that in him, as the successor of St. Peter, ought to rest the exclusive right of settling all controversies—at least, in appearance. From the period of that discovery or invention, a power arose that adroitly nipped all heresy in the bud; but in the fourth and fifth centuries, there was no ready-made apparatus by which they could be disposed of; and, consequently, we learn from the writings of great men, who buckled on the armour against them, that they were sometimes suffered to roam at large, under a prestige which it was not deemed prudent to violate.

Such a heretic and such a reformer appears in early church history under the name of Vigilantius, who was born about the year 364, and flourished from 390 to 406, giving the celebrated St. Jerome, who was then a recluse at Bethlehem, no little vexation, though, from all that appears, he conducted his controversies in a respectful manner, and with all due deference to so

learned and celebrated a monk. The fact that such a reformer should stand forth at so early a period, to denounce those very corruptions which, in a later age, brought on the Reformation in Europe, and which, in our own days, are provoking a second reformation within the corrupt and apostate church, is a deeply interesting fact, and merits the attention of all who would thoroughly understand the transitions which the historic church has undergone. Dr. Gilly has rightly apprehended its importance, and performed a service of high value, in thus bringing distinctly forward the character and biography of one of the first dissenters.

‘ ‘ Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength ’ This prophetic saying, to which our Lord referred on two remarkable occasions, had an extraordinary fulfilment at the period we are now discussing. The chief among the ‘ wise and prudent ’ of that day, were falling into errors, which had gradually crept into the church ; and the religion, which was at first commended to the world by the simplicity and unbending holiness of its professors, was now promoted by sophistry and false reasoning. Ambrose, who was then at the height of his reputation in the Western church ; and Jerome, who was consulted as an oracle, both in that and in the Eastern church ; and even Augustine himself, gave their sanction to practices and opinions at which ‘ the stones would have cried out,’ had all who professed to be guided by the holy scriptures, held their peace. But at this crisis, Vigilantius of Aquitain, a young presbyter of obscure origin and lowly condition, began to express doubts as to those devout exercises, which had beguiled men older and abler than himself, into creature-worship, and which had rendered them obnoxious to the charge of being *Cinerarii* and *Idolatræ*.

‘ This ‘ Christian brother,’ as his adversary Jerome called him, before their celebrated disputes on the subject of saints, and relic-worship, was one of those who occupied a foremost place in that doctrinal succession of truth and apostolicity, which has been, under the divine blessing, the preservation of Christianity. He was a witness, and a connecting link in the golden chain of protestantism ; and it is as absurd to suppose that protestantism was the growth of a single age, as to imagine that ‘ Romanism ’ was the production of any one generation.

‘ There are two questions which may be answered by the word ‘ *successive*.’

‘ 1. How did Christians get so grievously wrong in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries ? By a *succession* of corruptions, and by a gradual departure from the gospel of Jesus Christ

‘ 2 How did they return to a purer doctrine and practice in the sixteenth century ? By a *succession* of struggles for the truth. ‘ Romanism ’ did not rise full grown and full armed from the sowing of one crop of dragon’s teeth ; nor did the reformation spring from the brain of any one individual, like the fabled Minerva from the

forehead of Jupiter. It was the production of successive throes and labours, in men who contended for the truth : and Vigilantius of Aquitain, and Claude of Turin, and Waldo of Lyons, and Luther and Cranmer, and our other ' protestant forefathers,' are only links in the chain, which connects antiquity with the present time. Some of the earliest protests were made against errors *natural* to the heart of man. Affection, equally anxious about the eternal destinies of the dead, as of the living, led even some of St. Paul's converts, the Thessalonians, into mistakes touching the condition of their friends who had departed in the faith, and concerning the coming of the day of the Lord. (See 1 Thess. iv : 2 Thess. ii). In process of time, similar affection multiplied errors. To collect the relics of the dead, to keep vigils at the tombs of the saints, to burn lights and to assemble over their ashes, might be very *natural* means of showing reverence and affection for the departed. But to what gross corruptions did not these things lead ? To make vows of perpetual continence, and to drag out a life of self-denial and mortification, may be necessary and praiseworthy upon some occasions ; but are celibacy and asceticism to be exalted, as they have been, above all Christian virtues ? To pay decent respect to the relics of holy men, and to call to memory their precepts and examples ; to speak of them with veneration, and to pray to be made like unto them ; this is always to be commended. But is there any real virtue in the dead bones of departed saints, or in the remains of their vestments ? Or is it lawful to invoke the dead in prayer ? What, indeed, is more natural, when some dear and venerated object is gone to join in the unseen world the company of just men made perfect, than to cherish the thought, that the beatified spirit will be with our spirit, will pray for us before the throne of grace, and help us in this world of trouble ? But for this belief is there any divine authority in the book of revelation ? and if not, may we make it a prescribed article of faith, or recommend it as a beneficial practice ? The arm of the Lord is not shortened, and it may yet be his pleasure to display his power by preternatural manifestations, and to shew signs and wonders for the extension of his kingdom. But are miracles likely to be of very frequent occurrence ? And may not the pious be sometimes deceived by imaginary miracles ? Are there not alleged miracles which savour of delusion and imposture, and the very extravagance of which must excite disbelief ?

' Such were the doubts and reflections of Vigilantius. His scruples led to serious consideration and inquiry. He passed several years in travelling, for the purpose of conferring with the pious and wise of different countries. He expended vast sums of money in the translation and circulation of scripture. He visited churches when resistance was made to the corruptions that prevailed in Rome and in the east. He ' searched the scriptures daily, whether these things were so.' And, at length, he openly declared his conviction, and raised his testimony against relic-worship, the invocation of saints, nocturnal services at the sepulchres of the

dead, monastic vows, and the obligation of clerical celibacy. For this, he was denounced by some of his contemporaries as a heretic; although he was never known to deny any of the vital truths of the gospel, or to oppose himself to the apostolical discipline of the church: and the Gallic witness of the fourth century is now regarded as one famous or infamous in ecclesiastical history, according as Protestants or Roman-catholics pronounce sentence upon him. Vigilantius was an extraordinary example, not only of perseverance in the pursuit of truth, amidst many difficulties, but also of the obloquy and unfair misrepresentations to which every inquirer is exposed, who ventures to take part against religious error in high places. He was raised from an humble station, and was introduced to the society of the learned and the good by Sulpicius Severus, and Paulinus of Nola, two of the very best men of the age, whose affection and friendship he never lost. In the first passage, where we find mention made of him by his opponent Jerome, he is called 'the holy presbyter Vigilantius;' and yet, when he undertook to protest against practices which he regarded as superstitious and unscriptural, Jerome assailed him with every expression of contumely and rancour. '*Base-born tapster,*' '*Madman,*' '*Brute,*' '*Monster,*' '*Possessed of an unclean spirit;*' these are specimens of the styles in which the valour of Bethlehem inveighed against the witness of Aquitain.

'It will be the object of the following pages to set his character in a true light, and to show what effects were produced in the minds and conduct of sincere Christians, by the opinions which Vigilantius impugned, and which Jerome advocated.'—pp. 4—9.

After several interesting chapters, in which the author throws some important and valuable lights upon the characters of the leading men in the church during the latter half of the fourth century, such as Martin of Tours, Sulpicius Severus, Paulinus, Jerome, and others, he comes, in his sixth chapter, to the Memorials of Vigilantius. It appears that he was the son of an innkeeper, and born at Calagorris, the present Comminges, in Aquitain. The place of his birth, as well as his occupation, are shown to have brought him frequently into connexion, while yet a youth, with the many celebrated persons who, in those days of councils, were known to travel between France and Spain. Hence he became acquainted with Sulpicius Severus, who presently befriends him, as undoubtedly a young man of promising talents, and takes him from his low occupation into his own house, for the purpose of guiding his education and forming his character. But about this time, Sulpicius, who had hitherto appeared a useful and consistent Christian, yielded himself to the fanaticism of Martin of Tours, and, under his influence, underwent a transformation, which speedily interfered with the prospects, and contributed to turn the character

of his young friend to a bent the very opposite of that which his tutor intended. This important event in the early life of Vigilantius, with the new views which it forced upon him, is well described in the following passage:—

‘ But a blight was cast over the well-spent life of Sulpicius when that evil counsellor, Martin of Tours, persuaded him that all his benevolent and pious actions would not enable him to escape the everlasting fire reserved for the wicked, unless he made for himself a Gehenna and Inferno upon earth, by the practice of the most rigid penances. Under the influence of such baneful advice, Sulpicius tried to convert a household of faith into a scene of the grossest superstition. He denied himself the necessities of life; he exhausted his strength by long fastings and devotional exercises, which lasted through the greater part of the twenty-four hours of every day; he tore his body with scourges, and invented new modes of self-punishment. When these inflictions failed to bring him peace of mind, he redoubled his contributions to charitable purposes, and thought to purchase a sure interest in heaven by alms-deeds, which exceeded all that he had done before. But he was still goaded on to make further sacrifices, and was exhorted never to be satisfied with himself until he had sold all to give to the poor. In the midst of all his self-denial, he was racked with doubts and suspicions, and haunted by a phantom which accused him of reserving too much for himself out of his own property, and of not having been sufficiently unsparing in the maceration of his body; of not having duly prolonged his fastings and watchings; of not having adopted a more painful posture in his exercises of devotion. This proceeded from want of faith, and he resorted to the extremes of self-denial as a means of making satisfaction for his sins, because he did not place his reliance on, or feel security in, his Saviour’s atonement. He did not look to his Redeemer for the full and entire expiation of his sins, but adopted the belief, that the ransom was incomplete without some suffering of his own, and that the uttermost farthing of his debt to an inexorable God could not be paid, so long as he enjoyed any one earthly comfort. Such was Sulpicius Severus, the early friend and religious instructor of Vigilantius; and in him the young mountaineer witnessed that spiritual wavering and unsettled character, that mixture of piety with fanaticism, and of kind-heartedness with austerity, which produced in his own mind a spirit of inquiry, and must have forced such reflections as these upon him: ‘ Can that system be right which perverts the understanding, influences the imagination, and tortures the body and mind of such a man as this generous master of mine? The dignified senator is urged to abandon his post of duty; the influential noble, whose pure and blameless life, in the midst of corrupt society, might preach Christianity with persuasive eloquence, and make converts every day, is told to shut himself up in a cell, and to hide his light under a bushel. The professed follower of him who promised refreshment and rest unto

those who should adopt his religion, is directed by his ghostly adviser to place some new yoke upon his neck, heavy to carry, and hard to bear.

‘The more Vigilantius revered and loved Sulpicius, the more dissatisfied would he be with the system, which never allowed a really pious man to be at rest in his conscience, but filled him with doubts and misgivings as to the safety of his soul, so long as he indulged in the most innocent earthly enjoyments, and reserved anything to be called his own out of his princely patrimony.’—pp. 137—142.

In the year 394, Vigilantius was sent by Sulpicius, with a single companion, to Paulinus, at Nola in Campania, as the bearer of a letter. Paulinus was, at that period, using his utmost influence, and consecrating all his wealth, to introduce into the Latin church those corrupt practices which soon after became its characteristics. Illness protracted the visit of Vigilantius, and exposed him still further to the pernicious and powerful influence of those fanatical superstitions which prevailed at Nola, under the sanction and support of Paulinus, almost as successfully as at Tours, under Martin. The strength both of the principles and of the understanding of Vigilantius, was here put to the severest test. But he came out of the furnace as gold, fitter for the Great Master’s use.

‘That mind must have been one of no common strength, which could resist the fascinations of the discourse and example of a holy recluse, who was consulted as the Christian oracle of Italy, and who was, at the very period of this visit, employing his wealth and his influence to promote those observances, which Vigilantius afterwards denounced.

‘The simple mountaineer saw splendid shrines rising in honour of a man who had lived one hundred and fifty years before, and of whom little could be known with any accuracy. He beheld preparations made for a series of rites, and a course of daily worship, which take the fastest hold upon the imagination. He witnessed the ardour shown by an ordained minister of Christ, to promote the homage of dead men’s bones, to encourage prostration before pictures and statues, to invoke the dead, and restore ceremonies which are called idolatrous in the holy page of the book of life. The person who sanctioned these things, and to whom writers, calling themselves Christians, have imputed the honour of being the foremost in promoting this falsely-called ‘*Christian philosophy*,’ was held in such high estimation, that the supreme pontiff of Rome himself could not keep the tide of honour which poured upon him within due bounds; for even when the pope frowned upon him for some of his irregular proceedings, public opinion loudly testified its admiration, and the portals of Paulinus were crowded by persons of the first eminence who came to Nola, at the very time that Vigilantius

was there, to pay him their best tributes of respect. 'They (the two young men) have seen,' said Paulinus, in his epistle to Sulpicius, speaking of the rebuke which he had received from Pope Siricius, for suffering himself to be uncanonically ordained at Barcelona, 'they have seen how the grace of God has made the prejudice of the pope work for my honour; they have seen, within the short interval of a few days, how I have been visited by monks, clergy, and bishops, and even by laymen of the highest rank. There is scarcely a bishop of Campania who has not testified his respect for me in person or by letter; and prelates from Africa have deputed representatives to express their veneration.'

'Of all this public homage, rendered to one of the most celebrated fathers of Christian idolatry, Vigilantius was witness. He loved the man, he heard him discourse, as sophists and fanatics can discourse, in hurried accents, of the lawfulness of mixing up heathen rites with Christian observances, and yet his mind remained unpolluted.

'Under the divine grace and the especial providence which guard those servants of God from evil, who are reserved to be the instruments of correcting and reforming his church, I attribute the escape of Vigilantius from the peculiar perils of his situation, to the scriptural lessons which he learnt of the very man whose religious errors were so dangerous to him. The bane and antidote were both before him.'—pp. 171—173.

But Vigilantius appears to have had his convictions of the abuses and corruptions of the church deepened and strengthened by his visits to such celebrated saints as Martin and Paulinus. Truth, purity, and genuine piety, he had seen sacrificed by these eminent men, to superstition, fanaticism, pretended miracles, and personal ambition. His clear and vigorous understanding had taken hold upon the word of God, and no blandishments, no fashions of the time, no trumpet of holy fame, could seduce him from this deep conviction—that holy scripture virtually, if not by its letter, condemned nearly every thing in which these saintly men prided themselves. That he concealed his convictions cannot be pretended, for both his patrons appear to have known them; and if he was prepared to represent and defend them before Jerome, there could be no reason for his concealing them at home. Yet he obtained ordination about this period, most probably in a Gallic diocese, and through the influence of his patrons, who might have hoped thereby to soften his objections, and reconcile him to the practice of the church. But it had not this effect. He made no secret of his opposition to prevailing corruptions, but published his objections everywhere, and by his preaching gained many adherents in various places. The progress of corruption at Nola, under Paulinus, continued to strengthen those convictions, and Vigilantius determined to visit and confer with that holy recluse at

Bethlehem, whose name was an authority with all the inferior men, and whose example it had become their ambition to follow. This was seeking the lion in his den.

The visit to Jerome had no other effect upon the mind of Vigilantius, than to unveil more of the enormities and absurdities which he condemned; and, after long and fierce disputes, he departs from Palestine, visits Egypt, studies at Alexandria, goes to Italy, and at length arrives at the Cottian Alps, where, probably, at that early age, he found more persons than in other places disposed to listen to his remonstrances against corruptions. Opposition to the yoke of celibacy had become rife in the Sub-Alpine and Gallic provinces. Historic proof exists that the gospel was professed at this time in the Cottian Alps, and probably finding a spirit there congenial with his own, his visit greatly tended to promote and encourage that purer form of Christianity which both tradition and history have connected with that region and with the name of this reformer.

It is not possible to present to our readers any abridgment of the events that followed Vigilantius's visit to Jerome at Bethlehem. Much controversy was the result. Jerome issues his fulminations, and writes letters to his friends, and the friends of Vigilantius, condemning, reviling, and falsely accusing the reformer, but yet bringing no proof, and no charge of any error deserving the name of heresy; but, on the contrary, shewing that the points in dispute were just those very corruptions which have, in after ages, in so many different lands, provoked faithful and honest men to demand a return to apostolical simplicity and purity.

Vigilantius continued to pursue the course of reform, despite the criminations and fulminations of Jerome. He had his friends in the church, who screened him for a while; but they were overborne at length by the authority of his accusers and the ignorant fanaticism of the people, who stupidly bowed their heads in reverent submission to the monks and recluses, whose reputation awed the universal mind, and whose voices silenced those of the apostles and Jesus Christ. Persecution, however, at length fell upon the reformer. He disappears altogether about the year 406; whether he was banished, assassinated, or killed in the general massacre which is known to have taken place at Barcelona by the Vandals, to which place it is reported he had retired, cannot be determined. Certain it is, that the rising torrent of corruption continued to roll on, bearing before it all opposition; and the protests of our reformer and others would never have been heard of, but for the writings of those who opposed him, and the traditions of the Waldenses, which connect him with the history of their churches.

Dr. Gilly's biography is deeply interesting and instructive in more ways than one. Its evident intention is to check the rising and wide spreading admiration of the Nicene age, or, as it has been styled, 'the age of councils and synods,' 'the golden age of Christian learning,' and 'the dogmatic age;' but which was never better defined than as 'the age of all monstrous, all prodigious things.'

Dissent, therefore, was not essentially an evil; but, according to our biographer, a great good, and an essential service to Christ's cause. So it is still, since the church is but yet very partially reformed, according to the standard of Vigilantius, which Dr. Gilly most highly approves. Ever since it has admitted of formal alliances with the state, the church has always been opposed to such reformers as Vigilantius; its tendency has uniformly been to corruption and to the persecution of reformers. Those who now deem themselves, *par excellence*, *the church*, would undo all that reform has ever done, and consign the whole succession of reformers, from Vigilantius down to the dissenters of the present day, to one common perdition. Yet the appeal of the faithful witness who first resisted the tide of corruption, as well as that of the living witnesses, is to the same supreme and scriptural authority, against which all the voices of churchmen, living or dead, have more or less prevailed, but assuredly will not always prevail.

We trust Dr. Gilly's work will be very extensively read, and that it will prove eminently useful in bringing on that happy day when the church of Jesus Christ shall stand, not in the wisdom of men, not in ancient traditions, not in the authority of human statutes, but in the power of God and by the sword of the Spirit. Dr. Gilly must know that the weapon Vigilantius employed is still unsheathed, and is wielded by many a reformer as faithfully and skilfully as ever, against those abuses and corruptions which still exist even in our reformed church, but which can plead just as little sanction from scripture as the saint and relic worship, the celibacy and monachism of the fourth century. The evils of the present church, though neither so glaring nor so vicious in their effects as those Vigilantius assailed, are yet the opprobrium of the men who, with the scripture as their only professed authority, still cling to many of those very abuses which sprung up in the same age, and which have all proceeded from the same sources—ecclesiastical tradition and state alliance—nor can there be any reasonable hope of their removal, till the church stands exclusively by its one Lord, and his one foundation.

ART. VI.—*Select Writings of Robert Chambers. Essays Familiar and Humourous.* 2 vols. Edinburgh.

MR. ROBERT CHAMBERS has now for fifteen years been a feature and a power in the periodical literature of this country. Such a man is worthy of notice and study among his contemporaries if they are worthy of their own attention.

To-day, we can only note some of the qualities and circumstances to which he owes his success and importance. The Messrs. William and Robert Chambers of Edinburgh, have combined in themselves all the departments of the literary craft. They are printers, publishers, and authors. They wield themselves all the elements of bookmaking, the mechanical, commercial, and intellectual. Now we cannot help thinking such men extremely likely to do well in literature. They have all the stimuli, all the knowledge, and all the experience brought to bear upon them, which is usually separated, divided, weakened, dispersed, and scattered, among printers, publishers, and authors. Of course we shall be reminded of the benefits of division of employments. But we do not choose to allow a phrase to blind us to a fact, nor shall we be scared away from the instruction the fact contains by a bugaboo made up of the authority of Adam Smith. We believe the Chamberses have succeeded by the combination of employments. It is no disparagement to Mr. Robert Chambers to say his merely literary talents are not superior to those of Laman Blanchard. Had he been merely a literary man, he could not have made more than a bare subsistence by his pen. As it is, he is a tradesman as well as a literary man, and finds himself consequently a successful author and a successful tradesman. He is at the head of one of the largest establishments in this country. Unlike many literary men who write for the proprietors of journals, he writes for his own purposes, his own opinions, freely and independently. He does not write to order; others write to his orders. What is true of Robert is true of William Chambers in this respect, and we submit they have not become what they are in consequence of the division of employments, but in consequence of the combination of employments. It will not be a sufficient answer to this remark to say, one of the brothers has been more of a publisher and the other more of an author. Individually and severally, as well as in partnership together, they have self done and superintended the whole of their business themselves. They have combined, they have not divided employments. What the Messrs. Chambers have done, they have done in the teeth of a principle of political economy, as popularly and generally understood and interpreted. Of all

the publishers and authors who have endeavoured to supply cheap literature to the public, they have been the most successful and the best. The highest feat in the production of cheap literature has been achieved by the combination and not by the division of employments.

Now, there was a great thing done by the combination of employments upwards of a couple of centuries ago, a thing compared with which cheap literature is insignificant. Shakspeare did his work in spite of the principle of the division of labour. He was a monopolist of employments, a proprietor of his theatre, a wardrobe lender, an actor, and a dramatist. Roll, the chief proprietor of Drury Lane, the poet Bunn, Macready, the tragedian,—*Baron Nathan*—a poetic genius as lofty as that of William Wordsworth, a theatrical tact as effective as that of Sheridan Knowles, combine the logic of the Greek philosophy and the beauty of Italian art in one Saxon man; and the harmonized unit resulting from the compound, the splendid amalgam, would resemble the sublime and manifold Shakspeare.

The profession of literature is notoriously a bad one. The book trade in the publishing department is not found to be generally lucrative. Insolvent publishers are not scarce. Authors who have obtained the widest circulation for their works and yet continue to be needy men, abound in the present day. They have made the fortunes of their publishers, and have not been able to provide for their children. May not the fault lie in the system which makes authors and publishers the natural enemies of each other, instead of partners in the production of books? As for the notion that publishers are the patrons of authors, there would be equal truth in saying, game-preservers are the patrons of game, when they feed them to eat them.

The chief evil of the present system for authors, is the irregularity of their payments. They never know what their income is, or when they will have it or want it. Every author of merit has a portion of the public who feel kindly and gratefully towards him for instruction or amusement. They would gladly pay him. They wish much to see his life rescued from anxiety. But the present system gives no play or scope to their kindness. They have no wish to enrich his publisher. They share the spite of authors against the publishing craft.

Mr. Robert Chambers owes much of his success to the vein of strong Scotch common sense which runs through his writings. Common sense is just the expression of the average selfishness and intelligence of a given people and age. Religious liberty is common sense now-a-days, though it was a crotchet of benevolent enthusiasts two hundred years ago. Free trade is com-

mon sense at Manchester, and quite another thing in the Carlton Club. The opinions of Mr. Robert Chambers embody his view and interpretation of the common sense of his day. His personal qualities are a love of knowledge, a passion for getting on, a shrewd humour, an admiration for comfort and kindness; in short, he is the essayist of success in life, as this success is understood in the sober and moderate, and not in the wild and enthusiastic circles of the Scottish metropolis. His style is neat, plain, and lively. His ideas without being ever profound, original, impassioned, or lofty, are ingenious, clear, and intelligent. He always steers shrewdly, and adroitly, and safely, through his subject, if he never strikes out new light; and his tendencies, as a writer, are good to make men more sensible, prudent, and kindly, if not to exalt, ennoble, and glorify, the human mind.

Mr. Robert Chambers entered the world of letters under the patronage of Sir Walter Scott, and all his prejudices and sympathies are, and always have been, with the poetry and romance of toryism. Jacobitism, a superstition as wretched as the Fetichism of the African negroes, is a thing respecting which he has always been insinuating apologies and applauses into the public mind. Feudalism, the squirely aspect of the superstition which appears in its royal dress in Jacobitism, has received no blows, and many a pleasant little word from his pen. Just before the Reform Bill struggle, and when Chambers's Journals started, aristocracy had reached its greatest height in this country, and has ever since been declining in general estimation and actual wealth and power. Progress has triumphed over ignorance, benevolence over sinister interests, democracy over aristocracy, the people over the peerage, since 1830; but the good cause has had no help, and the evil cause many fair words from Robert Chambers. Hence, though supplying the public with a journal of much merit, he has not lodged himself in the affections of the people. His common sense has led him to ridicule all enthusiasts. A paper, entitled, 'Led by Ideas,' shows this, his bad side, very disagreeably. In this paper, the advocates of allotments for labourers, of co-operative communities, emigration, free-trade, popular sports, national education, out-door relief, temperance, picture-galleries, solitary imprisonment, peace, public baths, are severally, individually, and collectively, held up to ridicule. We are told, the authors of such schemes are 'subjected to a disesteem which never befalls the quiet selfish men of the world.' Our knowledge of such men is pretty extensive; and the picture of them which our author draws, as quite intolerant of the schemes of each, seems to us a gross caricature, the falseness of which would have been

corrected by more general and careful observation. By whom are such enthusiasts held in disesteem? We believe it is not by any large section of the public. When they succeed, they win the admiration of all men and of distant times. Of course, they have the disapprobation of the persons whose selfish interests they interfere with, and of, here and there, a sordid old hermit, whose conduct is rebuked by their generous labours. But Mr. Chambers ought not to cater for the approbation of such men, if he would not share their universal disesteem.

We have not deemed it necessary to illustrate the qualities of Mr. Chambers as a writer, his essays being so well known and accessible. They are all readable, and some of them racy. They are well worthy of perusal in their collected form. The reader of them will find many shrewd observations upon human nature, as there told clearly, cleverly, and amusingly. Upon the whole, as the essayist of prudence and propriety, a teacher of industry, diligence, and perseverance, the name of Robert Chambers is worthy of honour, and his writings entitled to extensive circulation and perusal.

ART. VII.—*History of the Reformation in Germany.* By Leopold Ranke. Translated by Sarah Austin. Vol. III. London: Longman and Co.

THE men of the Reformation were cast in a noble mould. Their qualities were of the highest order, and fitted them to act their part in the great drama of life. There was nothing fictitious or unreal about them. Pretence was foreign from their character. They were all which they appeared, and their actions realised their promises. Between their inner and outer man there was entire congruity, a harmony which bespoke integrity, and revealed the mighty power of their principles. They were not the mere semblance of men, the outward and visible form of a godlike nature, from which the indwelling deity had retired. They stood up erect and manly, a fitting emblem of mental power and conscientiousness. As their character was real and not fictitious, so their work was pursued with intense earnestness. It was in no light or trifling spirit that they followed their vocation. Necessity was laid upon them; they could not do otherwise, so clear and strong was their conviction. They were impelled onward by a sense of right which no logic could weaken, nor authority control. They

were the messengers of God, the appointed heralds of truth, the church within which were the ark of the testimony and the Spirit of the Lord. Such was their conviction, and it gave a lofty and noble enthusiasm to their course. They were in earnest, and they felt themselves right in being so; and the elevating tendency of their conviction was seen in the fortitude with which they encountered difficulties, and the calmness and self-possession which enabled them to triumph over adverse circumstances. There was nothing light or superficial in their labours. They spoke and acted as they thought. Their thoughts were sincere, deep, and earnest; and their actions partook of these qualities. They had many imperfections, they committed many errors. Their views were incomplete and often erroneous; their spirit was intolerant, and their denunciations frequently revolting. Yet, with all this, they were amongst the noblest of men, thoroughly in earnest in a worthy cause, and actuated throughout their career by the highest influences of which our nature is susceptible.

The study of their life and labours is specially appropriate just now to dissenters. It contains a moral which should be deeply pondered, and, if thoroughly comprehended, will go far to prepare us for the struggle on which we are entering. There is no self-laudation in supposing that we have improved somewhat on their views. We have had three hundred years to do so—years of hard conflicts and of terrible privations. We have been disciplined in the school of persecution, and have been sufficiently reluctant to admit its lesson. Our progress has been slow, but it has been real. Our puritan fathers clung to state churchism; the non-conformists saw the truth more clearly, but failed in reducing it to consistent practice; and the dissenters of the Revolution, down to a recent period, held their principles feebly, and suffered them to be overlaid by political considerations. Throughout the whole, however, there has been steady progress. Truth has been gaining ground; and he who studies, with a philosophic mind, the successive stages of the ecclesiastical controversy, will see that they are but the varying phases of the same great principle, each adapted to its day, naturally growing out of that which preceded, and giving birth to that which followed. Dissenters were never so clear-sighted or so unanimous as at present. They have been approximating to one common centre for some years past, and the providence of God has hastened their movements. With an inconsiderable exception, they are now as the heart of one man in their condemnation of the existing union between things sacred and secular, the incorporation of the church with the institutions and intrigues of the political world. What

they need is earnestness—a deep, abiding, practical sense of the claim of their principles; the right and the obligation of making them paramount, and of labouring for their diffusion, as the first and highest duty which they owe to God and their country. For the production of such a feeling we know few studies more appropriate than that of the history of the Reformation. The men of Germany and of Switzerland were really in earnest; they staked their all in the great cause, and felt that it was worthy of their doing so. The story of their lives is as instructive as it is alluring, and we gladly contribute our aid to render it as popular as it is valuable.

Of the general merits of the work before us we need not now speak, having done so in our notice of the former volumes. There is a largeness and breadth in it not common to ecclesiastical histories. It treats more fully of the political bearings of the Reformation, the secular relation of its chief actors, the course of European negotiation, and the policy of Charles v., of Ferdinand, the pope, the Italian states, the German princes, and the Swiss Cantons. It is the book for statesmen and politicians, at the same time that it is admirably adapted to enlarge the views, and to fill up the meagre outline with which the generality of readers are satisfied.

Having recorded the early struggles and doubtful triumphs of the Lutheran church, the author proceeds, in the volume before us, to narrate its growing strength. In this stage of development we unhappily find it, as Mrs. Austin accurately observes, 'laying claim to the possession of absolute truth; already forging instruments for restraining the inquiry it had so ardently promoted and so largely used; and for establishing an authority akin to that which it had risen to overthrow.' This infirmity of noble minds is deeply to be deplored, as it perpetuated the reign of spiritual despotism, and has left it to the present age to work out the emancipation of mankind. But enough of this. We pass to the history as it stands before us. The age and character of Luther were happily tempered to each other, and the following passage only does simple justice to the coincidence.

'Though the papacy was still intent upon a more rigorous and minute development of its dogmas and its rites, and a more strenuous assertion of them, tendencies of a scientific kind which were opposed to the reigning system of the schools, and longings of the religious spirit which found no satisfaction in the ritual observance of the prescribed ordinances, were at work within its own bosom. The wonderful coincidence was, that just as abuses had risen to the most intolerable height, the study of the sacred books in their original tongues once more revealed to the world, in all its radiance, that pure

idea of Christianity which had so long been darkened or disguised. A man appeared who, in that secret travail and contention of mind to which the remedies usually applied by the church afforded no relief, seized with his whole soul on an aspect of Christianity hitherto the most profoundly obscured ; and such was his own experience of its truth, fulness, and saving power, that he would never more suffer it to be wrested from him, but maintained it unshaken through life and death. In the contest to which it gave rise, he drew around him all the other elements of innovation, with a consistency and sagacity which at length gained over the whole nation, and secured to himself a degree of sympathy such as no other man ever enjoyed. At the same time that he gave a new direction to religious thoughts and feelings, he opened a new prospect of national regeneration. Men already felt that the papacy was not to be held in check by constitutional forms ; and that if they would free themselves from its usurpations, they must contest the spiritual grounds on which those usurpations rested.'—p. 5.

It is known to every reader, that the German and Swiss reformations borrowed much of their character from the personal qualities of their leaders, and that these, again, mainly arose from the circumstances peculiar to the country of each. Luther and Zwinglius had some qualities in common, but there were others in which they differed, and which led to bitter and interminable strife.

'If we compare him with Luther,' says Ranke, referring to Zwingli, 'we find that he had no such tremendous tempests to withstand, as those which shook the most secret depths of Luther's soul. As he had never devoted himself with equal ardour to the established church, he had not now to break loose from it with such violent and painful struggles. It was not the profound sense of the power of faith and of its connexion with redemption in which Luther's efforts originated, that made Zwingli a reformer ; he became so, chiefly because, in the course of his study of scripture in search of truth, he found the church and the received morality at variance with its spirit. Nor was Zwingli trained at a university, or deeply imbued with the prevalent doctrinal opinions. To found a high school, firmly attached to all that was worthy of attachment, and dissenting only on certain most important points, was not his vocation. He regarded it much more as the business and duty of his life, to bring about the religious and moral reformation of the republic that had adopted him, and to recal the Swiss Confederation to the principles upon which it was originally founded. While Luther's main object was a reform of doctrine, which, he thought, would be necessarily followed by that of life and morals, Zwingli aimed directly at the improvement of life ; he kept mainly in view the practical significance of scripture as a whole ; his original views were of a moral and political nature ; hence his labours were tinged with a wholly peculiar colour.'—p. 71.

The revolution they severally contemplated was as distinct as were their personal qualities. The views of the Swiss reformer were larger and more radical than those of his contemporary of Wittenberg. He sought to effect a more thorough change in the external aspect of the church, and apart from the doctrine of justification, was clearer and more scriptural in his conceptions of religious truth. Their controversy respecting the Lord's Supper is well known, and few of our readers will hesitate to give the palm to Zwinglius; but the following passage betokens other points of disagreement, with which the general reader is not probably so familiar:—

‘The principal difference is, that, whereas Luther wished to retain everything in the existing ecclesiastical institutions that was not at variance with the express words of scripture, Zwingli was resolved to get rid of everything that could not be maintained by a direct appeal to scripture. Luther took up his station on the ground already occupied by the Latin church: his desire was only to purify; to put an end to the contradictions between the doctrines of the church and the gospel. Zwingli, on the other hand, thought it necessary to restore, as far as possible, the primitive and simplest condition of the Christian church; he aimed at a complete revolution.

‘We know how far Luther was from inculcating the destruction of images; he merely combated the superstitions which had gathered around them. Zwingli, on the contrary, regarded the veneration addressed to images as sheer idolatry, and condemned their very existence. In the Whitsuntide of 1524, the council of Zürich, in concert with him, declared its determination of removing all images; which it held to be a godly work. Fortunately, the disorders which this measure excited in so many other places, were here avoided. The three secular priests, with twelve members of the council, one from each guild, repaired to the churches, and caused the order to be executed under their own supervision. The crosses disappeared from the high altars, the pictures were taken down from the altars, the frescoes scraped off the walls, and whitewash substituted in their stead. In the country churches the most precious pictures were burnt, ‘to the praise and glory of God.’ Nor did the organs fare better; they too were connected with the abhorred superstition. The reformers would have nothing but the simple word. The same end was proposed in all the practices of the church. A new form of baptism was drawn up, in which all the additions ‘which have no ground in God's word’ were omitted. The next step was the alteration of the mass. Luther had contented himself with the omission of the words relating to the doctrine of sacrifice, and with the introduction of the sacrament in both kinds. Zwingli established a regular love feast (Easter 1525). The communicants sat in a particular division of the benches, between the choir and the transept, the men on the right, the women on the left; the bread was carried about on

large wooden platters, and each broke off a bit, after which the wine was carried about in wooden cups. This was thought to be the nearest approach to the original institution.'—pp. 86—88.

The Diet of Spires in 1529 gave visible form to the resistance which it was determined to offer to the evangelical doctrine. It was resolved formally to revoke the article of the Recess of 1526, in virtue of which all existing innovations were recognised. Ecclesiastical bodies were forbidden to be deprived of their authorities and revenues; and such as denied 'the sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ,' were to be subjected to the severest penalties of ecclesiastical law.

'In short,' says our author, 'though the dissidents were not expressly admonished in the Recess, to return to the bosom of the church they had abandoned, it was unquestionable that by assenting to it they would bring about the total and speedy ruin of the evangelical church, which was just rising into importance.

'It appeared as if the religious reforms which had begun to acquire consistency from the situation of the political affairs of Europe, were now about to be overthrown by the changes which those affairs had undergone. The great community of the empire, which for a while had wavered, now resumed its station on the side of the two great combined powers.'—pp. 165, 166.

It remained now to be seen whether the reformers would submit. Authority was clearly against them. The emperor's brother, Ferdinand, was actively concurrent with the majority, and no doubtful indications were afforded of the readiness of the catholic princes and divines to resort to force. It required large faith to abide steadfast: to waver now would be to abandon all they had projected, whilst to maintain their position seemed fraught with certain ruin. Their perplexity was increased by their relation to the emperor, of whose policy there could be no doubt. He was their liege lord, and few of them were yet prepared to resist the power with which it was obvious he would seek to crush their church. In this crisis Saxony was firm. On the 12th of April, Minkwitz, the envoy of the elector, declared in a full assembly of the empire, that in affairs of conscience a majority had no force. This was an ominous avowal, sufficiently startling under the circumstances, and not fully comprehended, as is clear, by the parties who uttered it. It betokens, however, the progress which men were making, unknown to themselves, and reveals the salutary influence of trial. Truth has gained little in calm and sunny hours. It has been amidst the darkness and fury of the tempest that men have resorted to the strongholds in which alone they are unassailable and safe. The principle involved in this avowal

was at first only partially applied. The parties who used it did not contemplate its universal application. They raised it as a shield for their own defence, but denied it to others. An important service, however, was rendered by its utterance on this great occasion, and during the three hundred years which have since elapsed, it has passed into an axiom which no honest or reflecting man will deny. King Ferdinand and the Catholic majority were not, however, to be diverted from their policy. They demanded entire obedience, and the evangelical princes, startled at the refusal of their proposals, retired to determine on their course. The result is known to history, and is thus detailed by our author:—

‘In reply to a request of the princes, that they would not refuse a short delay, King Ferdinand said that he had received the positive commands of his imperial majesty; these he had executed, and so the matter must remain: the articles were determined on. So saying, he and the commissioners left the house. Still more irritated by the contempt for their dignity and their rights which this conduct implied, the evangelical states now determined to execute a project which they had conceived some weeks before, as soon as they saw the turn affairs were taking at the diet. They resolved to resort to the only legal means of resistance left them. It was evidently impossible to make the assembly recede from its resolutions; to submit to them, would be to renounce their own existence. They reappeared in the same sitting,—not indeed before the king and the imperial commissioners, but before the states still assembled,—and caused that protest to be read aloud, from which they took the name their descendants still bear—Protestants.

‘They especially insisted on the fundamental principles of the laws of the empire. They declared that they could not be obliged, without their consent, to give up the privileges secured to them by the Recess lately drawn up at Spires, which had been confirmed by such strong mutual promises, and attested by their common seals; that the attempt of the other states to repeal this by their separate act, was null and void, and had no authority over them; that they should go on to conduct themselves towards their subjects in matters of religion, according to the terms of the former Recess, and as they thought they could answer it to God and the emperor. If the other States were not to be restrained from framing the present Recess with the offensive resolutions, they begged that their protest might at least be incorporated with it.

‘This declaration, the mere form of which is most remarkable, was expressed with all possible external deference and courtesy. The States were all spoken of as ‘our dear lords, cousins, uncles, and friends;’ they were entitled, with the most careful attention to their several distinctions, ‘You, well beloved, and you, others.’ To the former were addressed ‘friendly requests,’ to the latter, ‘gracious consideration’ (*Gnädiges Gesinnen*); and while they do not for an

instant lose sight of their princely dignity, they beg their opponents not to misunderstand the course which they feel themselves compelled to adopt: in return, they promise the former to deserve this by their friendship, and the latter to requite it by their good will. The style of the documents of this century certainly have no claim to be called beautiful or classical, but they are suited to the circumstances, and have a marked character,—like the men of that age and all that they do.—pp. 171—173.

In consequence of these proceedings a league was projected between the two branches of the reformation. Under the pressure of a common danger the princes deemed such a league practicable, and it is only just to the Swiss reformers to say, that the objections which prevented it did not emanate from them. On this point, as on some others, they were greatly in advance of the Lutherans, amongst whom the spirit of an exclusive orthodoxy was lamentably prevalent. It is due, however, to the latter, to bear in mind what our author remarks, 'that the whole reformation originated in religious convictions, which admit of no compromise, no conditions, no extenuation.' There was no general principle recognized as the basis of their procedure, no assertion of human right, no distinct perception of the sacredness of conscience, and the direct relation which man sustains to his Maker. Each was persuaded of the truth of what he held, and abided by it simply as such. 'Some are sorrowful,' said Luther, 'as if God had forgotten us; but he cannot forget us, he must first forget himself; our cause must be not his cause, our doctrine not his work. Were Christ not with us, where then were he in the world? If we have not God's word, who then has it?' This was the secret both of the strength and of the weakness of the German reformation. It raised its agents above the fear of man, but induced an intolerant suppression of the faith of others. In the present case it led to evil, as the following extract will show:—

'The parties to the new league had at first kept it secret from the theologians in Spire; and when at length it was communicated to them, they were obliged to acquiesce in it.

'But they were the first in whose minds scruples concerning it arose. Melancthon, a man who, with patient and unwearied labour, worked out in his own mind every difficult problem that came before him, returned home robbed of his accustomed cheerfulness. He fancied that if Zwingli's adherents had been abandoned, the Lutherans would have found the majority more willing to make concessions; he reproached himself with not having insisted upon this, as was his duty. He was alarmed at the idea that a subversion of the empire and of religion might be the consequence of this compliance. On reaching Wittenberg he spoke to Luther about it, and we may easily

imagine what were his sentiments. Melancthon fell into the most painful state of inward strife. 'My conscience,' says he, in a letter of the 17th May, 'is disquieted because of this thing; I am half dead with pondering upon it.' On the 11th June: 'My soul is possessed by such bitter grief, that I neglect all the duties of friendship, and all my studies.' On the 14th: 'I feel myself in such disquiet, that I had rather die than endure it longer.' As if with a desire to remedy the wrong that had been committed, he at length endeavoured on his own authority, to put his friends in Nürnberg on their guard against concluding the projected treaty. 'For the godless opinions of Zwingli must on no account be defended.'

'His sovereign master, the elector, he could safely leave to Luther's influence.

'Luther, as we have said, had not hesitated a moment to condemn the alliance with the followers of Zwingli. Instantly and spontaneously, on hearing Melancthon's statement of the facts, he applied to Elector John even now to set aside the agreement concluded at Spiers. He represented to him that all such compacts were dangerous, and reminded him how the former one had been misused by the impetuosity of the young landgrave. 'How then,' said he, 'shall we dare to connect ourselves with people who strive against God and the Holy Sacrament? We shall thus go to perdition, body and soul.'—pp. 184—186.

The views of the Protestants were greatly divided as to whether they were bound by the words of scripture to pay unlimited obedience to the emperor. In their case, as with the Puritans, the development of political truth was aided by religious sympathies. The emperor was known to be unfavourable to them. His hostility had been growingly evinced for some time past, and many things induced the belief that he would, probably, ere long, resort to force to constrain their obedience. In these circumstances it was natural for conscientious men to inquire how far they would be justified to resist the supreme power of the empire; what, in fact, were the limits of obedience, and whether rights, though subordinate, might be defended in arms against a superior and aggressive power. The jurists maintained that self-defence being permitted, resistance was justifiable, and Bugenhagen, on whom, in the absence of Luther and Melancthon, it devolved to decide the theological question, affirmed their judgment. 'He declared, that if a power, however unquestionably derived from God, set itself in opposition to God, it could no longer be regarded as the supreme authority.' Luther's opinion, however, was totally different from that of his colleague, and it ultimately prevailed even in Saxony. It was partly true and partly false. True, as it repudiated a resort to arms in defence of religion; and false, as

it involved a denial to subjects of the right of resistance to civil tyranny.

The elector, John of Saxony, took an active and prominent part throughout these discussions. He stood confessedly at the head of the Protestant princes of the empire, and the integrity of his character gave weight and consideration to his views. Few men have passed through trying circumstances with a more unblemished reputation, and the following brief sketch of his career will be read with interest by all who admire high principles, or do honour to undeviating consistency:—

‘Elector John of Saxony, the last of the four excellent sons of Elector Ernest,—educated with the greatest care, at Grimma, to qualify him for either the spiritual or the temporal dignities of the empire—the progenitor of the Ernestine house, which has now such numerous and flourishing branches—did not possess the political genius, nor the acute and penetrating mind of his brother Frederic. On the other hand, he was remarkable from his childhood for good nature and frankness,—‘without guile and without bile,’ as Luther said,—yet full of that moral earnestness which gives weight and dignity to simplicity of character. He is believed to have lived to his thirty-second year, when he married, in perfect chastity; there is at least no trace of the contrary. The brilliant and tumultuous knightly festivals in which he sometimes took part at the court of Maximilian, afforded him no satisfaction, although he always made a distinguished figure at them; he once said, at a later period of his life, that not one of these days had passed without a sorrow. He was not born for the amusements and dissipations of the world; the disgust which inevitably attends them made too deep an impression on him, and gave him more pain than their frivolous enjoyments gave him pleasure. With his brother, who was his co-regent, he never had a difference; never did the one engage a person in his service without the full consent of the other. From the first appearance of Luther in the world, John embraced his doctrines with the most joyful sympathy; his serious and profoundly religious mind was gradually but completely imbued with them. His greatest enjoyment was, to have the scriptures, which he now heard for the first time, read aloud to him in an evening; sometimes he fell asleep—for he was already far advanced in years—but he awoke repeating the last verse that dwelt upon his memory. He occasionally wrote down Luther’s sermons, and there is extant a copy of the lesser catechism in his handwriting. Examples are not wanting, both before and since his time, of princes whose powers of action have been paralysed by absorption in religious contemplation; but with him this was not the case; notwithstanding the extreme simplicity of his character, he was not less conspicuous for elevation and force of will. When, during the peasants’ war, the cause of the princes was in so tottering a state, he did not disguise from himself that a terrible convulsion might ensue; he was prepared for reverses, and was heard to say that

he could content himself with a horse or two, and be a man like other men; but this sentiment did not prevent his defending his good right as bravely as any of his brother princes; only he used his victory with greater clemency. It would be difficult to point out a moment in the subsequent years of his reign, in which he could have indulged in a merely contemplative piety. We know of no prince to whom a larger portion of the merit of the establishment of the protestant church can justly be ascribed. His brother and predecessor had merely not suffered the new doctrines to be crushed; he had taken them under his protection in his own dominions, and, so far as it was possible, in the empire. But when John assumed the government, there were rocks on either side, on which the whole cause might have gone to wreck, and which could only have been avoided by a policy founded on those lofty convictions that never for a moment failed or wavered. The peasants' war was followed by violent tendencies to a re-action; and urgently as the adoption of these was pressed upon him by his worldly-wise and experienced cousin, John did not allow himself to be mastered by them. On the contrary, the course which he took at the ensuing diet contributed to the passing of that Recess on which the whole subsequent legal structure of protestantism was reared. It soon indeed appeared as if the impetuosity of his Hessian ally would hurry the elector into a series of political perplexities of which nobody could foresee the end; but his calmer and better judgment saved him in time, and he returned to that defensive position which was natural to him, and which he was able to maintain. His sole object and endeavour was to give to the new doctrines an utterance and a recognised existence in his dominions. He introduced into Germany the first evangelical form of church government, which, in a greater or less degree, served as model for all others. He speedily put a stop to the arbitrary acts of his nobles; mild and sweet tempered as he was, he was not to be induced to grant any unjust favour, and he censured his son for listening more than was prudent to those about him. In all these respects, Luther had the greatest influence over him; Luther knew how to set the secret springs of this pure and noble soul in motion at the fitting time, and to keep this upright conscience constantly awake. Thus, therefore, it was John of Saxony who took the lead in that Protest which gave its name and position to the whole party. For when justice and religion were on his side, he knew not hesitation; he sometimes quoted the proverb, 'Straight forward makes a good runner.' ('Gradaus giebt einen guten Renner.') He was by nature retiring, peaceful, unpretending; but he was raised to such a pitch of resolution and energy by the greatness of his purposes, that he showed himself fully equal to their accomplishment. —pp. 288—292.

The growing diversities of opinion amongst reformers, had from the first alarmed their more timid friends, and given to their enemies much occasion for scandal. It was nothing more than might have been anticipated. The breaking up of the

dull monotony of ancient formalism rendered it inevitable, and the subsequent history of religious opinions serves clearly to show that the wisest course would have been to let such diversities alone. The sixteenth century, however, was not prepared for this heroic forbearance. Protestants and Catholics proclaimed a common crusade against the minor sects, and their histories form, in consequence, some of the darkest chapters of religious persecution. The natural result followed. They receded farther and farther from the recognized standards of orthodoxy. One diverging opinion generated another, and a deeply rooted hatred of all ecclesiastical authority was spread throughout Europe. At this we are not surprised; the measures adopted were well suited to elicit such a result, and should be borne in mind in any judgment we pass on the opinions and spirit of the Separatists. The following sketch of some of these measures may be received as an illustration of what was acted on a European theatre:—

‘It is difficult to believe how widely these opinions were diffused. We find them in Salzburg, without being able to trace how they got there. They were professed by a community of poor people who rejected all divine worship, lived together in solitary places, and established confraternities by voluntary contributions; they called themselves Gardener-brethren (*Gärtnerbrüder*). They believed that the desire to do good was inherent in man, and that if he fulfilled the law it was enough; for that God drew us to himself by that necessity of acting justly, which he had imposed on us: that Christ was by no means the fulfiller of the law, but a teacher of Christian life;—doctrines of no very profound, but of a perfectly innocuous character. Nevertheless they drew down upon these poor people the most terrific punishment. Some of them being discovered at a meeting in the house of a parish priest, had, without hesitation, given the names of the absent members of their society. Hereupon, they were all delivered up to justice. Those of a weaker faith who allowed themselves to be persuaded to recant, were first beheaded and then burnt. Those who refused to recant were consigned alive to the flames. ‘They lived long,’ says a contemporaneous account, ‘and called aloud upon God, so that it was most piteous to hear.’ In other places, they were brought together into the house where they had frequently held their meetings and preached to one another, fastened in, and the house set fire to. ‘They cried out most lamentably together, and at length gave up the ghost: God help them and us all!’

‘There was a beautiful girl of sixteen, who could by no means be induced to recant;—for indeed the soul is at that age stronger and more capable of the highest flights of devotedness to a great moral sentiment, than at a more advanced period of life;—it is certain that she was guilty of the things whereof she was accused, but in all other respects she had the consciousness and the expression of the purest

WAYLAND'S ELEMENTS OF

innocence. Every body supplicated !
took her in his arms, carried her to a
watered, and held her under the wal
drew out the lifeless body, and co
560—562.

It is almost needless to say, that Mrs. Austin has discharged her duty as a translator with eminent fidelity. Her rendering is at once free and accurate. It preserves the German cast of thought in a perspicuous and graceful English style. We thank her for her labour, and shall welcome its continuation as an invaluable addition to our historical literature.

ART. VIII.—*The Elements of Moral Science.* By Francis Wayland, D.D., President of Brown University, and Professor of Moral Philosophy.

Nothing more clearly indicates man's superiority over his fellow-beings which constitute the animal creation, than his ethical nature. If the doctrine of final causes be not altogether a presumption, surely we hazard no error in saying, that the nature of every being marks out the end for which that being is designed. Do we see in brutes any development of a moral, religious, or æsthetical faculty? It is contended by some, indeed, that we ought to regard the examples of sagacity which the higher animals exhibit, as indicating a species of reason. Be it so: still it cannot be denied that the chain of consequences which they can forge is soon run out; it consists, at best, but of a very few links. But by whatever name we may call the brutal intelligence, it may perhaps be admitted that there are cases in which it may not be easy to draw the precise distinction between this intelligence and some of the lower exercises of reason in man. It would seem, however, that at all events, there is a clear line of demarcation between *conscience* in him, and any thing which, so far as the effects are concerned, might seem to resemble it in brutes. An animal may be trained to act in a certain manner from dread of pain, as we see in the absurd tricks which dogs are sometimes cruelly taught to practise at the sound of the lash: and there are cases in which some animals seem to exhibit what appears almost like a sense of guilt and shame. Probably all such phenomena may be resolved into the fear of punishment; that is, ultimately, into association; for that animals are subject to this law of intelligence, is

not to be doubted. This is proved by all their acquired habits; and is exemplified every time a horse stops of his own accord at an accustomed inn. Animals, equally with man, are formed to act, also, on the *à priori* principle, that the course of nature is uniform; that like causes, in like circumstances, will produce like effects; that is, that what has happened will happen again: for why else should the dog that has once been thrown into the water shun the river's brink? In regard to these ultimate principles which regulate all physical activity, it may be said of the animal tribes, as of man: '*The inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding.*' But no one, that we are aware, ever regarded any of the phenomena of the mind of brutes as *moral*, any more than *æsthetical*. The most stupendous scenes of nature may lie before them, but there is no indication of any corresponding feelings. The most terrible devastations they may commit on human life and property, are unattended with any signs of remorse, or of the consciousness of having broken a moral law. Indeed the very supposition of such sentiments as attaching to brutes, seems absurd. The sense of law, the sense of beauty and of sublimity, the sense of a creating power, demand a lofty elevation of reason. The brutes are thus deficient, because they have no moral and religious destination. The Roman poet, in his celebrated description of the creation, (so remarkably coincident, in many of its details, with the Mosaic account,) beautifully characterizes the moral nature of man, in the first word of the lines which he devotes to the subject of the formation of the human race:—

*Sanctius his animal, mentisque capacius altæ
Deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cetera posset
Natus homo est. Sive hunc divino semine fecit
Ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo :
Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto
Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cœli.
Quam satus Iapeto, mistam fluvialibus undis,
Finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta Deorum.*

Man's destiny as a moral being does not exhibit itself at his birth. He is at first, indeed, a mere animal of remarkable organization. His primitive and instinctive tendencies, on the contrary, begin to be developed with the first hour of his existence. Many of these, as they each come into activity, present no moral or even deliberative character; and spontaneously tend to their objects before reason has taught what end they are designed to answer. We see, in infancy, a multitude of desires appearing in the form of the instinctive impulses of the appetite for food; the tendency to activity, and to self-preservation;

WAYLAND'S ELEMENTS OF MORAL

the desire of knowledge, (curiosity,) ;
or voluntary and involuntary imi
crous; the love of possession or p
sorrow, joy, and shame in the form of
the advance and maturity of reason, we
of wonder; the desire of the approbation of
of superiority; conscience; the emotions of
of sex.

Coevally with some of the above elements of human nature, arise other sentiments which are formed to have a more exclusive bearing on the social state: we allude to the benevolent and displace affections, such as love, sympathy, gratitude, on the one hand; or hate, and anger, on the other. Some of these emotions which have a direct relation to society, give a social character to certain of the former; which, (as we have implied) terminate in the individual who feels them: thus, for example, joy and sorrow, which are first awakened by what befalls ourselves, are afterwards, as occasion may arise, taken into combination with the sympathetic principle, and we are thus capable of sympathising in the joy and grief of others. In a similar manner, the sense of sex, allied with the complacent or benevolent affection, becomes erotic love.

Now it might, we suppose, easily be shewn that none of these elemental principles of human feeling are, in themselves, evil; though they are all capable of perversion, and have actually been perverted in the history of mankind. Indeed, if they are only so many connate tendencies of man, as he is constituted by his Creator, to imagine any of them essentially immoral, would violate all our notions of the Deity—*notions which are never given up in any form of Theism, either natural or revealed.* To regard any part of the human constitution as, *in itself*, immoral, appears to us proceeding on false views of that in which vice and depravity really consist. Perhaps it may be asked—whether anger and hate, at least, (which are sometimes, and as we think, undesirably, termed ‘malevolent affections,’) are not always more or less evil? We would venture to say, in reply, that we judge the contrary. That they may very easily degenerate into base passions is too well known: they do so whenever they fix on the wrong object; or when they appear in the form of malice, envy, or revenge. The same, however, might be said of the natural love of superiority: this also may readily lead to arrogance, undue contempt, or malignity. We must, in all these cases, make just distinctions. The connate tendency to anger, or the capacity of feeling it, must be guided and restrained by reason and by conscience. Hatred must be of *evil*, not of persons. The love of superiority must be in what is good, and it

should be blended with good feeling towards others. Some of these illustrations may possibly be thought to go near to begging the question: still we think that the moral facts of human nature would bear them out. We may add our conviction, that it would not be difficult to sustain them by an appeal to delineations of the Divine attributes; or of virtuous human character, even that of Jesus himself; in the books of the Old and New Testament.

In very early infancy, there is no self-control: no anticipation of evil consequences. Such of the elementary impulses as are awake and active, carry forward the will accordingly as any one of them may, at any time, happen to be the most strongly excited. Reason dawns, and soon begins to lay some check upon the first promptings of impulse; which are now seen often to lead directly to evil in the form of bodily pain, the instantaneous result of rashness and incaution. This is the beginning of moral discipline to the infant mind. But reason is long in rising to the general conception, that the complete satisfaction of all the separate tendencies of our nature is impracticable; that there is necessarily an antagonism among them; and that the greatest possible present good, as a whole, is the resultant of a balance of these antagonist powers.

Thus, when the reign of mere blind impulse and passion has ceased to be undisputed, the principle of self-interest begins to work. There is now some calculation of consequences. Whether we call this principle, and the previously-developed elementary impulses themselves, by the common name of self-love, or not, may be of little moment, provided we only remember that, before reason has given the idea of self-interest, we do not act from *motives* in any sort of *moral* sense: we are merely urged forward by impulse, as mechanically as the stone gravitates to the earth. Even when self-interest is first called into action, we are not yet strictly, and in the proper sense, *moral agents*—we have only begun to be rational. Self-interest teaches that we must not, as we value the very good which our impulses bid us seek, follow these impulses blindly; we must use, for the divining of consequences, the little experience we have of the laws of the physical world, and of the circumstances in which we find ourselves placed: 'the burnt child dreads the fire.'

Self-interest is not the highest law of which we are susceptible of feeling the influence, though some moralists (by a very hasty process, as it seems to us), would reduce all practical ethics to this single principle. For, in one word, we would ask, how can man be supposed always to act from self-interest, when, in a thousand actions, his utmost attempt at analyzing the phenomena which are passing within him at a given moment, can

detect no such element? There is a higher and nobler law, which after a while begins to utter forth its mandates, and which is destined to control all the impulses, and even self-interest itself; though it must be admitted, that this law—we of course mean the law of *duty*—is never opposed to self-interest in the most enlarged view of it. In other words, the good is never, ultimately, and on the grand scale, opposed to the useful. This is probably the cause why some writers have placed the essence of virtue (incorrectly, we think) in *utility*. When the idea of *right* or moral order is attained, and in proportion as it is clearly attained, its beauty and its harmony with all things are at once felt and recognized—however impulse or self-interest, on the usual partial scale, may sway the will to resistance. In other words, conscience is awakened. Where is the child, arrived at intelligence to comprehend the terms, who would not acknowledge that truth and gratitude were right—that lying and ingratitude were wrong? Supposing previous ignorance of the subject—which would be the easier—to inspire the idea that the two former are in harmony, the two latter in discordance, with moral order; or the idea of the reverse? Here we arrive at a point between which and self-interest, as commonly understood, there is a vast chasm—far wider than that which lies between passion and self-interest itself. Passion, when it reigns, blindly urges, reckless of what can properly be called self-interest, and often in diametric opposition to it: but in the one case the impulse, in the other the motive, tends towards gratification or satisfaction. But when the moral principle comes into operation, we recognize a new element—a new natural law—a law which is to arbitrate amidst all other contending claims, and is to demand precedence above all. We gain the idea of *obligation*—an idea which has reference—not to impulse—not to calculation—not to gratification—but to the highest good *in itself*, and for its *own* sake; an idea which we feel ought to regulate all impulses and passions, and to reign over the mind apart from all consideration of self-interest, and paramount to all consequences.

Of course, the most happy state possible to man, in this world, is that in which there is the greatest harmony between the elemental impulses, self-interest properly understood, and moral obligation. In proportion as this harmony is anyhow prevented, life will tend to prove a conflict of antagonist powers; but the predominance of the moral principle, which it is the main object of Christianity to secure, will remedy, as far as the nature of things renders possible, any want of this harmony, by subjugating the natural impulses, together with ordinary self-interest, to the dominion of moral law. We must no longer, however, pursue

this train of thought, but address ourselves to the volume before us.

The author of this work proceeds on the principle, that there is a science of morals to which the natural faculties of man are, in themselves, capable of leading. We have taken occasion, in a former number,* to advocate this view of ethics, in distinction from that which would seem to deny that the rational and moral constitution of human nature, as now existing, ought to be regarded as a legitimate source of theoretic morals.

It is true that the enormous aberrations of man's will from rectitude, exemplified in all history, and in the chronicles of daily life, constitute a great fact, which no one can or ever does dispute, whatever interpretation may be put on it according to the variation of theological systems. Passion and self-interest evidently have power to darken the light of reason, and benumb the moral sense; false associations, the resultant of these disturbing forces, confound good and evil; and man may be so sunk in animal and brutal degradation, as hardly to seem any longer a moral being. Nevertheless, even waiving all other considerations, it may be affirmed, that the extent to which pagan writers on ethics, of different ages and nations, have agreed as to what is right and what is wrong, not only among themselves, but also with the precepts of Christianity, has never been satisfactorily accounted for, apart from the principle that there are moral elements in man's nature of uniform origin and tendency—in short, a 'law written on the heart;' and that this law, however obscured, or perverted, or apparently obsolete, still remains there, as a part of the human constitution. Men's minds may be turned away from the business of endeavouring to trace the inscription, or, even when it is set forth in legible characters, and fortified with the deductions of reason by some master-spirit like those of antiquity (nay, even by evangelists and apostles), the law may still fail of actual power to subdue the will and passions of men; but wherever the subject has become interesting enough to command special attention, there is, within certain limits, an agreement as to good and evil, evidently indicating a uniform moral constitution in man, which may be made to testify to what is right, much as its voice has been overpowered by the practice of what is wrong.

Professor Wayland states that, when he began lecturing on moral philosophy in Brown University, the text-book in use was the work of Paley. He soon found himself compelled to dissent from that distinguished writer, but unsatisfactory ethical theorist; and, in the course of time, the materials of the present

* See Spalding's Christian Morals, May, 1845.

volume were accumulated. The former part of the book is entitled, 'Theoretical Ethics.' The author begins by discussing the *origin of our notion of the moral quality of actions*. In so doing, he defines moral philosophy as the science which classifies and illustrates moral law. 'All relations, whether moral or physical, are the result of the enactment of the Creator of all things.' Hence, the moral laws of God can never be varied by the institutions of man, any more than the physical laws. The reason why men imagine they can violate moral law, and yet escape the consequences, is, because while, in physics, the consequent often follows the antecedent immediately, and for the most part after a stated interval; in morals, the result is often long delayed, and the time of its occurrence is uncertain. Still the effects which God has connected with actions will invariably happen, just as the sequences which follow by the law of gravitation. What, then, is a moral action? It is the action, not only of a voluntary and intelligent agent, for brutes are, to some extent, voluntary and intelligent—and they are so far the subjects of government, that we can often determine their actions by intimidation or encouragement: a moral action is the action or volition of a voluntary intelligent agent who is capable of distinguishing right from wrong—what he *ought* from what he *ought not* to do. In order to determine the question—in what part of an action we discover its moral quality?—the author proceeds to observe that, in a deliberate (external) action, four distinct elements commonly exist; namely, the outward act, the conception of this act, the resolution to carry the conception into effect, and the intention or design with which all this is done. The (subjective) moral quality of the action belongs, says Dr. Wayland, only to the *intention*: this is that in which it resides. A and B both conceive the thought of giving C a piece of money; both resolve to give it to C; both actually do give it: there is nothing here to determine the question of right or wrong; but if A gave the money to C with the intention of bribing C to commit a crime, and B gave it with the intention of making C the channel of beneficence to a family in distress, the moral quality attaching to the whole action is at once determined. Hence we hold men guilty, not for the consequences, but for the motive, that is the intention of their actions. So also we distinguish between the instrument and the intender of good; and this distinction regulates our gratitude. It is not, however, necessarily wrong to intend evil. Harm or punishment may be inflicted, with propriety, for the ends of justice. Here the good of society demands evil to the offender. The whole of the intention, then, must be taken into the account. We think it must already be evident to our readers, from the above abstract,

that the author has brought to his work no mean qualifications for psychological and moral analysis.

In pursuing the fundamental inquiry, 'whence do we derive our notion of the moral quality of actions?' the utilitarian theory, among others, is discussed. Dr. Wayland argues that if the consequences of actions represent to us their moral character, it ought to be found, in practice, that we are so constituted as to approve of certain actions on the precise *account* that they promote our own benefit or that of others; but he asks—

'Is it a fact that we are conscious of this connexion? When we are conscious that an act is right, is this consciousness preceded by a conviction that this action will be productive of the greatest amount of happiness? When we say, it is wrong to lie or steal, do we find this consciousness preceded by the notion that lying or stealing will not produce the greatest amount of happiness? When we say, a man ought to obey God, his Creator and Preserver, do we find this conviction preceded by the other, that the exercise of this affection will produce the greatest amount of happiness? I am much deceived, if many persons will not be found who will declare that, often as they have formed these judgments, the idea of the greatest amount of happiness never actually entered into their conception.'

We think it undeniable that, frequently as the tendencies and consequences of actions present themselves to our minds in connexion with our moral approbation or disapprobation of them, we as often feel the latter sentiments without the immediate consciousness of any such estimate. We are struck with the moral beauty or turpitude of an action in itself, and for its own sake; and our being so affected does not appear, by any means, *essentially to depend* on the accompaniments or results of the action, however much these may, in certain circumstances, have a reflex influence on our moral sentiments. Still, that it is of the very nature of virtue to produce happiness, we do not for a moment doubt. There would almost seem to be some necessary connexion, in the nature or appointed constitution of things, between what is right and what is, on the grand scale, beneficial; for it appears as impossible for us to imagine that an action can be right, without its being ultimately, or immediately, calculated to promote happiness, as to imagine an effect without a cause. Even Dr. Wayland, though justly denying, on the authority of fact and phenomena, that *to us* a course of conduct is felt to be right simply *because it is useful*; does not hesitate to admit the possibility that, after all, the foundation of right may be closely united with the tendency to happiness. He thinks, however, that it may be doubted whether the solution (in this respect) of the question—why is an

action right? may not be beyond the reach of the human faculties. Bishop Butler says, on a somewhat different subject:—
 ‘An infinitely perfect mind may be pleased with this *moral piety* of moral agents *in and for itself, as well as* upon account of its being essentially conducive to the happiness of the creation; or the whole end for which God made and governs the world may be utterly beyond the reach of our faculties.’ *

The author also repudiates the theory that our notion of the moral quality of actions is derived from mere association:—
 ‘Association is the faculty by which we transfer, but we can transfer nothing which did not previously exist. We could never use the idea of right and wrong by association, unless we had already acquired it.’ This argument, however, would hardly avail against the advocates of the doctrine that the utility of an action and its rectitude are but two names for the same thing; for they would of course maintain that actions are called ‘right,’ or conformable to rule, merely because the idea of utility is associated with them; that is, they are conformed to the law of utility. Dr. Wayland further alleges that our notion of the moral quality of actions is not derived from an exercise of judgment. He understands ‘a judgment’ in the logical sense of affirming or denying a predicate of a subject: but before we can do this we must have the notion of the predicate and the subject already in our minds. A man who had no notion of ‘grass,’ nor of ‘green,’ could never intelligently affirm that ‘grass is green.’ A man who had no notion of right or wrong, could never affirm these qualities of any subjects; much less could he by judgment acquire the original idea. The judgment affirms a relation to exist between two notions which previously existed in the mind; but it can give us no *original notions* of quality, either in morals or in any thing else.’

Our acute and enlightened transatlantic moralist then proceeds to unfold his own views of this difficult and controverted point, substantially as follows: as soon as a human being comprehends the relation in which two human beings stand to each other, whether he himself be one of the parties or not, there arises in his mind *on the very conception of this relation*, a notion of moral obligation—an impression that *one* of the parties *ought* to exercise certain dispositions towards the other. This is the result of the human constitution as adapted to the objective relations of things; and this would be our feeling even irrespective of any knowledge of a Deity. In like manner, we cannot contemplate the notion of an infinite being, as standing to us in the relation of Creator, Benefactor, Lawgiver, and Judge, and

* Analogy, part i. chap. ii.

to whom we stand in the relation of dependent creatures, without the consciousness that we *ought* to entertain certain corresponding dispositions towards him. 'And hence, in general, our feeling of moral obligation is a peculiar and instinctive impulse, arising at once by the principles of our constitution, as soon as the relations are perceived in which we stand to the beings, created and uncreated, with whom we are connected.' The author admits that the proof of this statement must rest with human consciousness; and he illustrates it by remarking, that his views are confirmed by the manner in which we attempt to awaken moral feelings both in others and in ourselves. In the case of others, we always place before the mind the relation in which the parties stand to each other. In our own case we do the same: if, for instance, we wish to awaken in ourselves gratitude to another, we dwell on the idea that the individual is our benefactor; if this does not produce gratitude, nothing else will. It is not the thought of the greatest good, but the thought of the relations of the parties, that causes the moral feeling. The Deity has dealt with man in the same way. What so calculated to produce a sense of gratitude and its attendant acts, as the revealed character of God—the relations he condescends to sustain towards man? Dr. Wayland forcibly distinguishes between the sense of duty, and the sense of utility, if we may so call it, as motives to moral actions; and we cannot hesitate to believe that virtue, regarded in a subjective light, is totally distinct from the bare aim at utility, whatever *objective* connection there may be in the moral order of the universe between virtue and happiness. If a child were to say, 'I will obey my father because it is for the good of the family,' would the action be filial obedience? No—filial obedience is the obeying another *because he is my father*. Is it enough to say, that God is to be loved and served on the account that love to him and serving him promote my own happiness and that of others? Surely not—the obligations are felt to arise from the essential relations which subsist between God and his intelligent creatures. The author thus sums up his discussion of this part of the subject:—

'We stand in relations to the several beings with whom we are connected, such, that some of them, as soon as they are conceived of, suggest to us the idea of moral obligation. The relation in which we stand to Deity, suggests the conviction of universal and unlimited love and obedience. This binds us to proper dispositions to him; and also to such dispositions towards his creatures as he shall appoint. Hence our duties to man are enforced, first, because of our relation to man as man, and secondly, because of our relation to man, as being, with ourselves, a creature of God. And, hence, an act which is performed

in obedience to our obligations to men, may be *virtuous*; but it is not *pious*, unless it also be performed in obedience to our obligations to God. We see, hence, that two things are necessary in order to constitute any being a moral agent; an intellectual power by which he can understand the relation in which he stands to the beings by whom he is surrounded; and a moral power by which the feeling of obligation is suggested to him as soon as the relation in which he stands is understood. He is *accountable* just in proportion to the opportunity he has enjoyed for acquiring a knowledge of the relations in which he stands, and of the manner in which his obligations are to be discharged.'

In the chapter of the work which is more expressly devoted to the subject of conscience, Dr. Wayland considers 'some of the objections' which have been made against the supposition of a moral faculty in man. He begins by defining conscience or the moral sense; evidently including under these terms our sense of the good or evil of the conduct of *others*, as well as of our own. 'By conscience, or the moral sense, is meant that faculty by which we discern the moral quality of actions, and by which we are capable of certain affections in respect to this quality.' In order to make this definition of the moral faculty harmonize with the author's opinion (which we have already stated in detail) that our notion of the moral quality of actions is not *originally derived* from an exercise of the judgment, it is necessary, of course, that we should not understand him to mean any such exercise by what he here terms '*discerning*' this moral quality. We do not, and cannot, according to his previous statements, judge or pronounce an action right or wrong, until we have already acquired the notion of rectitude. It would have been, therefore, less liable to misinterpretation, and more consistent, verbally at least, with his views before adduced, if he had defined the moral faculty to be that by which we are found to have a conception of (discern) certain relations in which we are placed, and immediately on this conception to have certain feelings. In this way, reason and emotion would blend together in our original notions of right and wrong: our discernment of right and wrong would not be complete till we have felt moral approbation or disapprobation, supposed to be as necessarily consequent on the contemplation of certain relations, as the sensation of sound is consequent on a certain affection of the auditory nerve by vibrating air. This, we apprehend, is exactly what our author expresses generally, when he says that 'there is a moral quality in actions, and that man is endowed with a constitution capable of bringing him into relation to it.'

It may be objected to this view of the moral sense, that if

such a faculty had been given to man, it must have been universal: but it is not so; for what some nations consider right, other nations consider wrong; 'as infanticide, parricide, etc. Savages violate, without remorse or compunction, the plainest principles of right. Such is the case when they are guilty of revenge and licentiousness.' To these objections the following is the reply:—

'The objections seem to admit the universality of the power of discerning in actions a moral quality: it is admitted that men make the distinction, but it is affirmed that they refer the quality to different actions. But we have said that we discover the moral quality of actions in the *intention*. Now it is *not the fact* that this difference exists, if the *intention* of actions be considered. Where was it not considered right to *intend* the happiness of parents, and wrong to *intend* their misery? Where was it ever considered right to intend to requite kindness by injury, and wrong to intend greater kindness? In regard to the *manner* in which these intentions may be fulfilled, there may be a difference; but as to the moral quality of these and many other *intentions themselves*, there is a universal agreement among men. In those very cases in which (objectively) wrong actions are practised, they are justified on the ground of good intention, or of some view of the relations of the parties, which, if true, would render them innocent. Thus if infanticide is justified, it is on the ground that this world is a place of misery; that is, that the parent intends well to the child; or else it is defended on the ground that the parent has the right of life and death over the child. Thus, also, various other acts of wrong are defended. Where can the race of men be found, be they ever so savage, who need to be told that ingratitude is wrong, that parents ought to love their children, or that man ought to be submissive to the Supreme Divinity? No men, nor any class of men, violate *every moral* precept without the feeling of guilt, and the conscious desert of punishments. Hence the objections will rather prove the existence of a *defective* or *imperfect* conscience, than that no such faculty exists. The same objections would prove as destitute of taste or understanding, because these faculties exist in an imperfect state among savages and uncultivated men.'

Paley, in his chapter on the 'Moral Sense,' in which he endeavours to resolve all our moral sentiments into association, objects to the doctrine of a moral faculty such as has been above described—that, after all, even if the theory be admitted, these moral instincts have no *authority*: if a man choose to bear remorse of conscience for the sake of pleasure or profit, 'the moral-instinct man has nothing more to offer.' To this argument Dr. Wayland thus replies:—

'The objection proceeds upon a mistake respecting the function of conscience. Its use is to teach us to discern our moral obligations,

and to impel us towards the corresponding action. It is not pretended that man may not, after all, do as he chooses. All that is contended for is, that he is constituted with such a faculty, and that the possession of it is necessary to his moral accountability. It is in his power to obey it or to disobey it, just as he pleases. The fact that a man may obey or disobey conscience, no more proves that it does not exist, than the fact that he sometimes does, and sometimes does not obey passion, proves that he is destitute of passion.'

We have always regarded the argument derived from antiquity in favour of a definite moral faculty in man, as unanswerable: a faculty which, however distorted and impaired by the false associations consequent on the fall of human nature from rectitude, has never ceased to assert its existence in the homage which has been paid to virtue, in theory, and often in practice, under the most unfavourable circumstances. The ancient pagans furnished illustrious examples. Their actions frequently formed a decided contrast to the legendary characters of the deities whom they worshipped; and this is a striking evidence of the universality of moral distinctions. Rousseau, himself an unhappy instance of the homage which vice pays to virtue, has forcibly expressed the above fact: for Rousseau, though sceptical, was not, like many of the French contemporary literati of that awfully prophetic period, an atheist, or an absolute infidel. Helvetius, Diderot, and D'Holbach, jeered him as a bigot; and Voltaire, who ridiculed the idea of morals and religion, often coarsely abused him. Rousseau's conscience was sensibly alive to the superior morality of Christianity, and he argued from it the Divinity of the Christian religion.

Dr. Wayland is professedly a disciple of Butler; and he modestly intimates, in the preface, that he supposes his views on 'conscience' to be little more than a development of Butler's ideas on the same subject. With this distinguished author, he maintains, as we have seen, the doctrine of a moral faculty, in opposition to any modification of the theory which would reduce conscience to bare association founded on the notion of utility. But he is far more explicit than Butler, and has carried the operation of the moral faculty much more into detail. In illustration, many passages might be quoted from the chapters on the 'manner in which the decisions of conscience are expressed,' 'the authority of conscience,' 'the law by which it is governed,' and 'the rules of moral conduct,' founded on the phenomena of conscience.

Our author next proceeds to discuss the nature of virtue, in general. He remarks that in the case of a perfect *adjustment* of the moral faculty to its *moral relations*, there would be perfect virtue. The intellect would exactly discern the given relations;

the conscience would respond to all the consequent obligations, and impel to the corresponding courses of conduct. This might be expressed, we apprehend, by saying that there would be a perfect harmony between *objective* rectitude and *subjective* morality. But the moral faculty in man has become disordered : though it is rather functionally than organically deranged, as appears to us, (since it is capable of restoration to a high degree of susceptibility and correctness,) it is now in itself, but an imperfect guide. Hence Dr. Wayland observes, that the actions of man may be divided into those in which conscience correctly intimates to him the obligation, and those of which, from the present condition of his moral nature, he does not perceive the obligation. In the former case, the doing of right, and obedience to conscience, would be equivalent terms ; but, in the second case, 'how far is the omission of these actions, or the doing of the contrary, innocent ? That is to say, is the impulse of conscience in an imperfect moral being the limit of moral obligation ?' To this question, the following is the reply :—

'This will depend on his knowledge of the relations in which he stands. If he have not the means of knowing these relations, he is guiltless. If he have the means, he is guilty. The apostle Paul asserts that the heathen are guilty of sinning against God, because his attributes may be known by the light of nature. He also asserts a difference between the condemnation of the Jews and of the heathen : 'Those that sin without law shall perish without law ; and those that have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law.' His guilt will depend, secondly, upon the *cause* of this imperfection of his conscience. Were this not the result of his own act, he would be guiltless ; but in just so far as it is the result of his own conduct, he is responsible. It is well known that the repetition of wickedness produces great stupidity of conscience, or hardness of heart. But no one ever considers this as in any manner an excuse. It is, on the contrary, always held to be an aggravation of crime.

'From these facts we are easily led to the distinction between right and wrong, and innocence and guilt. Right and wrong depend on the relations under which beings are created ; hence the resulting obligations are fixed and unchangeable. Guilt and innocence depend upon the knowledge of these relations, and are affected by the degree in which the imperfection of conscience was the result of the voluntary agency of the individual himself. These are manifestly susceptible of variation ; while right and wrong are invariable. If an actor have no means of knowing an action to be wrong, he is held morally guiltless in the doing of it. He may, from ignorance of the way in which that obligation is to be discharged, perform an act in its nature wrong ; yet if he have acted according to the *best of his possible knowledge*, he may even be held virtuous. On the contrary, if a man do what is right [objectively] without a desire to fulfil the

obligation of which he is conscious, he is held to be guilty. Illustrations might be easily drawn from the ordinary affairs of life, or from the scriptures.'

We are glad to find our author so plainly asserting the objective character of rectitude, as wholly independent of human agency. As in all other kinds of truth, the object, that is the truth itself, is not to be confounded with the *minds* that may attain to the truth or fail of it, so undoubtedly must it be in moral truth. A moral action has two bearings: its relation in itself, to the moral order of the universe, and the intention with which it is performed by the agent. If there are moral actions in which these two criteria blend into one point, it is because moral order, in those cases, terminates in the disposition itself. We do not see how the above quoted remarks, founded on these distinctions, can be gainsayed. They certainly appear to be borne out by the consciousness of mankind, by the criminal laws which are recognised in society as just, and by the scriptural mode of representing the sources and degrees of human obligation. That the subject is thus cleared of all its difficulty, we are far, indeed, from being prepared to assert. The various and complicated circumstances in which moral agents are placed by the strange mixture of evil with good which attends the present state of human nature, renders the doctrine of man's responsibility one which requires to be dealt with in a spirit of deep humility and reverence. In human legislation, even after the loftiest aim at justice in the enactment and administration of penal laws, much remains which can hardly be justified, excepting on the principle of absolute necessity, in order to the welfare or even existence of society. In the moral government of God, more immediately, although we see an immense sphere of clearly-defined obligation, to which conscience fully responds, more particularly in Christian countries; still it must be admitted that no moralist or theologian has been able to do more than point out a few general principles; to apply them in all cases is beyond human power. The most practical inference from the moral condition of pagan nations, and of myriads of heathens in countries called Christian, is that the avowed disciples of Christ are greatly responsible for this state of things, and that they ought to unite their energies more than ever to remedy it: the adjustment of conflicting circumstances in the responsibility of individuals can only be left to the Omniscient Judge of all! and the secure resting place for every devout mind, from the painful bewilderments of speculation, is the assurance that '*the Judge of the whole earth will do right.*' Still it cannot be denied that he who contributes to

set in a clear light any aspect of man's accountableness to his Maker and to society, does a real service to the cause of truth.

After a short chapter on 'Human Happiness,' which is said to consist in the gratification of the various tendencies of our nature within the limits assigned to them by the Creator, the author proceeds to treat of self-love, on which subject he closely follows Butler; distinguishing self-love as that deliberate and calculating regard to our own good, either more or less extensively surveyed, which leads us to keep in check or balance the impulses of passion. In this way, Butler and Mackintosh justly consider the appetites, and all the primary tendencies of our nature, as quite distinct from self-love; not to speak of the benevolent affections, which have very strangely been reduced to self-love by some philosophers. Self-love always shows more or less of calculation, and within certain limits, it is not vicious; but if we seek our own happiness at the expense of that of another, self-love is transformed into selfishness.

In the remarks on the 'Imperfection of Conscience, and the necessity of some additional moral light,' the distinction between objective and subjective morality (terms, however, which the author does not use) is employed in illustration of the results of actions. If we imagine a nation to know nothing of the wickedness of revenge, murder, uncleanness, drunkenness, and the like; this nation would still suffer the consequences of violating the present constitution of things; the results which commonly flow from these actions would still follow. On the contrary, a nation practising forgiveness, humanity, chastity, temperance, and similar courses, without knowing them to be right, if this be conceivable, would nevertheless enjoy the benefits connected with such actions.

'Now whatever be the object of this constitution, by which rewards or punishments are affixed to actions as right or wrong, one thing seems evident, it is not to reward or punish actions as *innocent* or *guilty*, for the rewards and punishments of which we speak, affect men simply in consequence of the *action*, and without any regard to the innocence or guilt of the actor. Let us now add another element. Suppose a man to know the obligations which bind him to his Creator, and also what is his Creator's will respecting a certain action; and that he then deliberately violates this obligation. Now every man feels that this violation of obligation deserves punishment, and, also, punishment in proportion to the greatness of the obligation violated. Hence the consequences of any action are to be considered in a two-fold light; first, the consequences depending on the present constitution of things; and, secondly, those which follow the action as innocent or guilty; that is, as violating, or not, our obligations to our Creator.'

The above distinction is important, and it is clearly expressed. If we do not observe the known laws of nature, we suffer for it, whether we violate these laws by design, or by carelessness, or ignorance. Over-exertion in attempting to do good to our fellow-men may, no doubt, as effectually ruin the health, as vice and intemperance. We do not therefore, in strictness, regard many such results as morally retributive. Hence society punishes only the intention. In like manner, the retributions of another life are aimed, ultimately, not at the bare actions, but at the evil state of the heart, that is the will and the affections. It is here that the guilt lies. The concluding remark of Dr. Wayland on this distinction is, that whatever view we may take of the reason why pain should be consequent on [objectively] wrong actions, irrespective of guilt, 'we can have some conception how great this pain would probably be. But if we consider the action as guilty, that is, as knowingly violating the will of our Creator, no one can conceive how great the punishment of such an act ought to be.' We are not quite sure that we fully comprehend the former part of this remark. It is only from experience that we become acquainted with the properties of matter, with the laws of organic life, or with the manner in which mind is affected by given causes. Statics, dynamics, medicine, psychology, are all founded on an empirical basis. We could not therefore *à priori* (and this we suppose to be meant by the word '*probably*') form any conception of the laws which constitute these sciences; and we could as little anticipate the consequences of not observing these laws. With regard to subjective guilt, we have, in the present world, the experience which is constituted by remorse of conscience: but we can pronounce nothing as to the future, excepting on very general principles. Reason, which is the light of God within us, and without which we cannot understand or believe in Revelation itself, assures us that the awards of the awful, unknown future, will be strictly just, and in perfect harmony with all the Divine attributes: but it is eternity that must lift the veil.

Under the circumstances in which human nature is, Dr. Wayland argues that it is 'surely not improbable that a benevolent Deity should make use of some additional means to inform us of our duty; and that it is still less improbable that he should take some means to deliver us from the guilty habits we have formed, and restore us to the love and practice of virtue.' Hence 'the new and remedial dispensation.'

In the chapter on 'Natural Religion,' the author assumes, as almost self-evident, that there is a First Cause, and that we are capable of deriving a knowledge of his will, by the tendency of certain actions, and by means of the various relations in which

man is placed. By reflecting on these tendencies and relations, man may ascertain much of the will of his Maker in respect to actions and course of conduct. When this will is once known, conscience instinctively tells us that it ought to be obeyed. The author thinks that, from the consideration of the greatest amount of happiness, we arrive at a knowledge of our duty, 'not directly, but indirectly.' The sense of obligation arises, he says, not from the fact that such a course of conduct will, or will not, produce the greatest amount of happiness; but from the fact that 'this tendency shows us what is the will of our Creator;' and we are, by the principles of our nature, under the highest possible obligation to obey that will. We regard this as an intelligible account of the coalescence of virtue and true utility. Utility, viewed from this point, is seen, not as the foundation of obligation, but as the sign and mark of it. The obligation is still obligation to obey God, who has indicated the path of obedience by the relation of the consequences of actions to the moral system.

Our readers will, by this time, have perceived the sense in which the author uses the term 'Natural Religion,' or the 'Light of Nature;' they are with him equipollent expressions; and they note a source of information distinct from conscience. For example, conscience testifies that gratitude and obedience ought to be rendered to a Deity (admitted to exist). Conscience testifies against injustice, theft, and the like. Conscience does this just as the eye sees an outward object. Vision is a sensitive, conscience a moral faculty. But 'by the light of nature, we discover much moral truth which would never be discovered by conscience unassisted.' Of course, the 'light of nature' must here mean the light which is gained by the due exercise of the rational faculty. Several illustrations are given, of which we quote the following:—

'I doubt whether the unassisted conscience would teach the wrong of polygamy, or of divorce. The Jews, even at the time of our Saviour, had no conception that a marriage contract was between individuals for life. But any one who will observe the effects of polygamy upon families and societies, can have no doubt that the precept of the gospel on this subject is the moral law of the system under which we are. So, I do not know that unassisted conscience would remonstrate against what might be called reasonable revenge, or the operation of the *lex talionis*: but he who will observe the consequences of revenge, and those of forgiveness of injuries, will have no difficulty in deciding which course of conduct has been indicated as his duty by his Maker.'

After pointing out some of the principal 'defects of the system of natural religion,' as compared with that which is revealed,

our author discusses the relation which subsists between the two. Of the defects of the former some of the wisest pagans were far from insensible, when they considered the uncertainty in which their speculations left them as to futurity. Still it must be granted that natural religion does teach some unquestionable truths: hence revealed religion, however it may transcend that which is natural, will ever be harmonious with it. A revelation might be expected to give us much information which could not be learned by the light of nature, both as to the substance of duty, and the manner of performing it. It would present additional motives to virtue. It would base itself on new grounds and evidences. 'Now these expectations,' says Dr. Wayland, 'are all fully realised in the system of religion contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.'

The closing chapter of the former part of the volume is entitled, 'The Holy Scriptures.' The author regards the 'proof of their authenticity as a revelation from God,' as 'belonging to the course of instruction in intellectual philosophy.' He proceeds, therefore, to consider what the scriptures of both Testaments contain, of which he gives a brief view; and then inquires how we may ascertain our duty from the scriptures. The object here is to discover, as far as possible, the principles by which we are to be guided in deciding 'what portion of the mass of instruction which the scriptures contain is binding upon the conscience at the present moment:' since much of it is mere history; much has reference to a less enlightened age, and to a particular people, set apart from other nations for a special purpose, and who were governed by laws now abrogated. Dr. Wayland concludes that, in a revelation from God, whatever is our duty will be signified to us by command; and that what is not commanded is not to be considered as obligatory: for without this limitation, he adds, all the actions both of good and bad men might be regarded as authority, and thus revelation might become an instrument to confound moral distinctions. The *command of God*, therefore, is the ground of moral obligation, as derived from a revelation.

In this very interesting and highly important part of his work, Dr. Wayland supports the above principle by unfolding what he supposes the term 'command' to involve. He understands it to imply three things; namely, that an act be *designated*; that it be somehow *signified to be the will of God*; and that *we* are included among those to whom the command is addressed. An act may be designated either in the matter of it, as 'giving bread to the hungry;' or by designating a disposition under which it is comprehended, as that of universal love. Without some intimation that it is the will of God that a

given act should be performed, history would hold up contradictory duties. If there were no signification that *we* are included within the number of those to whom the command is addressed, all the commandments to patriarchs, kings, and prophets, whether ceremonial, symbolical, or individual, would be binding upon all who read them. Hence, 'whoever urges on us any duty, as a revealed command of God, must show that God has somewhere *commanded that action to be done*, and that he has *commanded us to do it*.'

'This principle would exclude whatever was done by inspired men, if it was done without the addition of being somehow commanded. Thus, the New Testament was manifestly intended for the whole human race, and at all times; and it was written by men who were inspired by God to teach us his will. But still, their example is not binding, *per se*; that is, we are not under obligation to perform an act, *simply because they have done it*. Thus, Paul and the other apostles kept the feast of Pentecost; but this imposes no such obligation upon us. The example of inspired men in the New Testament would, unless exception be made, prove the *lawfulness* of an act; but it could by no means establish its *obligatoriness*.'

The author shows that the same principle will *include* as obligatory whatever has been enjoined as the will of God upon man as *man*, by God himself, by the mediator Jesus Christ, or by any persons divinely commissioned. In answer to the question, how we are to learn to distinguish what is obligatory on us from that which is local or peculiar? Dr. Wayland replies, that the instructions of the New Testament never involve any thing local or peculiar, but are clearly intended for all men. The question, therefore, is only applicable to the Old Testament, and must be decided by reference to the nature of the Jewish commonwealth, a temporary dispensation preparatory to that of Christianity. The latter may be supposed to contain all the moral precepts both of natural religion and of the Old Testament, together with whatever else it was important to man's salvation that he should know.

'If, then, a revelation has been made in the Old Testament which is repeated in the New Testament, we shall be safe in making the latter revelation the criterion by which we shall judge respecting the precepts of the earlier. That is to say, that no precept of the Old Testament, which is not given to man, as man, or which is not either repeated, or its obligations acknowledged, under the new dispensation, is binding upon us at the present day. This principle is, I think, avowed in substance by the apostle Paul in various places of his epistles. While he repeatedly urges the moral precepts of the

Old Testament as of unchanging obligation, he speaks of every thing else, so far as the moral obligation is concerned, as utterly annihilated.'

In the remaining part of the volume the author treats,—first, of love to God, or piety (under which head he includes an inquiry into the general obligation of supreme love to God); the cultivation of a devotional spirit; prayer; and the observance of the sabbath. The reasonableness of prayer is vindicated (in opposition, we presume, to the infidel objection that prayer cannot alter the divine determinations) on the ground that God may establish such connexions between cause and effect as he pleases. Hence we are not competent to say, that prayer cannot be the *antecedent* to the bestowment of favours. 'It is at least as good as any other antecedent, if God see fit so to ordain.' After enumerating many reasons for keeping sabbatically the first day of the week, the author thus remarks :—

'From these considerations, we conclude that the first day of the week was actually kept by the inspired apostles. Their example is sufficient to teach us that the keeping of *this* day is acceptable to God; and we are, on this ground, at liberty to keep it as the sabbath. If, however, any other person be dissatisfied with these reasons, and feel under obligation to observe the seventh day, I see no precept in the word of God to forbid him. If, however, as seems to me to be the case, both days are allowable, that is, if I have sufficient reason to believe that either is acceptable to God; but if by observing the first day, I can enjoy more leisure, and suffer less interruption, and thus better accomplish the object of the day; and if, besides, I have the example of inspired apostles in favour of this observance, I should decidedly prefer to observe the first day. Nay, I should consider the choice of that day as obligatory. For, if I am allowed to devote either day to the worship of God, it is surely obligatory on me to worship God on that day on which I can best accomplish the very object for which the day was set apart.'

We have no space to do more than state the division of the second part of Practical Ethics; or, the Duties to Man: which the author divides into those of reciprocity and benevolence. The duties of reciprocity he considers as including three classes. Class the first relates to justice as affecting personal liberty, property, reputation, and to veracity as to the past, present, and future. Class the second comprises the duties which arise from the constitution of the sexes; here are treated chastity, marriage, the law of parents, and the law of children. Class the third relates to the duties of man as a member of civil society. The duties of benevolence are discussed in their relation to the unhappy, the wicked, and the injurious. On most of these

subjects there are passages which we should have been glad to quote ; but we must forbear.

We cannot, however, close the volume without doing to the author the justice to express the pleasure we have felt in its perusal. It is by no means a common-place work, notwithstanding the numerous treatises which are extant on the subject. It is a work of considerable originality. The author is evidently a man who thinks for himself ; though he is far from the folly of affecting indifference to what others have thought before him. He entertains a very clear conception of what moral philosophy is ; for while he shows the points in which natural ethics blend with Christian morals, he gives due prominence to the fact that there is such an object of study as natural ethics—a fact which seems almost forgotten (and disadvantageously so to the cause of truth) in some of our modern evangelical pulpits, at least on this side of the Atlantic. We hardly know a better auxiliary to the serious and effective enforcement of moral obligation on their hearers, than our young divines would find in the careful and diligent study of these ‘Elements of Moral Science.’ The work is practical throughout—remarkably so ; though nearly half of it is devoted to ‘theoretical ethics.’ It is also eminently a Christian book. No sacrifices are made to mere philosophy, though the book is highly philosophical. The author is superior to all small and sectarian outcries if he should not adhere to hackneyed phrases, which are used by many without meaning : still his work is decidedly evangelical—we mean that he views his subject in connexion with man’s whole case, and God’s whole remedy for it. His moral science is that which is found in conscience and in reason ; and it is that also which is found in the scriptures. The style in which he writes is always perspicuous, if not always elegant. We have read some effusions from the American press of late, of the transcendental order, which we doubt not were very fine ; but the misfortune was that when we had got to the end, we were obliged to ask ourselves what the authors meant by all this high-flown eloquence ; and what is worse, we were obliged to come to the conclusion that we could not tell ; and that the authors could not have told themselves. It is quite refreshing to read a book on such a subject written in so plain, simple, and unambitious a style. We should really have hopes of some of our young novitiates in divinity, if we knew that they could thoroughly relish it, and admire truth most when ‘unadorned.’ If the author’s talents for metaphysical analysis are not of the highest order, like those of Jonathan Edwards, or Dr. Thomas Brown ; he is less adventurous than the former, and a better moralist than the latter. He has much of the acuteness of Paley, with a far superior sys-

tem ; and much of the good sense and seriousness of Dwight, with a greater discrimination of the mutual limits and relations of utility and duty. We know of no book on the general subject of moral science, which we could, on the whole, so strongly recommend. Independently of the superiority of its theory to that of Paley, and even independently of Paley's lax applications of his own theory, the moral tone of the volume before us, the general moral impression which its careful perusal is likely to leave on the mind, is incomparably more elevated. Throughout the whole, speculation is felt, by the reader, to be entirely subservient to practice. As a book for promoting solemn and religious feeling on the subject of ethics, we think it even superior to Butler's 'Three Sermons.' We only add, that it bears, in all its parts, evident signs of the manner in which it has grown, by degrees, out of the author's lectures. It is a thoroughly-digested treatise ; the fruit of many years' consideration, and re-consideration.

ART. IX. *Temper and Temperament ; or, Varieties of Character.* By Mrs. Ellis, author of 'The Women of England,' etc. etc. London : Fisher, Son, and Co.

It has been said, 'Temper is everything ;' and, viewed in certain relations, this axiom, for such it is deemed, may be admitted. A good temper is the sweetener of social and domestic life ; and as it is in these connexions we are found every day, it has necessarily an important bearing on the entire happiness of existence. As, according to scripture, 'one sinner destroyeth much good,' so one angry or petulant person may annihilate the peace of a family, or disturb the comfort of a neighbourhood by his unworthy ebullitions. The varieties and degrees of bad temper might perhaps be classified under two general divisions : namely, the sullen and the irascible. Of these it would be difficult to determine which is the most calculated to inflict the greatest misery on society or the individual's self, — for it is he, after all, who substantially suffers the most ; — but to the sullen is usually assigned the pre-eminence in the rank of atrocity. On this question it is not necessary to enter here ; for, in a moral point of view, both, as referable to a depraved disposition of mind, are to be utterly condemned.

We are aware that attempts are continually made, on one plea or another, to extenuate the offensiveness of the evil in

question ; and especially is irritability represented as venial, and all but admirable, if it be connected with intellectual superiority ; as if talent could atone for moral delinquency. Whereas it is in reality the worse for being so associated, inasmuch as it is furnished with the greater means of mischief, and demoralizes the observer as well as the man, by incidentally teaching the most deceptive and the basest lessons. That which is intrinsically bad can never be made good by any associations ; nor can that which is mean be dignified by any elevation.

A happy or acquiescent temper is not only, as we have said, the sweetener of private and social life, but challenges our estimation as powerful in its regulating tendency upon public measures, whether of the people or the government. In regard to the former, it is clearly the reflection of an enlightened public opinion on subjects of high and universal interest. Amidst all the mighty stirrings of sentiment, and conflicts of opinion in politics and religion, that have displayed, of late years, an unwonted energy, the *temper* of the times has manifestly improved. In proportion as men have exercised their reasoning faculties, and divested themselves of barbarous prejudices, they have adopted less violent methods of assault and defence. They have been led to perceive that others have the right and the power to think as well as themselves, and are not deserving the hangman's rope or the martyr's stake, for differing from them. It is not that essential truths, or what may be conceived to be such, are held with the less firmness of conviction—rather, perchance, with more—but it is, that there has been infused into the minds even of the multitude, something of the restraining influence of a calm philosophy, instead of the former crude and ignorant recklessness. The public movements, accordingly, have been less violent and boisterous, and there has appeared more of the majesty of principle, and less of the turbulence of faction.

The temper of government, too, we might say of almost all governments, is benefited by the upward progress of the people in sentiment and religion. As wise governments will teach the people to be wise, so a wise people will of necessity impress similar lessons upon a government. When the moral takes the place of the physical force, all society, from the peasant to the prince, must be progressive ; and this is just the primary basis of distinction between barbarism and civilization, the energy of a blind impulse, and the power of an intelligent and calculating system of laws. The consequences of bad temper in a government were never more fearfully illustrated than in the history of the American war—a war which began in a great political blunder, was carried on in a barbarous spirit of revenge, and

terminated in an utter overthrow of irritated ambition in statesmen, and sullen obstinacy on a throne. The effects of a happier disposition in the ruling powers of nations are realized in the position of political affairs at the present time. The *temper* of Europe, or, at least, pre-eminently of the government of England, is entirely pacific. It seems as if no light thing could renew the spirit of exasperation which was heretofore so rampant, and as if the potentates of the earth were determined to forget and forgive their past hostilities, and live in a state of cherished amity and brotherhood. A season of tranquillity and reflectiveness has evidently prepared them for the interchange of kindly offices; and it seems plain that they are not only sick of the cost of contention, but convinced of its folly. The revolution of France was like a thundering tempest that swept over the whole heavens, terrifying and desolating and rousing mankind to a state of furious excitement; but it is gone by, never to return — passion and prejudice have subsided, and, at least during the present generation, we have the prospect of a calmer atmosphere and brighter skies.

It is not only in politics, but in polemics, that a manifest improvement has indicated the larger views and higher refinement of the present times, in comparison with a past age. There is much to condemn in some of the writings of the greatest reformers, though the peculiarity of their circumstances, the natural ardour with which the mind clings to new discoveries, or to truths which from time immemorial have been concealed by trickery and superstition, and hence have the appearance of being new; the force of conviction upon bold and powerful intellects, the unreasonableness of the multitude, the persecuting spirit of an ecclesiastical despotism, with other considerations, might be pleaded in mitigation of controversial offences against good taste and good manners. In the exacerbations of *temper*, we must also admit some degree of allowance for the peculiarities of constitutional *temperament*. Yet, a better spirit has gradually come over theological disputants, and we hail it as a prognostic of a better era. Truth can gain nothing by violence; on the contrary, its interests must be chiefly advanced by the calmness of a philosophic investigation. At the same time, it cannot be denied, that men are too often made offenders for a word; and controversialists with their respective partizans sacrifice the cause they advocate on the altar of selfishness, and in the blaze of mutual recrimination.

It is not, however, with the more extensive and public exhibitions of *temper* and *temperament*, at which we have glanced, that the present volumes are conversant. They have a direct

reference to the more limited circle of private life and domestic habits. We shall let the author explain her own design and give her own definitions, which will put the reader in possession of the basis and essential material of the work.

‘We shall never,’ observes the writer in her brief preface, ‘be able rightly to discharge the duty we owe to our fellow-creatures, until we have made ourselves intimately acquainted with the varieties of human character, and with the peculiar requirements of different dispositions. Anything, however trifling in other respects, which throws light upon this subject, is of important service to society; and it is with the view of adding a few simple lessons to this great and glorious study, that the present work is offered to the attention of the public.’

‘The question very naturally arises, What is meant by Temper and Temperament? By the latter I would be understood to mean, in the foundation of human character, something equivalent to the soil of a garden or a field, which produces some kinds of trees and plants with much greater facility than others; though it may, by careful and persevering cultivation, be made to yield what it would never yield spontaneously; and by Temper, I would be understood to mean, those occasional manifestations of peculiar temperament, which may be compared to the result produced by atmospheric changes, climate, and culture, operating upon the soil above alluded to, which, though transient in their display, and arising out of accidental causes, still bear a general and necessary analogy to the foundation from whence they spring.’

‘It is scarcely necessary to say, in a work of this kind, that my aim is to write popularly rather than scientifically. I would therefore endeavour further to illustrate my view of the subject of temper and temperament, by describing the latter as denoting that habitual or constitutional tendency of character which may be said to lean towards hope or despondency, trust or suspicion, repose or action: and so on, through all the different phases of human existence; while of the former I would speak as the occasional development of such tendency in a stronger and more decided form, called forth by collision with other natures, or by passing circumstances, whatever they may happen to be.’

‘But beyond this question, which relates merely to the meaning of the writer, there naturally arises another of far higher importance, relating to the writer’s design—a question why the subject is taken up at all, and especially when it is so intricate, so little understood, and so seldom made the object of serious and impartial consideration, by the world at large. It is in reality these three reasons for not taking it up, which operate with me in exactly the opposite way. Because it is intricate, I would do my best to make it clear—so far, at least, as relates to its mode of operation upon individuals and society; because it is little understood, I would exhibit in one view some of the most striking characters it is accustomed to assume, and

because it is but little regarded by mankind in general. I would endeavour to show how it frequently lies at the root of happiness and of misery ; through the whole course of human life.'

The volumes consist of three tales, sufficiently distinct and characteristic. The first is entitled, 'The Managing Wife;' the second, 'Imprisoned Mind;' the third, 'The Sunshine of Life.' In estimating their comparative merits, we should say, that the second is decidedly the superior of the three. All of them contain developments of life and character, which have in them a certain portion of absolute truth, and such as becomes obvious in almost every day's experience, together with a degree of exaggeration, in which fictitious narrative is permitted to indulge, in order to impart raciness and strength to the picture. It has been often said, that there are circumstances as singular, and characters as remarkable in real life, as may be found in the imaginary pictures of poetry and romance. It may be so, and we have ourselves witnessed a few ; so that possibly Mrs. Ellis may have given a plain matter-of-fact story from the treasures of her personal experience ; nevertheless, we deem the *combination* of events, as exhibited in such details, extremely rare, no less so than the very strange projections and acute angles of the moral physiognomy. Some noses are wonderfully prominent, and some eyes are frightfully staring, but while for the sake of improvement by the correction of errors, the peculiarities in question are specially exhibited, the fair one will be very likely to get rid of the desired impression by saying, 'I am sure I have not got such a nose or such an eye. *My* temper, at any rate, is not so marvellously bad ; *my* mind is not so crooked ; *my* general disposition is not so wilful or so foolish as is represented ; *I* never have, and never can run into such absurdities ;' and thus the self-deceiver is entertained rather than instructed, and laughs at follies rather than corrects them.

Now we allege all this, not as the peculiar fault of Mrs. Ellis, whose compositions perhaps are less illustrative of it than those of many others in the same department of literature ; but, in order to suggest to writers of fiction that there is no need to depart so egregiously as they often do, from probability to produce effect and secure instruction. So far from this, such departure is more calculated to counteract than to aid their design, if their purpose be the moral benefit of the reader. Where it is otherwise—where it is simply to amuse—which, in nine cases out of ten, is simply to corrupt—we leave the writer to that unpitied oblivion which he is in all likelihood destined to attain. On this ground we cannot shed a tear over

the fate of the Richardsons and Fieldings of a former age, and hail the high tone of moral feeling which has distinguished some of the lighter literature of our own times. The historical novel is, however, after all, too frequently interspersed with what is wrong in meaning or expression, and that species which may be termed religious, has, in many instances, shown its liability to what is prejudiced and dictatorial. Such compositions are, moreover, liable to degenerate into prolixity and tameness; eliciting lengthy discussions or wire-drawn sentiment. With all its excellence, Hannah More's 'Cœlebs in search of a Wife,' is no mean specimen of this miscalculating style of writing. Were we severely to criticise our author, we should say there is an occasional tendency to this in the work before us, though a great deal of spirit pervades its pages. Historical novels will bear much more elaboration than others, without becoming tedious; but their authors incur a great amount of responsibility, which has not always been regarded even by the first-rate writers of the class. And we must express our opinion, that religious novels, or those of a highly moral kind bordering upon it, will not permit such extensions. The sort of productions of this order which would be most effective, we apprehend would be the brief and pointed, somewhat after the manner of Mackenzie, where the story might be soon told, the moral be obvious, and the incidents true to life. That fiction itself is not only unobjectionable but beneficial in its tendencies, can, we should imagine, be scarcely questioned with the beautiful parabolical illustrations of the sacred scriptures before us, in which are equally united truth, brevity, and force. These, like the Lord's prayer itself, may serve as models, while they admit of indefinite expansion. But besides the strictly working out of these inimitable compositions into forms of greater detail, we have no objection to the full exercise of imaginative genius in giving vivacious descriptions of life as it is, under *noms de guerre* and narratives of social or domestic scenes; all we plead for is, such a display of character as may tend to improve by lasting impressions, as well as fascinate by strong and varied colouring. Let the dulce and the utile be combined.

We are free to award to Mrs. Ellis the merit of having achieved this in a considerable degree; and we must say to her credit as a writer in this line, that she has frequently evinced tact in knowing how far to go, and where to stop. On the whole, we recommend these volumes, not like some of our contemporaries as the best she has written, but as worthy of perusal, and of excellent tendency. Still we must give her the friendly caution not to indulge too freely in this mode, and to be

specially wary of over-writing herself. It is due to her to furnish a specimen or two, that readers may form their own judgment. We should not be surprised if something analogous to the following scene has frequently occurred. We cannot enter upon the general story: the case of an interesting young woman, married to a clever but now dying man, must be supposed. She takes an adventurous journey from Devonshire to London to seek pecuniary aid by the fruit of her talents.

'With her child in her arms, Louisa once more went forth to thread her way along the crowded streets of London. Arrived at the door of a celebrated publisher, she looked earnestly in, but passed on; for her strength seemed unequal to the effort of entering where groups of gentlemen appeared to be engaged,—some in earnest conversation, and others in glancing over papers and periodicals, probably many of them intent upon reading their own praises, or those of the party to which it was their pride to belong. What could Louisa do in such a place? She looked in again; and persuading herself that it was but a shop, after all, she took heart, and entered.

'Supposing her to be some person who might have called about the conveyance of a parcel, one of the young men of the place looked inquiringly towards her, and she was so far encouraged as to venture to ask for Mr. L——.

'He is engaged,' said the young man. 'Any message may be left with me.'

'I wish to speak with Mr. L——,' replied Louisa.

'Mr. L—— is not at liberty,' said the young man. 'Any business you may have, can be transacted with me.'

'I beg your pardon,' said Louisa, 'but I do not think it can.'

'The young man threw down some writing-paper he held in his hand, with an impatient slap upon the counter, and retreating into an inner apartment, sent out an elderly man with a pen behind his ear, and with a dry contracted face, that looked as if it had never known the natural and benevolent expansion of a smile.

'Are you wanting anything, young woman?' said the man.

'Are you Mr. L——?' said Louisa.

'No,' said the man; 'but I can attend to anything you may have to say.'

'Louisa was at a loss what to do. There had been standing near her a little, earnest, singular-looking man, intent upon the pages of a review, who from time to time had glanced at her from beneath his overhanging eyebrows, and then back again to his paper; and though from his appearance he was one of the last of all mankind to have been appealed to for sympathy or attention of any kind, yet Louisa, in her great difficulty, turned her eyes towards him with a look so quick, yet so imploring, that he nodded his assent to what she was about to do, and even said, audibly, 'You may consult Mr. Jenkins, I know him very well.'

‘Upon this assurance, Louisa drew out a thick roll of thickly-written paper, and spreading it out before Mr. Jenkins, asked if he would be kind enough to look at that manuscript, ‘and—and—,’ Louisa was wholly at a loss how to express her meaning.

‘‘And bid you a price for it, eh?’ said the little man, laughing to himself.

‘Louisa smiled too, for such was her real meaning; but no symptom of a smile appeared upon the countenance of Mr. Jenkins. He shrunk from even touching the ill-fated manuscript, as if it was likely to cleave to him in case he did so, but let it lie there to curl itself up again, leaf after leaf, and page after page, with a pertinacity which seemed to indicate an unwillingness on its part to be exposed even to the eye of admiration. With one hand, for she had but one at liberty, Louisa persisted in opening out her scroll; and with a manner which told how little she was accustomed either to coaxing or entreating, she again urged Mr. Jenkins to read, at least, some pages of her manuscript.

‘‘We have no time to give to things of this kind;’ observed Mr. Jenkins. ‘It is not at all in our line.’

‘‘But you don’t know that, until you have seen it!’ observed Louisa.

‘‘We altogether decline going into the matter,’ said Mr. Jenkins.

‘‘Then what can I do?’ exclaimed Louisa.

‘‘That is no affair of mine;’ was the reply.

‘‘Certainly not;’ said Louisa. The little man looked up from his paper, for Louisa had a fine, clear, well modulated voice, by which she generally succeeded in obtaining some degree of attention; and he saw that her cheek was flushed with emotion, and her eye flashing wildly, as if wholly unaccustomed to such transactions as that in which she was engaged.

‘The little man laid down his review, and took up the neglected manuscript. Louisa could have dropped upon her knees before him. She watched him with eyes which absolutely glared upon his countenance, and then upon the pages he turned over, one after another, shaking his head all the while, and smiling with something of a sarcastic expression; but yet, Louisa fancied, not quite unkindly.

‘‘Perhaps, sir,’ said Louisa, too impatient to wait longer, ‘you can tell me how I had better proceed in this matter?’

‘The little man shook his head more and more.

‘‘Instead of proceeding,’ said he, ‘I should advise you to go back.’

‘‘I only want justice,’ said Louisa. ‘There is an extensive trade carried on in such articles as I have brought for sale. Are there no means by which I can obtain a fair inspection of my goods?’

‘‘There are means, I believe,’ replied the man; ‘but I should think them far enough from being attainable to you. In the first place, you must leave your child at home. That is a necessity of your case.’

“Alas! sir, it is a necessity that I must bring him with me. That is my misfortune, not my fault.”

“Then I can tell you, go where you will, you never can obtain a reading of your papers, so long as you carry that child in your arms. That of itself settles your business. But, independently of that, your case is utterly hopeless, unless you could obtain some recommendation, or make more figure; or look altogether different from what you do!”

“But, sir, I am in such urgent need!”

“Ah! that is just what I say. There is no one fact so sure to operate against you in the way of business, as this. You look as if you were in need, and that condemns, and will condemn you, to utter neglect.”

We must subjoin another extract, which displays considerable powers of description. It relates to scenery in the Pyrenees.

‘There is a singular part of the route to Garonne, known by the name of Chaos, and here the guide never fails to point out the marks of the horse-hoofs of that redoubtable warrior, who cleft his name in the distant Breche de Rolland, rising on the frontier of Spain, from whence he leaped, according to the legends of the place, at one bound, from that yawning crevice in the barrier of the mountain, many leagues off, alighting on his war-horse upon the stones of Chaos, where something like the shape of a giant-hoof is seen.

‘But puerile and meagre is the interest derived from these childish fables in such a place, compared with the impression made upon the mind by the stupendous and mysterious character of the scene itself. It needs no giant warrior leaping from the mountain-barrier of a hostile country, to set the imagination afloat upon a sea of wonders, in that plain of granite rocks which have evidently rolled from the summits of the surrounding mountains, filling up the solitary and silent space with their majestic forms, and frowning upon the pigmy traveller as he passes over or below them, with a black and threatening aspect, as if to warn him from treading with audacious foot within the precincts of their solemn and unpeopled realm.

‘Across the whole valley in its length and breadth, no human habitation nor living form is seen, except that sometimes the Spanish muleteer winds stealthily along the ridges of the mountains, hoping to evade the scrutiny which everywhere besets his lawless path.

* * * * *

‘They journeyed on without further interruption, until reaching that point of view from whence the astonishing spectacle of the amphitheatre of Gavarnie first bursts upon the sight.

‘This immense basin or hollow, in the very bosom of snow-clad mountains, is said very much to resemble the crater of a volcano. It is surrounded by precipitous rock on all sides but one, where a comparatively narrow opening admits the traveller within the circle, in which he stands, amazed and enchanted, in the midst of a scene scarcely rivalled in its curious and majestic features by any in the

world. It is perhaps not generally known, that the highest waterfall in Europe pours over the edge of a mountain height with a fall of thirteen hundred feet, broken only by one projecting mass, into the hollow of this circle; while many others, scarcely less in apparent magnitude, and certainly not inferior in beauty, stream down the dark marble walls by which the circle is enclosed, with thousands of silvery channels, some scarcely discernible amongst the far heights, where the sunshine glitters on the snow with a brilliance strongly contrasted with the deep solemnity of the scene below.

‘But these far heights; what a spirit-stirring spectacle they present, on looking up to the giant towers of Marboré, crested with their dome of everlasting snow, and, as it seems from below, supported by the most exquisite columns of many-coloured marble, reflecting all the rich and gorgeous colours of that delicate climate. Beyond these towers arises, height above height of trackless snow, glittering in clear outline against the dark blue sky; and almost in a line with the towers, though sloping downwards towards the right, is that monstrous gash in a vast wall of solid rock, said to have been cut by one sword-stroke of the champion Roland, and now remaining a curious land-mark, to which the traveller is directed as a point of entrance into Spain.

‘Below the towers of Marboré, already described, lie fields of snow, from whence, in the distance, small creamy-looking cascades are stealing, while from the lower fields, for they are many, the torrents swell and grow, until at last, over the dark wall which terminates in the abyss, they fall in crystal and varied beauty, each assuming some form of grace and softness, on which the eye might dwell for hours. It is impossible, however, to give any general description of this astonishing scene; for with the changes of the atmosphere and the melting of the snows, it assumes a different aspect to each successive group of travellers. Sometimes when the mountain-mists roll heavily along the higher ridges of the amphitheatre, a blackness, like the shadow of death, dwells in the deep hollow where the cascades are heard hissing and boiling in their foamy beds; and sometimes, too, while all this blackness and mystery fills the surrounding space with solemnity and gloom, up high in purer air, and towering above the grey sullen mists, may be seen the domes and pinnacles of snow, glittering in cloudless sunshine, and holding out the promise of a loftier and more glorious world beyond that dark abyss.’

- Art. X.—1. *The 'Nonconformist,' and the 'Patriot,' April 16th.*
 2. *The 'Morning Chronicle,' April 20th, 21st, and 22nd.*

THE ministerial vote on education has been confirmed. The Commons House has passed it by a majority of 372 to 47. At this we are not surprised. In the state of parties and under the circumstances of the case, it might have been anticipated. Having once committed themselves to the scheme, the administration was bound up with its success. To have suffered defeat, would have been to relinquish office, and for this no party in the state was prepared. The so-called liberal members have complained, and shown symptoms of insubordination, but the church and the conservatives were ready to take their place. They have consequently contented themselves with decrying the tact of leaders who have placed them in such a dilemma, on the eve of a general election. Their patriotism has evaporated in words, their public virtue has contented itself with silent reproach. Their votes have been with the ministry, whilst their unpublished sentiments were in many cases with the people. The sovereignty of the legislature, the sacredness of conscience, the freedom of religion from secular controul, have been alike condemned. The course of rightful legislation has been turned back; England, or rather the parliament, has taken a receding step, and church power is once more the idol of our statesmen. Conceal it as they may, cover it up as best befits them, under the specious fallacies and glittering oratory of their advocates, the fact is yet palpable that the Whig ministers of 1847, have purchased the temporary favour of the church, by a concession far greater and more potent than the Tory ministers, from William Pitt downwards, were able to accomplish. Sustained by the popular voice, preserved from utter insignificance by the too-confiding trust of a people whom they have always mistrusted, and frequently betrayed, the Whig leaders of our day have outbidden their opponents in the church market, and are, in consequence, for a time, the pet champions of the Bishop of London and of Sir Robert Inglis. Shadows are frequently mistaken for substances; the smile of opponents is often preferred to the favour of friends; but history is false, experience a lie, if the fruit of such weakness or treachery be not disappointment and contempt. It may answer a temporary purpose, but the triumph it achieves is the sure forerunner of defeat. Popular leaders can only live on popular support; and Lord John Russell may yet learn to rue the folly which leads him to trifle with his surest and most confiding friends. They merited other things at his hands; and when the hour of retribution comes, he will

have nothing to reflect on but his own suicidal madness. Indications have been rife for some years past of the breaking up of the once formidable Whig party. It has outlived its day, and will now go down to history, as having been shattered beyond repair by the stolid policy of a scion of the House of Bedford.

Quem Deus vult perdere
Prius dementat.

Before proceeding to our special object, we must briefly glance at one or two of the events which have occurred during the past month. The most remarkable of these is the conference which assembled at Crosby-Hall, London, on the 13th and following days of April. The meeting was convened by the Central Committee, and though the notice given was necessarily brief, and many of the parties invited had made arrangements to attend the Anti-State-Church Conference on the 4th of May, nearly five hundred delegates assembled from all parts of the country. The tone of the Conference was decided and very earnest, its views admitted of no question, and its proceedings were in general characterised by good temper and sound judgment. It comprised men of various shades of opinion, yet it was clear from the first that the views of Mr. Baines, and those of the Anti-State-Church Society were the cherished and earnest conviction of nearly all the delegates. No sentiments were so heartily responded to as those which repudiated the interference of the state with education, whether mental or religious. All were eager to move onward, fully aware of the difficulty of the undertaking, yet sensible of the claims of duty, and confident of ultimate triumph. We have witnessed former assemblies of the kind, but we never saw any composed as this was, of various and commonly dissociated sections of the dissenting body, which was so united or so earnest in the assertion of their distinctive principles. The most cautious were on this point amongst the most decided. Many of our number have hitherto been averse to agitation. Their taste and habits alike disincline them to it. The more quiet and retired duties of their profession have had stronger claims for them, and they shrunk, in consequence, from the arena of strife, with a sensitiveness which some mistook for unfaithfulness or timidity. But the government scheme has compelled a reference to first principles. Dissenters have been driven home by the force of circumstances to the great radical truth of religious voluntarism. State-churchism has been forced on their attention as a practical grievance, and the talk about abstract principles has been merged in a sense of wrong, an indignant protest against political truculency and ecclesiastical usurpation. Amongst other objections to the

ministerial scheme, it was unanimously resolved, on the motion of Dr. Vaughan,—

‘That, most especially, this Conference objects to the Government measure, as, in a new form, allying the State with religious institutions, and thus aggravating an evil, already of enormous magnitude and pressure, by the creation of a subsidiary Ecclesiastical establishment.’

We are not disposed to reflect on the past. It is as foreign from our hearts as it would be ungenerous and impolitic. It was not unnatural that some should stand aloof for a time, from such an organisation as the British Anti-State-Church Society. Perhaps it is well that the association has had to pass through a trying ordeal. The discretion, the integrity, the perseverance of its members have been put to the test, and they are now amply recompensed. We may err in our judgment, but it appears to us no trifling indication of good, that at such a juncture as the present, there should be in existence an organisation so adapted to the exigency of the case, and which has for some time past been obviously working itself into the confidence, and arraying on its behalf the suffrages of a rapidly-increasing number of the religious men of these realms. So far, at least, the views of the Conference recently assembled, were unequivocal.

On another point, for which we were not wholly prepared, an almost equal unanimity prevailed. This was evidenced in the adoption of the following resolution, which passed, we believe, with only two dissentients :

‘That, in the judgment of this Conference the unsatisfactory issue of the efforts which successive governments have made to extend their patronage of popular education, may be held to demonstrate the impossibility of their doing so with either benefit or safety ; and to afford decisive practical evidence in support of a principle which has already found strenuous advocates, and which this Conference now avows, namely, that it is not within the province of government to educate the people.’

Considering what has passed amongst us in former days on this subject, and the efforts which have recently been made on behalf of an opposite opinion, we were not prepared for such a result. It is, therefore, doubly gratifying, and we record it as such. That an assembly consisting of nearly five hundred, obviously unfettered in its discussions, loving freedom, and fully alive to the exercise of its rights, should, after an extended and most able exposition of the matter, have affirmed, with almost entire unanimity, ‘that it is not within the province of government to educate the people,’ is a cheering symptom of the healthful progress of the popular mind. The light may not yet

have penetrated St. Stephen's. It does not usually gain early admittance there. The atmosphere is too murky for it, and it must prevail around, and be found, not only in the studies of the learned, but in the workshops of the artizan, before it is permitted to illumine the region where party strife and ministerial patronage find their constant home. Senators and statesmen consequently remain unapprized of the startling fact with which common men are familiar, and even philosophical radicals affect to deny its existence, or derisively refer to the petitions in which it is affirmed. But here is historical evidence of it, a formal assertion by a deliberative body, representing the views of hundreds of thousands, of the principle which Mr. Macaulay and Mr. Roebuck unite in decrying. This is not the first time that great truths have found their birth-place within the precincts of dissent. English puritanism is rife with illustrations of the fact, and the time will come when some future Hume will bear reluctant but honourable testimony, to the value of the service which has just been rendered.

We are glad to find that the Conference was not content with a simple record of its protest. It was due to its own consistency, and obviously enforced by the requirements of the case, that it should look to the future. If the professions made and the resolutions adopted mean anything—and we are not unbelievers on this point—there is much to be done, and the time for doing it will speedily arrive. We are on the eve of a general election. The dissolution of the present house may not improbably be hastened, in order to prevent the opponents of the government scheme from strengthening themselves at the next registration, and it therefore became such an assembly to indicate the course which should be pursued by their constituents when called to exercise the elective franchise. The difficulty of giving practical expression to their views, and of avoiding, at the same time, the appearance of a threat to their members, was severely felt by many of the assembled delegates. For ourselves, we have little sympathy with this feeling. There are great questions, leading and vital principles, on which we never hesitate to require a distinct and formal pledge. It was so with catholic emancipation, with the reform bill, with the extinction of slavery, and with the abolition of the corn laws. We have, therefore, no scruple about requiring a pledge against state-churchism, which we deem a more serious evil than any that these measures contemplated, and only refer to the cautious and deliberate tone of the Conference, in order to give additional weight to the resolutions which were unanimously adopted on this vital question. These resolutions must not be regarded as expressive of the views of an ultra party merely. Our opponents will no doubt

endeavour to disparage them, as such, but they will only delude themselves by doing so, and will awaken to the truth when the hour of trial comes. The following resolutions were deliberately prepared, and we never witnessed a more entire and cordial support than they obtained from all sections of the Conference :—

‘That this Conference, believing the government measure to be a deadly blow, both at the civil liberties of the community and at the valued institutions and interests of Dissenters, will, together with those whom they represent, feel deeply aggrieved by the conduct of every member of the House of Commons who may support it, and will consider that support as disqualifying such members to represent in Parliament the friends of civil and religious liberty.

‘That it is the solemn conviction of this Conference that the circumstances of the times render it the bounden duty of all who value their civil and religious liberties as their best political birthright, and who justly regard with alarm the system of voting public money in aid of ecclesiastical purposes, as tending to establish an illicit and corrupt connexion between the government and the teachers of religion, detrimental alike to the freedom of opinion and to the interests of truth—to make it a condition of giving their support to any Parliamentary candidate that he will oppose all further grants of public money for such purposes.’

We shall take a future opportunity of directing attention to the vote given on this occasion by our liberal representatives, in order to show where the disqualification has been established, and shall, at the same time, essay to prove, what no competent judge will deny, that if this resolution be honestly applied, a large proportion of them will never return to St. Stephens as the representatives of their present constituents.

The latter resolution, it will be seen, stops short of the point to which we should go. It is, however, a hopeful symptom of the progress which has been made in the right direction, and we are willing to wait the course of events. For ourselves, we shall continue to labour as we have hitherto done, against state-churchism, as such, the past as well as the future, the existing as well as the projected. We protest against the union of the church with the state, and would have all voluntaries unite for its separation. It is not enough that no further grants be made, that no new encroachments be permitted. The existing connexion is essentially vicious, and against this we labour as the first duty which we owe to God and to our countrymen. We care not for the antiquity, the wealth, or the power of the establishment. These things are beside the question, and must not deter us from our mission. What would Luther have accomplished had he permitted the power of Rome or the threats

of the emperor to divert him from his course. ‘I will repair thither,’ said the intrepid reformer, to the friends who dissuaded him from appearing at Worms, ‘though I should find there as many devils as there are tiles on the house tops.’ We must possess the spirit of Luther if we would share his success. In the ecclesiastical establishments of these realms, we see an enormous evil, a crying wrong, a foul injustice done to our holy religion, and against this, therefore, *apart from all efforts at its extension*, we must protest and labour.

Another step taken by the conference has our most entire and hearty approval. The necessity for it has long been felt, and we regard it as one of the best features of these times, that it is beginning to engage attention. We refer to a parliamentary representation of our principles. Nothing of the sort has hitherto existed, and the fault has been with ourselves. We have been content to act as a subordinate section of a political party whose chiefs were inveterately hostile to our religious principles. The fear of division in the liberal camp has led to the suppression of our distinctive views, and we have consequently been left at every crisis of our history, without parliamentary advocates to expound and defend them. This was signally the case in the present instance. With the solitary exception of Mr. Bright, no one of our senators appeared to understand us, and but few to be disposed to do us justice. Our views were grossly mis-stated, and ungenerous advantage was taken of our absence to fasten on us charges which are false, or to attribute to us evils for whose correction we were the earliest and most zealous to labour. To the member for Durham the dissenting body is deeply indebted. Before a reluctant audience, he spoke the truth fearlessly and with discretion; did simple justice to our views, and has placed on record a vindication which, in its main points, was scarcely touched, much less refuted, by other speakers. The measure of dissenting forbearance is, however, at length full. The exigency of the case has compelled us to look it fairly in the face. Men were reluctant to do so. Party attachments and personal predilections stood in the way; and if our rulers had been wise, they would have avoided a policy which shut up all honest dissenters, to the adoption of a new and most significant course of action. The following resolution, adopted unanimously by the Conference, sufficiently indicates the change that has been wrought:—

‘That seeing how imperfectly the principles of Protestant Dissenters are understood in Parliament, even by those to whose efforts they have been indebted for the relief of some of their practical grievances, and how liable they are to the introduction of measures in which those principles are utterly disregarded and set at nought,

the Conference cannot separate without earnestly recommending to liberal electors, the immediate adoption of well-considered means of securing the return to the House of Commons, of such candidates as not merely profess to hold sacred the claims of religious liberty, but also clearly understand what those claims imply.'

Before closing our remarks, we shall have occasion to notice the steps which have been taken to give effect to this vote, and therefore content ourselves at present with simply recording its adoption.

Another material fact in the history of this discussion, is the negotiation which has been carried on with the Wesleyan methodists. We are somewhat reluctant to recur to this, as we cannot do so, without speaking in terms which may be deemed discourteous and condemnatory to the leaders of the methodist body. In our last number we intimated that the followers of John Wesley would be amongst the opponents of the government scheme. Our statement was not made lightly, and it becomes us to show how it has happened that their silence and inactivity have been secured. By the Minutes of Council, which were laid before the upper House by Lord Lansdowne, it was proposed, under certain regulations, to extend government aid to all schools in which the Holy Scriptures were daily read. The language used was general, and was understood by the government journals, and by all its advocates, to be designedly comprehensive, so as to include the schools of all religious denominations. It was so interpreted on every hand, and much empty praise was uttered on the alleged impartiality of the scheme. At length, however, it was discovered that a feeling existed extensively throughout the Wesleyan body against any grant of public money to Catholic schools, and that this feeling would mainly determine their opposition to the scheme. Now it was of importance to the success of the government, to prevent a conjunction of the Wesleyans with the other branches of the dissenting body; and a negotiation was opened, through the medium of Lord Ashley, with a view of preventing such a consummation. The result of this negotiation is now before the public, and we unhesitatingly affirm that it is dishonourable, in the last degree, to both the parties concerned. According to the explanation of the Premier, there exists a minute of 1839, which limits the grant of money to schools in which the *authorised* version is used, and therefore excludes, by necessary implication, the schools of catholics. We care not whether the word 'authorised' be used or not in the minutes of 1839. If the former be the case, then the omission of the term in the minutes of August and December, 1846, shows an intentional deviation in the projected course of

government; and if the latter, then the limited interpretation now put by the Premier on the minutes of 1846, betokens a policy which seeks to compass its sinister end, by pandering to one of the lowest and most disreputable passions which has survived to the nineteenth century. In either case, the interpretation is obviously an after thought, disgraceful to the ministers who adopted it, and infinitely contemptuous to the parties whom it was employed to cajole.

‘This whole transaction,’ says the ‘Morning Chronicle,’ ‘appears to us perfectly irreconcilable either with constitutional principle, or with the straightforwardness which we expect in public as in private affairs. We have not joined in the clamour against the jurisdiction entrusted to the Committee of Council. We believe that that body has hitherto usefully and honourably discharged its functions. But a practice such as we have described is a thing not to be endured in any public board. It adopts, if Lord John Russell has not fallen into some strange and unaccountable mistake, a regulation in 1839 of great importance. It does not lay that minute before Parliament. It puts forth another minute of a different tenor. The unpublished minute becomes utterly forgotten by those who passed it, as well as by the permanent Secretary of the Board. At the end of seven or eight years it is discovered, or remembered, and then, just at the critical time when it serves a political purpose, it is brought to light. Now we have seen in the case of the poor-law how one of the most important reforms of our time has been impaired, and even its existence jeopardised, by the misconduct of a central board. If a belief once gains ground that the Committee of Council can play fast and loose with its minutes in the way we have seen, nothing can save it from the fate of the poor-law commission.’—April 19th.

Had such a course been pursued by tory statesmen, there would have been some semblance of honour in it. We should have understood it as a revival of the narrow-mindedness and intolerance of their school, a reminiscence of their youth, a momentary homage rendered to the idol whose worship they had been compelled to abandon. But what shall we say of whig ministers who can thus tamper with religious liberty, and basely betray, for a temporary end, the cause to which they were solemnly pledged. Catholic emancipation was for many years the watch-word of their party, but here is a new disability Act propounded by Lord John Russell, and sanctioned by an overwhelming majority of the lower House. We have heard much of the consistency and honour of his lordship, but we hope, for very shame’s sake, that his panegyrists will henceforth omit these qualities from the catalogue of his virtues.

But it may be said, that none were deceived, and this is to some extent true. Government reserves to itself the right

of introducing a new minute on behalf of catholic schools, and will probably do so at no distant period. But, what then? To have pandered even for an hour to an effete 'No popery' cry, is inconsistent with the profession of his life, and identifies him with an ignoble and low-minded race of statesmen. In the meantime, what must be thought of the Wesleyan leaders? It was disgrace enough to have cherished a passion which enlightened and virtuous men of all other classes have long repudiated; but to have been cajoled in its indulgence, to have been shorn of their strength at the moment when they supposed themselves to be accomplishing a triumph, to have insured the very thing against which they protested, and that, too, by the means which they employed for its prevention; this was an instance of folly, of which the examples are happily rare, and which will bring with it no alleviation or comfort when the hour of exposure arrives. Of the Wesleyan body at large we would speak only in terms of respect. Its works and labour of love are manifold, and we have ever been foremost to acknowledge them. But we shall be greatly surprized if such an event as we have been reviewing, does not lead many of its members to doubt the wisdom of the constitution of their society, or, at least, to devise some methods by which they may be guarded from the disgrace and weakness consequent on the infatuated policy of a few leaders.

We come now to the debate on Lord John Russell's motion, and shall dismiss it with brief remark. It lasted for four nights, and presents few points on which an enlightened Englishman can rest with pleasure. His lordship's speech was characterised throughout by a cautious avoidance of the real question in dispute, a contemptuous depreciation of voluntary efforts, an ungenerous use of the past forbearance of political allies, a mean appeal to the lowest passions of his auditors, a gross mis-statement of the views of opponents, and a more than ordinary portion of aristocratic bitterness and hauteur. What will our readers think of the following passage, in which his lordship undertakes to give the substance of Mr. Baines's views on the educational wants of the lowest and most vicious portion of the community. To those who know Mr. Baines the grossness of the libel will be instantly apparent. To others we may say, that his whole life disproves the slander, and that the book from which the extract is given should have convinced the speaker of the falsehood of his commentary:—

'The amount of that passage,' said Lord Russell, after quoting from Mr. Baines, 'is that there is a large class of the people of this country who are to be found ordinarily in constant communication

with vice and familiarity with crime—who are bred up in ignorance, and live in the indulgence of brutal sensuality, and that to such a state they are to be left—that for them there are to be no means of education provided—that all exertions in that direction are to be omitted—that there is to be for them imprisonment, transportation, and the gallows, but that all the milder and softer means are to be withheld—that religion shall not be allowed to show her sacred self to them, and to guide the steps of their youth; and that the state shall not impart to them that knowledge and those habits of industry which would tend to improve their future lives and render them of advantage to the country. It is, in fact, to say that to such religious and secular knowledge must not be broached, or rather that it must be withheld, and that they are to be left in hopeless and helpless misery. To such a proposition I never can assent; and when that proposition comes as it does from a gentleman of intelligence, and connected with a denomination which has been most liberal in money and in toil on behalf of education, I must say it rather astonishes me, whilst it shows to what arguments those are obliged to have recourse who oppose a scheme like this, which holds out a prospect of a better education for those unfortunate persons.’

And this statement was cheered by honourable members, on whom it devolved to legislate for the nation. Alas! on what days are we fallen, that our representatives should mistake for facts what the merest tyro out of doors would denounce as a gross caricature. But so it is. Education should commence in St. Stephens before the nation is wronged by such schemes as the present. The ministerial motion was met by an amendment on the part of Mr. Thomas S. Duncombe, the terms of which were to the following effect:—

‘That previous to any grant of public money being assented to by the House for the purpose of carrying out the scheme of National Education, as developed in the minutes of the Committee of Council on Education in August and December last, which minutes had been presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of her Majesty, a select committee be appointed to inquire into the justice and expediency of such scheme, and its probable annual cost; also to inquire whether the regulations attached thereto, do not unduly increase the influence of the crown, invade the constitutional functions of parliament, and interfere with the religious convictions and the civil rights of her Majesty’s subjects. The committee to report their opinion, with the evidence to the House.’

It is due to the member for Finsbury to state that he gave notice of this amendment on his own responsibility, and without communication with the Central Committee or the Dissenting Delegates. It is the more honourable to Mr. Duncombe that it should have been so, and the country is indebted to him for the

service he has rendered. He acted as an independent member of the Commons House, and exposed, with considerable acuteness and ability, the hollowness and chicanery of the scheme.

The member for Edinburgh followed, and added another splendid proof to the many already furnished, of his power to evade the real merits of a case on which he pronounces oracular judgment. We readily admit the oratorical power of Mr. Macaulay, and are not insensible of the felicity and splendour with which his thoughts are frequently arrayed, yet we know no man of note and high pretension, whose ratiocination more frequently fails to embrace the real points of a question, or to sound the depths of its philosophy. We are perpetually reminded of the mere advocate; the professional debater is before us; we see and hear a man whose oratory has commended him to the patronage of the Whigs, and given him importance in the senate. In the present case there was much of this. What had been done for education, the progress really made in training the public mind, was only glanced at to leave a most inadequate impression of it on his auditors; the violations of public peace from the riots of 1780 to those of Newport, were adduced as triumphant proofs of the necessity of state interference, and this, too, in immediate connexion with allusions to America, as the place where religious voluntarism is seen in connexion with state education; and the plea of conscience was slurred over with fallacies too shallow to mislead even superficial minds. Mr. Macaulay ought to have known better; the moral of the man should have restrained the advocate from purchasing a petty triumph by so ungenerous a perversion of the views of others, as is contained in the following passage. By the 'theory' denounced, allusion is obviously made to the views now prevalent amongst dissenters, and no one knew better than Mr. Macaulay that there is not a man amongst them who would not protest against the interpretation put on their principles. But such is the return ordinarily dealt out by the men whom they have mainly contributed to place in their present seats of power:—

'This new theory of government,' said the member for Edinburgh, 'may at least claim the merit of originality. It signifies this, as I read it, if it signifies any thing—all men have hitherto misconceived the proper functions of government, which are simply those of a great hangman. The principle on which they are bound uniformly to model their conduct is to do nothing except by harsh and degrading means. From all humane means, which operate by exalting the intellectual character—by disciplining the passions—by purifying man's moral nature—government is to be peremptorily excluded. The only means which are to be at their disposal are those of phy-

sical force—of the lash, the gibbet, and the musket, and of the terror which those dreadful instruments evoke. The statesman who wields the destiny of an empire is to look calmly on while the population of cities and towns is hourly increasing. He knows that on the moral and intellectual culture of the great bulk of that population the prosperity of the country, nay more, perhaps the very foundations of the state, may depend; but no matter, he is not to dream of such a thing as operating on their moral and intellectual nature. He dares not attempt it. He may build barracks as many as he pleases; he may parade bayonets and ordnance to overawe them if he dread their appeal to violence, but of educating them he must not dream. The same things occurs in the rural districts. He may see, and shudder as he sees, the rural population growing up with as little Christianity, as little civilization, as little enlightenment as the inhabitants of New Guinea; but no matter, he is not to interfere. He must wait till the incendiary fires are blazing—till repeated attempts are made on the machinery of the district—till riots occur such as disgraced this country in 1830 and 1831; and then begins his business, which is simply to hang, imprison, or transport the offenders. He sees seminaries for crime arising on all hands around him—seminaries which are eagerly attended by the youth of the population, but he must not endeavour to allure them from those haunts. He may have a thorough conviction on his own mind, that if he were to offer the means of wholesome instruction to those youths, a very great number of them would be drawn away from vice and induced to dedicate their lives to an honourable purpose, but he dare not make the experiment. He must look calmly on with folded arms, and suffer those to become the cancers of the state who might have been made its power and its strength. He must remain inactive till the harvest of crime is ripe, and then he must set about discharging the duties of his mission, which is to imprison one man, to hang another, and to send a third to the antipodes. If he venture to raise his voice against this system—if he venture to say that it is the duty of a government to try and make a people wiser and better, he is an enemy of human liberty, an oppressor of conscience, and ought not to be tolerated.'

There is a barefaced misrepresentation in this passage which would instantly have been exposed in any other English assembly. The whole spirit of it partakes of the nature of malignant caricature, for the men who denounce governmental interference with education—and if they are not referred to, the whole passage is a piece of miserable balderdash—do it avowedly on the ground, that so far is it from 'exalting the intellectual character—by disciplining the passions, and by purifying man's moral nature,' that such interference is adapted to debase that character, to emasculate the national mind, and to diffuse over the region of knowledge and of morals some of the most noxious influences of which human nature is susceptible. It is because they so highly prize the advantages of education, that they are

concerned to bar out the government from its controul. They may be wrong in this, and if so, let their error be exposed; but in common fairness, let no mean advantage be taken of the ignorance or the prejudices even of honourable members. There is much which government may do. Let it relieve popular literature from the taxes which press upon it; let it abolish the newspaper stamp; let it equalize the burdens of the state so that the working man may be able to provide for his children the instruction required. When these things are done, the government advocate will be in a better condition to magnify the good intentions of our rulers. But such things bring with them no patronage, they yield no support to prerogative; and the ministers of the crown, 'wise in their generation,' prefer, therefore, a different scheme.

There is another point on which Mr. Macaulay is clearly at issue with his former self; but as we may be suspected of ultraism on this subject, we prefer adducing the strictures of a Whig journalist, who is far from sympathising with our objection to governmental interference with education:—

'With respect to the sanction and support of exclusive church schools,' says the 'Morning Chronicle,' 'not in a few 'poorer districts,' but in some thousands of parishes, where they will be the only schools, without any attempt to obtain protection for the rights of minorities, the right honourable gentleman spoke thus:—

'With respect to another objection which has been made with regard to the establishment of schools in the poorer districts, I admit there may be some difficulty for some time in supplying education to such districts; and the subject has engaged the most anxious thoughts of the committee of education. But if, in a district, the interests of 900 and those of 100 come in competition, we must consider the former in preference to the latter. That may be objectionable, but you cannot tell me there is any violation of religious principles even in this case, which I feel to be the most objectionable part of the plan. If the district can only support one school, and if that school be given to the church (there being a majority of churchmen), you do not take away from the dissenter any thing he has, but you add to the efficiency of the national school; and I hope that the dissenters and nonconformists of this country will prove themselves, when a little momentary irritation is over, not only Nonconformists but Englishmen and Christians.'

'How Mr. Macaulay would crush these flimsy fallacies at a blow if they were flung in his way by an opponent! He knows well that the interests of the nine hundred and those of the one hundred do not come into competition. He knows that the greater number might be educated strictly in their own creed, and yet the smaller number not shut out from the benefits of secular knowledge. He knows, and no doubt, like Lord John Russell, he approves of the

simple arrangement by which that might be effected. Why has he not insisted upon that arrangement as a condition of state aid? In sanctioning national schools without that condition in districts where they will be the only schools, or where through state help they will become the only schools, we are amazed to be told from such a quarter that there is no violation of religious principle—no injury to the rights of conscience. It does not ‘take away from the dissenter anything he has.’ This from the mouth, not of Sir Robert Inglis, but of Mr. Macaulay! It is worthy of being preserved as a specimen of the absurdities into which a vigorous mind will plunge in its desperate struggles to find a straight path through a labyrinth of error. What would Mr. Macaulay think if Lord Morpeth, either from love to the bishops, or for the exceeding pleasure of being in harmony with the Wesleyan committees, were to put a clause in the Sanitary Bill to confine the use of drains and sewers to persons of orthodox belief? That would not take away from the dissenter anything that he has. It would take a tax out of his pocket indeed, but then he has an interest in the drainage as well as in the education of his neighbours. It is clearly good for dissenters that refuse should not accumulate on the premises of churchmen who live near them; and at all events, as Englishmen and Christians, it would be wrong to resist a bill for making churchmen comfortable merely because it did not make dissenters comfortable also.’—April 21.

To Mr. Bright’s speech we have already referred. It was all which could be desired; and we trust the time is not distant when he will find within the walls of St. Stephen cordial and able supporters. ‘I am sensible,’ said the honourable member, in rising, ‘that I have to defend men and principles which are not popular in this assembly. Nevertheless, being one of the nonconformist body of this country, and being by birth, education, observation, and conviction, fully established in the opinions I hold, I am bound, though it may be in opposition to a government sitting on the same side of the house as myself, to protest against the policy and principles now offered for the adoption of the House.’ This avowal was frank and manly, and honourably contrasts with the miserable evasions to which others have stooped. It is easy to boast of our dissenterism in the midst of associates, but it is another thing, and distinguishes a man of higher mark, to do so, amidst the scions and supporters of the hierarchy.

The Premier, as we have already noticed, made ungenerous use of the forbearance of his dissenting allies. They were taunted with the support they had formerly yielded to views which they now denounced. This was to be expected. We are not surprised at it, nor are we disposed to deny that we have been wrong in the matter. Our objection should have been taken in 1839, or rather in 1833; and had our views prevailed,

it would have been so. The inconsistency, however, is not such as Lord John Russell and his supporters allege. Mr. Bright has fairly traced this portion of our history, and we commend the following passage of his speech to the consideration of our detractors.—

‘The noble lord at the head of the government objected to the dissenters that they had supported the committee of Privy Council in 1839, whilst they opposed it in 1847; that they were then in favour of this interference, and are now opposed to it. I admit that many, or at any rate some, of the dissenters were in favour of it eight years ago. But we have had some experience from 1839 to 1847. At that time the dissenters regarded the institution of the committee of Privy Council as a step leading away from that power which the church of England wished to usurp, of being able to educate the whole people; and the dissenters hoped we were on the road, at last, to overcome those pretensions which the church of England had so long asserted, that she was called upon and bound to undertake the business of education, and that she ought to be entrusted with the education of the people. But from 1839 to this year we have found no step taken by the government which has not had for its tendency the aggrandisement of the established church. In 1839, the noble lord proposed a scheme which, from the opposition of the established church and the Wesleyans, was withdrawn. In 1843, the right honourable baronet, the late Secretary for the Home Department (Sir James Graham), proposed a scheme of education in connexion with the Factories Bill—a scheme which was thought by everybody to give undue power to the established church, and which, in consequence of the opposition of the dissenters, was withdrawn. In 1847, the noble lord comes forward with another scheme. It has the same defect; its object, tendency, and inevitable result will be to give enormous and increased power to the clergy of the established church. It is a scheme of which the dissenters cannot avail themselves, in accordance with the principles by which they are dissenters, and, therefore, they were bound now to step forward and protest against this as against the former schemes. And I wonder not they have come to the conclusion that it is dangerous to them as members of dissenting bodies, and dangerous also to the civil liberty of the people, that the state should interfere with education, since you appear not to be able to interfere without giving increased power to the clergy of an already dominant church.’

Mr. Bright did justice—and this we regard as the crowning merit of his speech—to the religious scruples with which the government scheme is regarded. It is easy for honourable senators to scoff at these; to brand them with opprobrious epithets, or to represent them as the offspring of feeble-mindedness and sectarian bigotry. Of one thing they afford ample evidence, when they undertake to speak of conscience and

religion. These matters are foreign from their minds. They do not, they cannot comprehend them. Conscientiousness is bigotry, and a deep conviction of the sacredness of religion an assumption of infallibility, or the pride of pharisaism. Such language as the following must have sounded strange to our modern senators, while to us it recalls some of the brightest passages of our parliamentary history :—

‘ Just recollect, when the whole of the nonconformists are charged with clamour, what they mean by being nonconformists. They object, as I understand, at least I object, to the principle by which the government seizes hold of public funds to salary and support the teachers of all sects of religion, or of one sect of religion, for I think the one plan nearly as unjust as the other. Either the nonconformists hold this opinion, or they are making a sham. They object to any portion of the public money going to teachers of religion belonging either to the established church or to dissenting bodies ; they object to receive it for themselves. They find certain minutes infringing on this principle. You wish to establish a system by which the young persons of the country shall be trained to certain religious tenets. In your church schools we are to have the catechism taught, and the liturgy taught, as well as the scriptures read. All this is to be done under the cognizance and supervision of the clergyman of the parish. The children are to be examined by the clergymen, and by inspectors appointed by the government, who are also to be clergymen of the church of England. The minutes do not say so, but under the compact entered into by the government with the church, they can appoint no inspector who is not palatable to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The inspector must be discharged if the archbishop express an opinion unfavourable to him. Of course this is in church of England schools only. I admit that the noble lord will not carry it the length of proposing this for dissenting schools, he will not venture to do so. We are not so humiliated as that. No government in this country durst attempt to carry that into effect ; but if you had the power to carry out the spirit expressed in the minutes, I say the dissenting schools would not be free from interference by the clergymen of the state church. I am prepared to contend that the powers given by these minutes to the clergymen examiners are calculated to give a great increase of power to all the clergymen of the established church. They are made public officers with respect to schools. Now, the vicar of the parish enters the schools, and inquires about the children, but he has no more power than any other gentleman who may choose to visit and do the same. But by your minutes you empower him to enter under the authority of an inspector, who, by your compact with the church, can only be a clergyman of the established church. I say these clergymen and inspectors are prone to meddle with everything. They will go there and examine the children in their books ; they will interrogate the teachers as to their methods and their learning. Do you think,

if they find a child whose brother or sister goes to a dissenting chapel, the clergyman will not be zealous enough to use his influence to induce him to attend the church? This would be only of a piece with the conduct observed in other respects. It is notorious, that in all parts of England, charities never intended to be used for the promotion of particular religious opinions, but which are in the hands of the established church, are distributed with a view to the effect they may have in bringing an increase of attendance to the national schools or the established churches. I know numbers of these cases myself; and I know that a child who did not bow down to the church, or who refused to go to a national school, would find himself placed under the ban of the clergyman. All the inducements to him, you vaunt of, to rise in the world, and gain an honourable station in society, would be merely as the idle wind that blows, and would be of no avail whatever to obtain for him an honourable place in life. If anything were wanted to show the effect of these minutes, look at the triumphs your propositions have excited among the members of the established church, and the clergy especially. Was there ever a good and beneficial measure for nonconformists proposed that was received with an exulting shout of gratulation by the honourable baronet below me (Sir R. H. Inglis), by the bishops, and by all the clergy of the kingdom? I am wrong, perhaps, as regards the honourable baronet; he did not loudly exult, but he took the measure meekly, he took it thankfully. I acknowledge that the church is thankful for everything it can get, and it never loses anything for want of asking for it. I confess I am astonished that churchmen throughout the country—I do not speak of the clergy, but the laity—have supported this measure, because I think they are as much interested as the dissenters in opposing any extension of power on the part of the clergy. Nothing tends more to impede the progress of liberty, nothing is more fatal to independence of spirit in the public, than to add to the powers of the priesthood in matters of education. If you give them such increased powers by legislative enactment, you do more than you could effect by any other means to enslave and degrade a people subject to their influence.'

Mr. Duncombe's amendment was, of course, negatived by a large majority, and the one subsequently moved by Sir William Clay, that 'It is expedient that in any plan for promoting the education of the people by pecuniary assistance from the state, provision should be made that in schools receiving such assistance the opportunity of participating in all instruction, other than religious, should be afforded to children whose parents may object to the religious doctrines taught in such schools,' was rejected by a majority of 210 to 74.

So far respecting the past. Let us now turn to the future. The ministerial scheme has been sanctioned by the lower House,

and one hundred thousand pounds have been voted towards carrying it into effect. What now will dissenters do? Their professions are before the nation. Authoritative expositions of their principles have been given on various occasions, and with the utmost publicity; and even those of their number who admit, under certain limitations, the right and expediency of government interference, have yet joined with their brethren in denouncing the present scheme as a gross violation of religious liberty, and a wrong to 'tender consciences.' So far, therefore, all are agreed. The exceptions are too inconsiderable to be named. In the large delegation which met at Crosby Hall not an individual was found who did not condemn the government measure on grounds which preclude reception of its aid. So obvious is the position to which we are committed, that our opponents exult in the prospect of our relinquishing our schools or forfeiting our character; the one by refusing the government grant—the other, by accepting it. So far as the latter alternative is concerned, we are not disposed to deny the truth of their averment. On the contrary, we agree with it. It is clearly deducible from what has passed, and we shall be covered with disgrace, shall become a by-word and reproach amongst all honourable men, if our practice do not illustrate and enforce the professions we have made. Mr. Bright was right when he affirmed, that 'It must be clear to those who know the history and understand anything of the principles of non-conformity, that any nonconformist who takes one sixpence of this grant for the purpose of teaching the tenets of his particular sect can never afterwards, with any show of consistency and good faith, say one syllable against the domination and usurpation of the established church.'

Are dissenters then prepared for this? Now that the season of talking has passed, will they address themselves to action in simplicity and earnestness? Has their past conduct justified confidence in their doing so? These are grave questions, and we would not treat them lightly. We have not been amongst the flatterers of dissenters in former times, but have rebuked their half-heartedness and short-comings, whenever occasion required it. We have done this from no bitterness, but in sorrow and from what we deemed, a sense of duty; and may therefore take credit for sincerity, when we avow the conviction that they are now better prepared than ever to act out their convictions with enlightened fidelity. The case, it must be admitted, is a trying one. In many instances it will press most heavily, and test principle to the utmost. This will be felt in the agricultural districts especially, and our brethren inhabiting such parts of the kingdom must have our sympathy and aid. The wondrous

elasticity and manifold powers of the voluntary principle must instantly be evolved. The rich must help the poor, and the whole strength of dissent be concentrated on the point of attack. For one thing, however, we must be prepared. The present measure will act as a test, and will serve to withdraw from our ranks those who are not thoroughly with us in our principles. We do not deem this an evil. It may diminish our numbers, but it will increase our strength. What is lost in bulk will be gained in weight. Those who are dissenters in name only, will readily find excuse for relieving themselves at the cost of the exchequer. Under various pleas they will apply for, and speedily obtain, the pay of government; and when once the forbidden fruit has been tasted, the criminal appetite will become insatiable. For so much we are prepared, and its occurrence therefore will awaken no surprise. But the main body of dissent will continue, we verily believe, sound-hearted and faithful. It is pledged to do so. Self-respect requires it, and the high consideration of religious duty, clearly recognized and repeatedly avowed, leaves honest men no alternative. Let no dissenters, then, accept the proffered bribe. Better anything than this. We have faith in God whilst faithful to his truth, but dare not look up to him for good if we tamper with its sacred interests. At all hazard and at every cost, they must decline to be parties to this fresh aggression on their religious liberties. 'Upon their doing so depend consequences too important to be contemplated without the gravest possible concern. Should they fail, their conscience will be defiled, their principles compromised, their good name tarnished, the very essence of their protest against 'spiritual wickednesses in high places' eaten out, and their heart and power to seek its removal effectually destroyed. It is the hour of their temptation. They are placed upon their moral probation. No common subtilty and force of evil assails them. And if, deeming it 'good for food, pleasant to the eye, and to be desired to make one wise,' they should partake of the fruit of the professed tree of knowledge, they will prove it, and mayhap their posterity with them, to be the tree of DEATH.*

So far our cause is clear; nor is the next step less obvious. Had dissenters been sufficiently alive in past times to the importance of a parliamentary representation of their principles, the ministers of the day would not have ventured on the course they have pursued. They measure our strength by our parliamentary force, and deem us no further entitled to respect than as we are able to influence the votes of the Commons House.

Judging according to this rule, we are not surprised at the contemptuous indifference with which we have been treated. Let us now learn from our opponents. A general election is at hand. It will probably take place during the summer, and we must be prepared to carry our question to the hustings. The old distinctions of Whig and Tory must be lost sight of, and religious liberty, *in its large and enlightened sense*, must be our rallying cry. In the first place, it becomes dissenters to withhold their support from all those candidates whose names are found in the ministerial majority. They are clearly disqualified in the language of the Crosby Hall delegates, 'to represent in parliament the friends of civil and religious liberty,' and no local interest or party consideration must induce our brethren to vote on their behalf. Whatever be the result, we must abide by this purpose. So far as our principles are concerned, there is no difference between the followers of Lord John Russell and those of Sir Robert Peel, and we must not, therefore, be scared from our rightful course by any apprehension of the electoral success of the latter. From our political friends we have received greater wrong than our opponents have inflicted for the last fifty years, and the best lesson we can teach them is to withhold the power of doing us further injustice. They can understand this argument, and they care not about any other. We wait to see whether the dissenting electors of London, Edinburgh, Devonport, and other places, are equal to the crisis which has arrived.

But beyond this we must seek a parliamentary representation of our principles. Mr. Bright must not stand alone. We must send into the House—and our numbers, intelligence, and wealth enable us to do so—men who understand and value our principles, and who are equal to their advocacy. We do not under-rate the value of wealth and social status. Wherever these are found in unison with the higher qualities required, let them by all means be retained. Such men are needful in such an assembly as the Commons House to give weight and importance to the representatives of any principle. But let not our attention be limited to such. There is another class which should be associated with them; men of transparent rectitude and of clear intellects, conversant with public life, of free speech, and of intense devotion to religious voluntarism. Such men may become the teachers of the nation through the medium of the debates of parliament, and, if equal to the post, would ultimately command the attention of the House from the power they exercised without it. The two classes are alike needful, and would work in perfect harmony. We rejoice that a parliamentary committee has been formed for the purpose of promot-

ing this most desirable issue, and shall take an early opportunity of calling attention to its labours. At present we must content ourselves with stating, that it was formed on the last day of the Crosby Hall conference by the following resolution :—

‘That, in order to promote the practical efficiency of the resolutions of this conference on the subject of the formation of a central committee, with respect to the ensuing general election, the members of the conference now present, as many as consent thereto, do forthwith resolve themselves into such committee, with power to add to their number.’

This committee has had a preliminary meeting, and its members, with other gentlemen interested in the subject, are to be called together in London on the 7th of May. This is a practical movement which has our entire concurrence, and towards which we direct the confidence of all our dissenting readers. We should be glad to urge at some length the co-operation of all hearty friends to our cause, but our space and time are exhausted, and we must therefore adjourn to a future number many things which we are desirous of saying.

Brief Notices.

Tales of the Reformation. By Anne Maria Sargeant. London: Dean & Co.

ALTHOUGH these are *tales* they are nevertheless *true* stories. Imagination does her part, but she only leads the way with very modest mien, to the discovery of truth; which is of great importance,—for story without truth is fable.

Our youth, now, *must* study the Reformation: and here is a most lovely book to assist them. We heartily commend it to their thoughtful perusal. It is written with remarkable discrimination, impartiality, and clearness. Perfectly free from that curse of controversy—venom—it is as guileless as a dove; and presents a beautiful specimen of healthy protestantism, neither morbid nor rabid. Moreover, it is written with that inimitable *finiment* peculiar to woman, which we of the rougher sort cannot even approach.

We are not surprised to find the first edition of *Tales of the Early British Christians* is gone; doubtless, *Tales of the Reformation* will very soon follow it. We hope the author will then favour us with *Tales of the Commonwealth*.

Patria. France, Ancient and Modern; Moral and Material; or a complete Statistical Collection of Facts respecting the Physical and Intellectual History of France and its Colonies. By J. Aigard, F. Bourquelot. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1847.

It is understood that Ministers mean to propose to parliament the foundation of a Statistical department in London. The design is a most important one. Legislation, administration, and public opinion depend upon the abundance and good arrangement of the facts which form the business of life, and the active movement of society. The complete collection and marshalling of these facts constitute the science termed statistics.

The French are our teachers in this science; and this little work, *Patria*, is an excellent illustration of the usefulness of what the French government has been doing during many years, in order to bring the statistics of France and its colonies into shape. These two convenient volumes contain an able summary of the fruits of that labour. The geography, geology, and climate of France are given in good maps; its plants, and zoology in drawings; its public works, its navigation, its trade, in well arranged tables. Full details are supplied of government, legislation, and administration in all branches. Education, medical science, population, general history, the army, the navy, the prisons, and the colonies are examined with great care.

The work is an invaluable manual upon French affairs; and well worth studying in reference to the plan about to be adopted for a statistical department in Whitehall.

The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. 8vo. Parts I to III. London: Charles Knight.

OF *The Penny Cyclopædia* we need not say one word. The extensive circulation it has obtained is founded on its acknowledged merits, and affords gratifying evidence of the sound judgment of our countrymen. In the progress of the work its limits were greatly enlarged, and its extent and cost, now that it is finished, place it beyond the reach of many for whose benefit it was projected. Mr. Knight has, therefore, wisely resolved to re-issue the substance of the work in a new and cheaper form, and the nature and mode of the publication will be best learnt from the following extract from his prospectus:—

‘What ‘*The Penny Cyclopædia*’ failed in doing with reference to the great body of the people, can now be accomplished, with an absolute certainty, by the proprietor of that work. He can produce, by a careful condensation of its vast materials, with the addition of all progressive information that the lapse of time demands, a Cyclopædia for the nation, of the most extensive interest and utility. He can do this at a price which precludes all competition, for no similar copyright materials exist for the production of a new Cyclopædia, whose popularity shall be founded upon the acknowledged excellence of the sources from which it will be derived;

he can do this within the most definite limits, as regards quantity of matter and time occupied in publication.

'The Penny Cyclopædia,' including its 'Supplement,' consists of twenty-nine volumes, extending to 15,500 small folio pages; it has occupied fourteen years in completion. 'The National Cyclopædia' will consist of twelve volumes, demy octavo, of more than 500 pages each; the whole quantity somewhat exceeding what was proposed in 1832 as the limits of 'The Penny Cyclopædia,' and at a still lower comparative price. Each volume will consist of four parts, published monthly at 1s. each, the entire number of parts being forty-eight, and the total cost about one-fourth of the 'Penny Cyclopædia.' It will also be published in weekly numbers at 3d., forming 192 numbers. A volume will be published every four months, strongly bound, for 5s. The time occupied in the publication will be four years.

'These conditions of publication are founded upon exact calculation—so exact that the publisher here pledges himself, if the National Cyclopædia should exceed forty-eight shilling parts, or 192 threepenny numbers, to present the quantity in excess, without charge, to every subscriber who has taken the preceding series of parts or numbers.

'The 'National Cyclopædia' will be illustrated with many hundred woodcuts, upon a small scale, engraved for the work.'

The first three numbers of the work are now before us, and we have great pleasure in recommending it most strongly to the favour of our readers. Young men, especially, will do well to possess themselves of it, and will find, in its rich stores, ample recompense for the money and the time expended in its purchase and perusal. The extensive circulation of such works is one of the best means of promoting the true progress of the public mind.

Home Influence; a Tale for Mothers and Daughters. By Grace Aguilar. 2 vols. London: Groombridge & Co.

THE volumes before us are interesting in many ways, not only for their sound teaching and great talent, but from the fact that they are from the pen of a young Jewish lady.

Miss Aguilar's works have hitherto been addressed solely to her own people, although their broad and enlightened spirit made them equally applicable, and had they been so addressed, they would have been equally acceptable, to the Christian. In the preface to the present work she says that, 'as a simple domestic story, the characters in it are all Christians, believing in and practising that religion; all doctrinal points have been carefully avoided, the author seeking only to illustrate the spirit of true piety and the virtues always designated as the Christian virtues thence proceeding.' And most fully has the author realised her intentions. Truth, love, and obedience are the three great principles upon which she founds her ideas of education, and the superstructure which she presents is excellent.

As a work of fiction the faults all lie in the first volume, which we found somewhat heavy from the lengthened retrospect that is required to make the reader acquainted with the circumstances and

connexions of the family about which his sympathies are to be enlisted. This once overpassed, the story moves on easily and naturally, gathering about it a simple and yet intricate web of incident of such intense, not to say painful interest, as keeps the reader's attention at the utmost stretch. In parts the story is most powerfully written.

The true excellence of the work, however, is less its artistically arranged story, than its sound, healthy, moral tone. It is especially written for mothers and daughters, and to all such we most cordially and entirely recommend it. The character of the mother is one of the most beautiful we ever met with, and yet not too beautiful for human nature. It is a model which every mother may study with advantage.



1. *The French Prompter, a complete Hand-book of Conversation for the Use of Travellers on the Continent.*
2. *Petit Musée de la Litterature Francaise, elegant Extracts from the most Eminent Writers of France.* By M. Lepage. London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange.

THE first of these two works deserves an unqualified approbation, and we readily recommend it to the public, and especially to travellers in France, as the best companion and assistant they can obtain, before starting for their peregrinations. No publications of the same kind can be compared to this one, which, we have no doubt, will readily obtain a very extensive sale. But while we are bound, in justice, to compliment M. Lepage on his laborious and eminently useful performance, we conscientiously cannot speak, in the same terms of his *Petit Musée*. Like all compilations of the same character published in this country, by French masters, this one contains extracts taken at random, or certainly selected without taste and without judgment. For students, they are dry, uninteresting, and unintelligible sometimes; even worse than that, as in the fifty pages taken from *Gil Blas*. For persons at all acquainted with French literature, they are stale, common place, worthless. This book-making is too prevalent among French teachers, and ought not to be encouraged, at the expense of the public.



Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

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Meditations on Romans viii. 32, in Four Letters to a Christian Friend.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JUNE, 1847.

ART. I.—*The Life and Correspondence of the Right Honourable Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth.* By the Honourable George Pellew, D.D., Dean of Norwich. In three volumes. 8vo. London: John Murray.

POLITICAL biography is amongst the most attractive species of composition. It partakes somewhat of the character of history reduced to the dimensions of individual life, and shares, therefore, in the interest which attaches to both kinds of writing. Admitting behind the scenes it enables us to analyze the character of public men, to trace their measures to the contingencies out of which they sprung, to detect the motives by which they were prompted, and to render justice, both in praise and censure, to the men whose names float on the traditions of our country. All men are curious to know something of their rulers. Their character, habits, connexions, party contests, and measures, are canvassed in every variety of mode; and he who, on these points, can contribute the authentic information to his circle, is sure to be regarded with deference. We are perpetually striving to draw aside the veil behind which our statesmen are concealed, to picture to ourselves the intrigues of the low-minded, the cabals of the unprincipled, or the lofty and dignified views of the illustrious few who are faithful to their vocation, equal to its requirements, and earnestly intent on the discharge of duty. The anecdotes daily retailed are exemplifications of this universal tendency, and bespeak the curiosity rather than the knowledge of their reporters. The readiness with which they are entertained, and the zeal which marks their repetition, is a characteristic of the popular mind not to be

overlooked in any estimate we would form of their probable truth. We are too much concerned to know, or at least to appear to know, something respecting the men and the measures about which we daily talk, to be very exact in the evidence required, or punctilious in the credence we yield. A large proportion, therefore, of the political anecdotes afloat is either wholly false, or grossly exaggerated. Men's general views materially influence their faith, and furnish numerous illustrations analogous to the fable of the three black crows. The indulgence of this propensity is not limited to any one class. It may be traced throughout the community, and, with various modifications, is to be detected amongst the higher and more intelligent, as well as the lower and least informed. The position of each party determines the measure of improbability which is admitted. What is readily credited by those who are farthest from the fountain of information, is instantly rejected by such as are nearest to it. The credulity of the one class is despised by the other, but this in its turn is equally the victim of a universal and omnipotent propensity. It is impossible to look back to the journals of any period, even those of the highest character and best information, without perceiving evidences of this fact; and when these journals are tested by the more accredited statements of authentic biography, such fact becomes too glaring to admit of doubt.

But there is a higher purpose to be answered by political biography than that which consists in the sifting of traditional anecdotes. It opens up grave questions, reveals the genuine character of the political idols whom we worship, and enables us more accurately to estimate the wisdom and patriotism of the measures pursued. It is a mortifying reflection, that the verdict it commands from an impartial jury is generally unfavourable. This is not unnatural, but it is mortifying to our pride, and deeply wounds the kinder sensibilities of our nature. There is a false gloss thrown over the lives and policy of our statesmen during their continuance in power. To say nothing of the reluctance felt to admit the intervention of what is little, mean, and corrupt, in our national councils; too many are interested in the popularity of a Minister, to render them impartial judges of his policy. Dependent on his favour, they become unwittingly his panegyriats, and the virtues which their servility or party attachment attributes to him, pass current for the day, and are reported to their successors. But the case is very different when power has ceased, and perhaps death intervened to prevent the possibility of its recurrence. A stern court is then constituted before which the deceased statesman is summoned to appear.

Few men can pass through such an ordeal unscathed. The appeal to posterity is frequently answered, if not by a reversal, yet by a serious modification, of the judgment of their own generation. When weighed in the balance of truth, their wisdom, or their integrity is brought into doubt, and the undue panegyric of one age is not unfrequently balanced by the equally excessive censure of another. In some cases, unhappily rare, the reverse of this happens. As the philosopher and the poet often rise in the estimation of mankind as they are viewed from a distance, apart from individual peculiarities and the detractions of envious contemporaries, so the statesman occasionally emerges from the thick mists which had surrounded him during his earthly career, and takes rank amongst the accredited expounders of human rights and of political sagacity. A notable instance of this is furnished in the case of the lord-protector Cromwell, whose reputation has at length been nobly vindicated by the simple expedient of putting on record the entire collection of his Letters and Speeches. A prouder monument was never reared to the memory of man than that which has been raised by the laborious research and painstaking of Mr. Carlyle.

‘ How does the lustre of our father’s actions,
Through the dark cloud of ills that cover him,
Break out, and burn with more triumphant brightness !
His sufferings shine, and spread a glory round him ;
——He fights the cause !
Of Honour, Virtue, Liberty, and Rome.’

In order, however, that political biography should accomplish its end, it must be written with impartiality and discrimination, must evidence thorough knowledge of the matters detailed, and be obviously imbued with the living spirit of truth. There are many nice questions pertaining to it, on which it is by no means easy to lay down general rules. Amongst these the most important are the relation in which the biographer should stand to his hero, and the contiguity, in point of time, which may be admitted. Various opinions have been expressed on these points, and no one of them is free from objection. We must be content with a choice of evils. Unalloyed good is not attainable, and we are willing, therefore, to receive the fuller information which a relative and contemporary can furnish, though at some risk of the likeness being affected by the kindly dispositions of the artist. The tendency is obvious and may be guarded against, whilst the information furnished may not be otherwise attainable. Let the latter be supplied, and we are in a condition to correct whatever want of proportion there may be in the colours of the former.

The volumes now before us are written by the son-in-law of Lord Sidmouth, and the author will deem it no reflection, if we remark, that the effect of his relationship is obvious throughout the work. It appears, however, in its least exceptionable form, being seen in the uniformly favourable judgment pronounced on the opinions and proceedings of his lordship, rather than in detraction of his opponents, or misrepresentation of their motives. Dean Pellew is evidently an amiable and candid man, constitutionally inclined to look at the better side of human nature, and free from the bitterness and chagrin of many political writers. He would rather praise than blame, and though the colouring of his portrait is too bright, we forgive his partiality, and receive with thankfulness the information he supplies. From his judgments on men and measures we frequently dissent; in a few instances—the number is very limited—we detect a not unnatural feeling against some of the contemporaries of Lord Sidmouth, and in others we see the effect of conventional morality and of class prejudice. The leading defect of the work, apart from its occasional feebleness and prolixity, is the want of an independent and high standard of political faith. The opinions expressed are those of a class, modified by the mild and amiable disposition of the author. He never ventures on untrodden ground, seldom questions the propriety of what is current, occasionally hesitates to censure, even where his professional character would seem to demand severity of judgment, and is content to narrate his facts without reference to those general laws which enable us to test their sagacity and usefulness. His course is that of a timid and inexperienced mariner, who mistrusting himself keeps his eye fixed on the headlands of the coast. He never steers boldly out to sea, but keeping some friendly port in sight, is prompt to seek its shelter whenever the heavens grow dark, and the waters begin to swell. So far respecting the biographer; we now turn to his narrative.

Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth, was born on the 30th of May, 1757, in Bedford Row, London. He was the eldest son of Dr. Addington an eminent physician, who enjoyed the intimacy and friendship of the Earl of Chatham. At five years of age he was placed under the care of the Rev. William Gilpin, then resident at Cheam, in Surrey, who, two years afterwards, December 12th, 1764, reported to his father, ‘Harry is a genius; and I may add, he takes the license of a genius—he trusts more to his parts than his industry. He is generally an idle boy; and yet he generally has his lessons as well as any, often the best of his class, though he is raised amongst boys who are his seniors much in point of years; and what is very

surprising, he is exceedingly retentive of what he appears to get merely by intuition.'

In his twelfth year he was removed to Winchester school, of which Dr. Joseph Warton was head master, where he enjoyed the oversight and friendly culture of George Isaac Huntingford, whom he was subsequently instrumental in raising to the see of Hereford. That his school intimacies were well founded, 'is evident,' remarks Dean Pellew 'from the fact, that in every instance they endured for life!' In May, 1773, he was removed from Winchester, 'for reasons which do not appear,' and was placed under the tuition of Dr. Goodenough, at Ealing, whence he removed to Brasenose College, Oxford, in October 1774. His proficiency in classical literature was highly respectable, and his general habits honourably exempt from the vices then current amongst the young men of his class. His collegiate life did not, probably, add much to his attainments. His allusions to the university are not, at any rate, adapted to raise our estimate of the advantages it proffered, and serve to confirm the view given by other witnesses. In one of his earliest letters he informs his father that he 'was under no anxiety on account of the disputations, as he was credibly informed, they were mere farces,'—an opinion strikingly coincident with that of Lord Eldon, who is reported by Mr. Twiss to have remarked respecting a period four years earlier, 'An examination for a degree at Oxford, was a farce in my time.*' During his residence at the university, he formed the acquaintance of Lords Wellesley, Stowell, and Colchester, from whom he derived considerable advantage as well as happiness in future life. His acquaintance with Lord Stowell, then William Scott,

'Commenced in the Oxford stage coach, in 1777, when one was an under graduate at Brasenose, the other fellow and tutor of the university. They stopped to dine at Maidenhead bridge, on pork chops, and drank a bottle of port; after which, they chatted very familiarly for the rest of the way, Addington commenting with great freedom on the demerits of college fellows, whilst his companion insidiously encouraged him. When at length the coach stopped at University College, Scott, standing on the step as he alighted, said, 'Well, young gentleman, I have had a very pleasant journey; but the next time you feel inclined to abuse college fellows, consider that you may possibly have a poor college fellow in the coach with you. Good evening.' The next day the college fellow called upon the under graduate.'—Vol. i. p. 21.

Addington's early destination was the bar, to which he seriously applied himself about 1780. He was speedily, however,

* 'Life of Lord Eldon,' vol. i. p. 57.

diverted from this pursuit, by the more brilliant prospects of political life. We have already adverted to the intimacy which subsisted between his father and the Earl of Chatham, and it is, therefore no marvel that their sons, the subject of this memoir, and William Pitt, the favourite minister of George III. should be early found in friendly and official conjunction. 'They had been friends,' as the latter told Mr. Wilberforce, 'from their childhood, and their fathers before them.' Mr. Pitt, though two years younger than Addington, became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1782, under the Shelburne administration, and First Lord of the Treasury in 1784. This promotion opened the way to Addington's accession to political life, and so early as December, 1783, an interview took place between them which awakened the expectations of the friends of the latter. 'I give you joy,' said one of his correspondents, 'of the effects of the interview of last Sunday, of which I am impatient to hear the particulars.' He was speedily elected for Devizes, then a close borough, under the controul of his brother-in-law, Mr. Sutton, but took no part for some time in the debates of the house. His attention was wisely directed to its forms of procedure, and and on committees he was a diligent attendant. Considering his subsequent elevation, it appears singular, that he addressed the house only three times prior to his election to the speakership, once in seconding the address in January, 1786, once in the following year on a horse-tax, and again in 1788, on the Regency question. In this respect he differed widely from another young member of whom frequent mention is made in his correspondence. The subsequent career of Earl Grey gives peculiar interest to the following brief reference to his first parliamentary effort. The letter is dated Feb. 22nd, 1787 :—

'We had a glorious debate, last night, upon the motion for an address of thanks to the king for having negotiated the commercial treaty. I was not in bed till three o'clock, which to a committee man is rather an unseasonable hour. A new speaker presented himself to the House, and went through his first performance with an eclat which has not been equalled within my recollection. His name is Grey. He is not more than twenty-two years of age, and he took his seat, which is for Northumberland, only in the present session. I do not go too far in declaring that in the advantages of figure, voice, elocution, and manner, he is not surpassed by any one member of the House; and I grieve to say that he was last night in the ranks of opposition, from whence there is no prospect of his being detached.'—*Ib.* p. 45.

Some bystanders, regarding simply Mr. Addington's intimacy with the premier, were surprised at his not having received an early official appointment, but the case was different with him—

self. 'I am still,' he remarks in 1787, 'in a state of uncertainty, though by no means a disagreeable one, as I guess the *quid*, and hope soon to say something to you respecting the *quando*.' His views at this time, do not appear to have been directed to the speakership. Indeed no sagacity could foresee the changes which approached. It is seldom, perhaps, that human foresight was so completely at fault, as in the events referred to in the following brief extract:—

'In August, 1788, Lord Grenville passed a month with me at Lyme, in conformity with a wish he had expressed to that effect. One day we visited Lord Rolle at Bicton, and were speculating on the probable successor to the then Speaker, Cornwall; giving it as our opinion that we neither of us had any chance, and that Mr. Edward Phelps, of Montacute, would be the most eligible person. Within twelve months we were both speakers ourselves.'—*Ib.* p. 56.

On the fifth of June, 1789, Mr. Grenville vacated the speakership on his appointment as Secretary of State for the Home Department, and three days after, Mr. Addington was elected on a division of two hundred and fifteen to one hundred and fifty-two. His persevering attention to the business of the house, and his conciliatory manner, had rendered him a general favourite, and would probably have prevented a division, had not the party tactics of the day required the supporters of the *Coalition* to record their votes for Sir Gilbert Elliott. 'We were all very sorry to vote against you,' was Sheridan's remark to him on his taking the chair. 'It redounds,' says his biographer, 'equally to the credit of all parties, that the cordiality with which he was hailed, and the approbation he received from one side of the house, was quickly re-echoed from the other; insomuch, that although Addington was Mr. Pitt's intimate friend, and was known to be living in close intercourse with him, during the whole time he continued Speaker, still, as he used to declare, this made no difference in the conduct of the opposition towards him. Mr. Sheridan's remark on his election has already been related, and the treatment which he received from Messrs. Fox, Burke, Windham, Grey, Sir Gilbert Elliott, his late opponent, and other party leaders, was invariably of the same respectful and friendly character.'

Substantial proof of the kindly feeling of the house was furnished in a debate which subsequently occurred on the Speaker's salary, when it was proposed to substitute a fixed sum of £5000 a-year for the precarious fees formerly received. This was assented to with acclamation, and a motion that £6,000 should be inserted in the vote, instead of £5,000, was carried by an overwhelming majority, only twenty-eight 'particular friends'

voting against it. There was something farcical in this procedure, as the decision was well known, and the vote of the minority unquestionably would not have been given had it been expected to influence the result. It was a mere sham, an affectation of public virtue which tends to weaken confidence in the integrity of parliamentary proceedings.

The French Revolution was at this time in progress, and numerous allusions occur throughout Mr. Addington's correspondence to the schism that was preparing in the Whig party. In the autumn of 1789, 'The Reflections on the French Revolution' were published,—an extraordinary work, in which passion and political foresight, the terrors of an alarmist, and the profound sagacity of the most philosophical statesman of the day, were strangely blended. The minister readily availed himself of its aid, though he continued for some time impervious to its fears, as the following extract shews :—

'Nearly two years afterwards, Mr. Pitt, of whom Addington used to say, he was the most sanguine man he ever knew, was still unconvinced of the magnitude of the danger from that cause : an assertion which the following anecdote will elucidate. In September, 1791, after Burke's breach with Fox, Pitt invited him for the first time to dine with him : Lord Grenville, Burke, Addington, and Pitt, constituted the party. After dinner Burke was earnestly representing the danger which threatened this country, from the contagion of French principles, when Pitt said, 'Never fear, Mr. Burke : depend on it we shall go on as we are until the day of judgment.' 'Very likely, sir,' replied Mr. Burke, 'it is the day of ~~no~~ judgment that I am afraid of.'—*Ib.* p. 72.

The following anecdote pertaining to this period, is too characteristic of a man who obtained temporary notoriety by a rare conjunction of personal vices with the folly of opponents, to be omitted :—

'On the 28th of May, in this year, it became the Speaker's duty publicly to reprimand Major Scott, a member of parliament, for having published a statement relating to the trial of Mr. Hastings, which was considered disrespectful to the House. Before the public business commenced, the Speaker had observed Mr. Wilkes conferring with Major Scott; and he subsequently ascertained from a friend, who happened to be within hearing, that the subject of their conversation was as follows :—Wilkes. 'I give you joy. I am glad to see you in full dress. It is an occasion on which a man should appear to the best advantage.' Scott. 'Joy ! what do you mean ? Why I am here to be reprimanded.' Wilkes. 'Exactly ; and therefore I congratulate you. When the Speaker has finished, abuse them all confoundedly, for which you will be sent either to Newgate or the Tower, and then you may be member for Middlesex or Westminster,

whichever you please.' Mr. Adolphus, in his *History of England*, vol. vi. p. 164, bestows much commendation on the Speaker's address to Major Scott on this occasion. At some other time, Mr. Wilkes came up to the Speaker in the chair, and told him that he had a petition to present to the House from a set of the greatest scoundrels and miscreants upon earth: when called upon, however, shortly afterwards, to present it, he said, with the gravest face possible,—'Sir, I hold in my hand a petition from a most intelligent, independent, and enlightened body of men.' On another occasion, when there was much confusion in the House, the Speaker observing that his call of 'Order, order!' was not attended to, especially by Mr. Wilkes, repeated the expression, coupling with it that gentleman's name; upon which Mr. Wilkes said very deliberately, 'Order! Mr. Wilkes?' that is a singular association. Wilkes and treason, and Wilkes and rebellion, have often been coupled together; but, Wilkes and order never.'—*Ib.* p. 76.

We are tempted, by way of contrast, to transcribe another anecdote of the Speaker's, in which the public services of the party concerned gave grace and dignity to his momentary failure. It is thus related by our author:—

'This mention of the action of the 1st of June recalls to memory one of Lord Sidmouth's favourite anecdotes relating to that event. All the actors in the glorious achievement deserved, and of course received, the thanks of parliament for their conduct. Vice-Admiral Sir Alan, afterwards Lord Gardner, a man of undaunted bravery, but of a remarkably sensitive and retiring temperament, being at the time member for Plymouth, was, according to custom, to receive through the Speaker the honour of the thanks of the House, in his place in parliament. On the appointed day, before the commencement of business, he entered the Speaker's private room in great agitation, and expressed his apprehensions that he should fail in properly acknowledging the honour which he was about to receive. 'I have often been at the cannon's mouth,' he said, 'but hang me if I ever felt as I do now! I have not slept these three nights. Look at my tongue.' The Speaker rang for a bottle of Madeira, and Sir Alan took a glass. After a short pause he took a second, and then said he felt somewhat better; but when the moment of trial arrived, and one of the bravest of a gallant profession, whom no personal danger could appal, rose to reply to the Speaker, he could scarcely articulate. He was encouraged by enthusiastic cheers from all parts of the House; but after stammering out with far more than the usual amount of truth, that 'he was overpowered by the honour that had been conferred upon him,' and vainly attempting to add a few more words, he relinquished the idea as hopeless, and abruptly resumed his seat amidst a renewed burst of cheers.'—*Ib.* p. 118.

The following is important, as bearing on the character of a man whose policy exerted a more disastrous influence than that

of any other British minister in modern times. Of the ability of Mr. Pitt, there can be no doubt. His intellect was worthy of his parentage, his disposition was imperious, and his will unbending. Having sacrificed his early faith, he persecuted its disciples with unrelenting bitterness. Popular liberty, whether in England or on the continent, was his abhorrence, and he sought its extinction with an acrimony which betokened that the rancour of the apostate had been carried into the councils of the minister. The imperial character of his mind only strengthened his power for evil. Cold and haughty in public, he won the ardent attachment of friends in his unbending hours, and was thought by Lord Sidmouth 'the most fascinating companion he ever met with.' His information was prodigious, and his resources infinite. But the wear and tear of his life was too much for him, and he resorted to the ruinous expedient by which feebler men frequently seek to stimulate their powers. We should have expected some expression of regret, if not of displeasure, in the following notice of this habit. It would have befitted the clerical profession of the author, however unsuited to the disciple of Toryism:—

'Such intellectual powers, enclosed in so feeble a casket, must, it would be supposed, have required some description of artificial support; and accordingly Mr. Pitt did resort to the stimulant of wine, sometimes, as was reported, to an extent not altogether consistent with prudence and moderation. On this being remarked to Lord Sidmouth, he observed, that 'Mr. Pitt liked a glass of port wine very well, and a bottle still better; but that he had never known him take too much if he had any thing to do, except upon one occasion, when he was unexpectedly called up to answer a personal attack made upon him by the father of the late Lord Durham. He had left the House with Mr. Dundas in the hour between two election ballots, for the purpose of dining; and when, on his return, he replied to Mr. Lambton, it was evident to his friends that he had taken too much wine. The next morning Mr. Ley, the Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons, told the Speaker, that he had felt quite ill ever since Mr. Pitt's exhibition on the preceding evening: 'It gave me,' he added, 'a violent head-ache.' On this being repeated to Mr. Pitt, he said he thought it was an excellent arrangement, that ~~he~~ he should have the wine, and the clerk the head-ache.'

'During the sitting of parliament, Pitt, after the debate, used generally to sup with the Speaker, at the house of the latter, sometimes *tête-à-tête*, but more frequently with one or two other friends. On those occasions the Speaker, when he thought wine enough had been drank, was wont to say, 'Now, Pitt, you shall not have another drop.' But Mr. Pitt generally became importunate, promising that if a fresh bottle were brought he would only take one glass. His eloquence sometimes prevailed, and the ~~eyes~~ ayes had it:

but Lord Sidmouth confessed that when this was the case, the promise of abstinence was seldom long remembered.'—*Ib* p. 152.

A similar omission occurs in the account given of Mr. Pitt's duel with Mr. Tierney, on account of words spoken by the former in a debate on the 25th of May, 1798. Such an event ought not to have been passed over with the slight censure which is implied, rather than expressed. It afforded an opportunity, of which advantage should have been taken, to record a high-toned and generous protest against so barbarous a practice. The moralist owed it to himself and to his country to reprobate the evil, whatever sanction it may derive from the fashion and false morality of a class.

Hitherto the Speaker and Mr. Pitt had been on terms of the closest and most attached intimacy. Their political union was cemented by private friendship. Their opinions were identical, and the master-spirit of the premier gave firmness and confidence to his ally. To the overtaxed energies of Pitt, the friendship of Addington brought relief, whilst his conciliatory manners and general popularity in the house, softened the asperities of debate, and facilitated the minister's parliamentary triumphs. The seeds of alienation, however, were now sown, and they speedily brought forth their accustomed fruit. This arose from the agitation of the catholic claims, on which Mr. Pitt's views were conciliatory, and those of Mr. Addington the reverse. The former proposed to accomplish the Irish Union by means of the catholics, and after it had been effected, he proposed, as a return for their services, and a means of uniting all classes, to remove the disabilities under which they laboured. To this righteous measure the king objected. Incapable of appreciating the arguments which enforced it, his constitutional stubbornness took the shape of conscientious scruple. We do not question the honesty of the monarch. He was perfectly sincere; but his integrity was unreflecting and one-sided, an illustration of the worst characteristic of his countrymen. He respected his coronation oath, and, according to his perverse interpretation, would keep it to the letter; but he had no sense of what was due to the consciences of others, nor could he apprehend the wrong done to religion when civil penalties were employed for its support. 'I had rather,' were his words,—and we respect his integrity, whilst we regret his error—'beg my bread from door to door throughout Europe, than consent to any such measure.' Dean Pellew has not thrown much additional light on the progress of this critical affair, as the correspondence which it occasioned between the king and Mr. Pitt, on the one hand, and the king and Mr.

Addington, on the other, was previously in the hands of the public. To those, however, who are not familiar with the transaction, the dean's narrative will be interesting and valuable. Having received intimation of what his Ministers contemplated, the Monarch, under date of January 29th, 1801, solicited the Speaker's friendly offices to 'open Mr. Pitt's eyes on the danger arising from the agitating this improper question, which,' added the monarch, 'may prevent his ever speaking to me on a subject on which I can scarcely keep my temper.' Mr. Addington, at first, entertained hope of success, but was soon convinced of his error, and two days afterwards was desired to undertake the conduct of affairs. On earnestly requesting to be excused, the king emphatically remarked, 'Lay your hand upon your heart, and ask yourself, where am I to turn for support, if you do not stand by me?' Mr. Pitt urgently entreated him to comply with the royal wishes. 'I see nothing but ruin, Addington, if you hesitate,' was his remark; and the latter consequently, on the 5th of February, undertook the service to which he was invited. On the whole affair, it is obvious to remark that the scruples of the monarch were too deeply fixed to allow of any other result. He would not reason, nay, he would scarcely talk on the subject. It was a settled point, which did not admit of being re-argued. 'None of your Scotch metaphysics, Mr. Dundas,' said the king, when the former called attention to the distinction between the legislative and executive functions of the crown; and his whole course was equally irrational and self-willed. We can scarcely do justice to the monarch without impugning the integrity of his intellect. His judgment had been clouded, and the visitation subsequently recurred. His sincerity is proved by the general tenour of his life, and the most charitable conclusion, therefore, we can form, is that which accounts for his scruples, in part at least, by the malady under which he had suffered.

Mr. Pitt, probably, was not disinclined to avail himself of any plausible excuse for retiring at this juncture from the royal councils. We cannot attribute very much earnestness to his convictions on the catholic question, as he almost immediately contemplated a resumption of office, and actually did return to it in 1804, without any stipulation in its favour. How this could be, if his views were sincere, we know not. Admit them to have been so in 1801, and he must subsequently have discarded them, or have sacrificed to the love of power, or the pleasure of his master, what he deemed essential to the harmony and well-being of the empire. His conduct, however, is susceptible of explanation on other grounds. His continental policy had proved a splendid failure. France was in the ascendant

throughout Europe, and discontent was universal in England. The nation was wearied of an exhausting and disgraceful war, in which the blood and treasures of Britain were expended on behalf of allies who were either treacherous or imbecile. Mr. Pitt's crusade against France had utterly failed. He himself, and all others, felt this. The constitution of the House enabled him still to command a parliamentary majority; but thoughtful men, of all classes and kinds, were asking themselves where this was to end. What had been commenced in confidence was carried on in despair. France had maintained the integrity of her domains—had succeeded in giving laws to a considerable part of Europe, and now threatened to turn back the tide of invasion on ourselves. Austria was entirely prostrate, Prussia had become actively hostile, and the three northern powers, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, had entered into a confederacy against our maritime rights. All classes, therefore, felt the necessity for peace, and began to clamour for it; yet Mr. Pitt might well shrink from a negotiation which reflected so severely on his own policy. This we believe to have been the real secret of his resignation. 'The pilot who weathered the storm,' as he has been absurdly designated by the unreflecting herd of Tories, was glad to shelter himself for a time, whilst another took the helm, and essayed to bring the vessel into harbour. Mr. Pitt's subsequent conduct harmonizes with this supposition, and not unnaturally grew out of it, whilst any other theory fastens on him a charge of moral delinquency, which we hesitate to prefer. Mr. Pitt's health also had suffered. In October preceding his resignation, he visited the Speaker at Woodley, and the following extract from a letter of the latter to his brother, dated October 19th, is not unimportant:—

'Pitt is now here. It is to me most gratifying that his wishes anticipated mine, and led him to think of Woodley before I proposed it to him. It is, of course, desirable that his indisposition should not be talked of. He is certainly better, but I am still very far from being at ease about him. Sir W. Farquhar is to be here on Tuesday, and it will then be determined whether he is to remain here or proceed to Bath or Cheltenham. My opinion and wishes incline the same way. He wants rest and consolation, and I trust he will find both here. The feelings towards him, not of myself, for of those I say nothing, but of others under this roof, are really not to be described.'—*Ib.* p. 266.

All things considered, retirement was the most prudent, though certainly not the most magnanimous, course, which Mr. Pitt could adopt. We admire his adroitness, but mark the absence from his policy of higher and nobler elements of character. Mr. Addington was encouraged to undertake the

difficult task assigned him by his friend's promise of support. 'Mr. Pitt has resigned,' said Mr. Canning to a correspondent, 'on finding himself not allowed to carry into effect his own wishes and promises, and the views of the Irish government, respecting the catholic question. The king has accepted his resignation, and a new government is forming, in which Mr. Pitt earnestly presses all those of his own friends who are now in office to take part, and to which he intends personally to give the most decided and active support in parliament.' There is no reason to believe that this support was not honestly designed, though Mr. Canning, and some other members of the late government, declined to serve under Mr. Addington. They probably felt—Mr. Canning certainly was warranted to do so—their immense superiority to the new premier, and did not place much faith in the continuance of his power. The usual result, however, followed in due course. It might have been predicted; it could not fail to be foreseen. It could scarcely be otherwise in the condition and circumstances of our nature. The following passage points out some of the many causes of alienation which speedily began to operate. Speaking of Mr. Addington, Dean Pellew remarks,—

'To such a man the appeal from his sovereign, seconded as it was by the opinion of *him* with whom for eighteen years he had felt and thought, as it were, with the same mind, was irresistible. He did not, however, make this concession to the stern obligation of duty, without clearly foreseeing the sacrifices which it imposed upon him: nevertheless, there was one sacrifice which he did not contemplate. Prepared as he was for the usual evils attendant on the situation he had accepted, he had *not* calculated on the possible loss of his friend. When he yielded to the commands of the king and the wishes of Mr. Pitt, he expressly stipulated for the support and co-operation of the latter; and he probably expected that it might still be possible for Mr. Pitt and himself to maintain the confidential communications which had hitherto subsisted between them, after their respective positions, as regarded each other, had been reversed. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that Mr. Pitt made the offer of his best assistance and advice with the same sincerity with which it was accepted; and he, too, probably looked forward to a continuance of those constant and cordial interviews at which, without distrust or interruption, they had been wont to 'take sweet counsel together.' If, however, the two friends were influenced by such feelings, it appears that they had not fully weighed the results to be expected from this change in their circumstances. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington had been intimate from their youth; and when the high opinion and personal attachment of the former had placed the latter in the chair of the House, a situation removed from the strife and fluctuations of politics, it would have been strange, indeed, if the intimacy

previously subsisting between them could not have been continued. The case, however, became very different when the position of the parties was reversed. Mr. Pitt could not descend at once from his high position, and be regarded quite like another man. How much soever he might have desired to do so, neither the rules of society, nor the restraints of party, would have permitted him. Attention would naturally be directed to his words and movements. Whenever the policy pursued by himself and his successor happened to differ, their conduct and merits would be contrasted. Whenever their measures agreed, it would be said of him, as it had before been said of Lord Bute, that he was still the minister, and his successor only the puppet. Each of them also would be surrounded by his own friends and dependents; and as the followers of one succeeded those of the other in the enjoyment of their offices, it was not reasonable to expect much cordiality to prevail between men so situated. No one, without political experience, can conceive how clamorous the junior members of a party are for place and power, and how impossible it is for any leader long to retain this class of supporters in a proper state of unity and discipline, without encouraging some hope, at least, that their taste in that respect may be gratified at no distant period.—*Ib.* p. 331—333.

Mr. Pitt, it is not improbable, certainly some of his most intimate political associates, speedily regretted the step he had taken, and an abortive negotiation, having in view his return to power, took place between them and Mr. Addington. The failure of this negotiation need not surprise us. The new premier owed it to himself to decline the terms which were proposed. For a time things wore a promising appearance. The military sympathies of the nation were revived by the success which attended the disgraceful bombardment of Copenhagen, and the triumphant course of the British forces in Egypt; but the evil hour could not long be staved off. Great offence was given to Mr. Pitt by some expressions of Mr. Tierney, which were not, as he conceived, replied to with sufficient spirit by the premier. An explanation followed, and satisfaction was expressed; but the confidence of friendship was gone, and there were not wanting those who sought to widen the breach. The alienation became growingly visible towards the close of 1802, when Mr. Pitt availed himself of a journey to Bath, to excuse his attendance at the House. 'A peculiar gloom,' says our author, 'overhangs this journey, since it was during his present visit to Bath that Mr. Pitt appears to have first adopted that view of public affairs which alienated him from the policy and party of his friend and successor, and placed him eventually in the ranks of opposition, by the side of his great rival and constant opponent, Mr. Fox.' This state of things involved the minister in considerable difficulties. Mr. Pitt's support was

essential, and when this became precarious, negotiations were opened for his return to office under his brother, the Earl of Chatham. This was, of course, declined; and the fact of its having been suggested by Mr. Addington, reflects no credit on his sagacity. 'There was no room,' said Lord Melville, through whom the overture was made, 'for any discussion on that part of the subject; for he stated at once, without reserve or affectation, his feelings with regard to any proposition founded on such a basis.' Mr. Pitt would hear of nothing but of the unconditional surrender of the ministry. He demanded the premiership for himself, and required that Lords Melville, Spencer, and Grenville, and Mr. Windham, should be admitted to the cabinet. These terms were too imperious and humiliating to be acceded to, and the ministry therefore endeavoured to strengthen themselves from the ranks of the Whig opposition. The session which followed furnished public evidence of the schism that had arisen. On a vote of censure, June 3rd, Mr. Pitt moved what Sheridan called 'the shabby shelter of the previous question;' and on the 13th of July, Mr. Abbot, afterwards Lord Colchester, tells us that 'words of considerable asperity, or rather language in a tone of asperity, passed from Mr. Pitt to Mr. Addington.' This state of things could not long continue. There were three parties in the house opposed to the minister, that of Mr. Pitt, that of Mr. Fox, and that of Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham. The last two speedily united, and the junction of the first was waited for as a sure omen of success. Some difficulties were experienced in arranging their party tactics, but all gave way before the passion of the hour, and the ministerial majority having been reduced to thirty-seven, Mr. Addington resolved to resign. We cannot view with approval the conduct of either section of the opposition, but least of all that of Mr. Fox. The administration he contributed to subvert, was confessedly more popular than that to which it gave place. He himself was aware of this, as appears from the following note:—

'Lord Holland once told Lord Sidmouth that he had often heard his uncle, Mr. Fox, say, that he considered the Addington administration the most popular one since the accession, and he need not have resigned with a majority in the House of Commons, and the general voice of the country in his favour. The reply was, that it was to save the king from being driven to the wall by the coalition. Mr. Addington always said it was Mr. Pitt's ascendancy in the House of Lords, through the eighty creations he had made, which enabled him to overthrow the government.'—Vol. ii. p. 274.

Nor could it have been imagined by Mr. Fox and his friends that the overthrow of the government would lead to any other.

result than that which followed. The only alternative which presented itself was a coalition with Mr. Pitt, against which it may be supposed, even if the personal feelings of the king were not regarded, a sufficient warning had been received in the fate of the North and Fox administration. Indeed, the Whig members of opposition were fully aware of the tendency of their proceedings. 'We are the pioneers,' said Mr. Courtenay, one of their number, 'digging the foundations; but Mr. Pitt will be the architect to build the house, and to inhabit it.' We dwell on this passage of Mr. Fox's history with regret. It does him no honour, and tends, in conjunction with other events, to diminish our confidence in the rectitude of his patriotism. The service he rendered at a critical period of our history, in opposing the policy of Mr. Pitt, entitles him to the gratitude of his country, and has associated his name with the best men of a former age. But he wanted their integrity, and in the absence of the higher moral qualities which were their glory, was not unfrequently diverted from the course to which his professions committed him.

There was another statesman, also, to whom these proceedings were far from honourable. Lord Eldon was at this time Chancellor, and the lowest standard of political morality ought to have prevented his engaging in any intrigue hostile to his leader. Yet he did so engage, and that, too, in circumstances of studied secrecy, which are, of themselves, sufficient to awaken suspicion. He became the medium of communication between the king and Mr. Pitt, and has thus involved his biographer in a difficulty, which neither his ability nor his admiration has been able to surmount. In this intrigue he was engaged, prior to the division of the 25th of April, and before Mr. Addington, therefore, had determined to resign. Alluding to his agency, the Dean remarks:—

'Of whatever nature, therefore, the communications between the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Pitt may have been on the 22nd and the following day, they were confined to themselves, and remained wholly unknown to his lordship's principal colleague. The private nature of the transaction, indeed, is distinctly stated in the following extract from Mr. Pitt's note to the Lord Chancellor, of the 22nd of April:—'I enclose my letter unsealed for your inspection, knowing that you will allow me in so doing to request that *you will not communicate its contents to any one but the king himself*. I am the more anxious that you should see what I have written, because I cannot think of asking you to undertake to be the bearer of a letter expressing sentiments so adverse to the government with which you are acting, without giving you the previous opportunity of knowing in what manner those sentiments are stated.' As the letter alluded

to above has never, it is believed, been published, the nature of the '*adverse sentiments*' contained in it cannot be ascertained. Mr. Addington, however, told Mr. Abbot in the conversation on the 29th of October already referred to, that the letter which the Chancellor delivered to the king from Mr. Pitt, contained expressions so injurious to him (Mr. Addington), that at the last cabinet meeting, on the night before the new ministry was formed, he very strongly remonstrated with his lordship on the proceeding.'—*Ib.* pp. 278, 279.

As might have been anticipated, the king refused to admit Mr. Fox to his councils, and his new ally was consequently reduced to the necessity of completing his arrangements from the ranks of 'his personal friends, and some of the existing administration.' The king parted from his minister with regret. In a letter dated May the 9th, he says:—

'The king has this instant finished a long but most satisfactory conversation with Mr. Pitt, who will stand forth, though Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Windham have declined even treating, as Mr. Fox is excluded by the express command of the king to Mr. Pitt. This being the case, the king desires Mr. Addington will attend here at ten to-morrow morning, with the seals of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The king's friendship for Mr. Addington is too deeply graven on his heart to be in the least diminished by any change of situation: his majesty will order the warrant to be prepared for the creating Mr. Addington Earl of Banbury, Viscount Wallingford, and Baron Reading; and will order the message to be carried by Mr. York to the House of Commons for the usual annuity, having most honourably and ably filled the station of Speaker of the House of Commons. The king will settle such a pension on Mrs. Addington, whose virtue and modesty he admires, as Mr. Addington may choose to propose.'—*Ib.* p. 288.

Mr. Addington's reply to this communication was unselfish and dignified. It does too much honour to a man with whose political creed we have little sympathy, to be omitted, and we therefore subjoin it. It was written immediately on the receipt of the king's letter:—

'Mr. Addington will not fail to obey your majesty's commands to-morrow morning, at the hour which your majesty has been pleased to appoint. He is deeply impressed with the feelings which are due to the fresh proofs which your majesty has condescended to afford him of your consideration and favour; but he most humbly and earnestly hopes to be forgiven by your majesty, for declaring that he could not possibly avail himself of them, without the utter destruction of that comfort and peace of mind which he is fully convinced that it is your majesty's gracious and benevolent purpose to preserve and promote. Mr. Addington ventures to refer to his past conduct, as a pledge for those sentiments of duty and of faithful attachment to

your majesty, which have ever been uppermost in his mind, and which will continue fixed and unalterable to the latest moment of his life.'—*Id.* p. 288.

At the personal interview which took place on the following day, the offer of a peerage and pension was again pressed on his acceptance, and was respectfully, yet firmly declined. 'You are a proud man, Mr. Addington,' said the monarch, 'but I am a proud man too; and why should I sleep uneasy on my pillow, because you will not comply with my request? Why should I feel the consciousness that I have suffered you to ruin your family, and that through your attachment to me?'

Mr. Pitt's measures were the best vindication of the government he had supplanted. He departed from its policy only to waste the public finances, and to embroil the nation in continental alliances, which disappointed his hopes, and stimulated the military passions of France. Mr. Addington's conduct, in the mean time, was calm and prudent. He did not commit himself to opposition, but was mainly influenced by what he deemed the personal feelings of the king. 'I shall keep aloof,' he remarked, 'from all parties, adhere to the king, and take a course that I can justify to myself.' Friends at length interposed to effect a reconciliation, and early in January, 1805, Mr. Addington was created Viscount Sidmouth, and was chosen Lord President of the council. We pass over the negotiation, which preceded these events, and hasten to observe that the political conjunction which they denoted was but short-lived. Differences speedily arose. The one was perhaps too sensitive, the other too dictatorial. Addington retained a lively sense of what was due to the friends who had stood by him in 1804, and Pitt was disinclined to admit any division of authority. The former consequently resigned in July, and on the 23rd of the following January Mr. Pitt expired, worn down, it is evident, by the anxieties of his position. In a letter to Mr. Bathurst, written the day before, Mr. Addington refers to the approaching dissolution of his early friend in the following terms:—

'I must see you, my dear Charles, as soon as you can come with perfect safety. Ere this the scene is probably closed at Putney Heath! In a note, written early this evening, the Bishop of Lincoln tells me that 'the symptoms indicate approaching dissolution.' May everlasting happiness await him! To me it is a comfort not to be expressed, that I have been enabled at this crisis to show, not merely attention, but the affection which has never been extinguished, and that all has been, in this respect, as I could have wished. It is also most gratifying to me to have stopped the intended proceeding of yesterday. I have reason to know that my declaration that I would oppose the amendment, and the very numerous appearance of my

friends, were the causes of its being abandoned. The behaviour of all the friends of poor Pitt, who deserve to be valued, indicates very satisfactorily what they think and feel. The situation of the country is most critical, and my own not unembarrassing. We must, if it be possible, have a strong and efficient government, and a weak opposition; and this can only be accomplished by combinations and arrangements which I certainly never could look to as objects of choice, though they may be called for by public necessity. For my own part, I will neither, on the one hand, assist in propping a weak and incompetent government, nor will I have any share, on the other, in fettering the king's prerogative. In parliament and in the closet, I will offer the best advice I am capable of giving, but there must be no coercion. I look forward with great anxiety, not unmixed with apprehension.'—*Ib.* p. 407.

The Fox and Grenville administration succeeded, and, strange to say, Lord Sidmouth accepted office as Keeper of the Privy Seal, expressly stating, we are informed, 'that whether in the present or future reign, in or out of office, he would ever resist, to his utmost, the catholic question.' Lord Ellenborough, chief justice of the court of King's Bench, was associated with him in the cabinet, against whose appointment strong constitutional objections were urged. The conjunction of such men with the leaders of the opposition of 1804, was severely censured at the time, and was evidently a repetition, on a smaller scale, of the coalition which had so seriously damaged Mr. Fox's early reputation. 'Lord Sidmouth, with Lord Ellenborough by his side,' remarked a Tory peer, 'put him in mind of a faithful old steward, with his mastiff, watching new servants, lest they should have some evil designs against the old family mansion.' Dean Pellew remarks:

'Such, then, were the circumstances under which Lord Sidmouth took his seat in the cabinet amongst those who, not two years before, had been his determined opponents. He was generally considered the king's friend, and this, as regarded personal devotion and attachment, he undoubtedly was; but it would have been a gross error to assert, that he exercised the slightest unconstitutional influence whatever, or was admitted by his majesty to any private intercourse. It was chiefly, indeed, to prevent any suspicion of this nature from arising, that he had preferred the custody of the privy seal to the presidency of the council; and it so happened that, in consequence of the manner in which his resignation in the previous summer had been misrepresented to the king, his lordship was, at that time, labouring under a partial interruption of the royal favour, which he did not fully regain until the latter end of the ensuing summer. His letters written at this period mention in approving terms the friendly and honourable treatment he experienced from his new colleagues,

their freedom from narrow and party views, and their devotion to the public service. He appears to have been much consulted by Lord Grenville in the formation of the government, and several of his own friends were admitted to important offices.'—*Ib.* p. 424.

Mr. Fox did not long survive his great rival Pitt. His death occurred September 13th, 1806, and was thus announced by Lord Sidmouth to his brother:—

'Poor Fox closed his career yesterday evening, and, I trust, is at peace. He suffered little, but was occasionally dejected: in general, however, he preserved his complacency, and smiled when any friend approached him, even when he could not converse: as late as Thursday, when he rallied considerably, he talked with Lord Holland and others very cheerfully; and, observing a servant in the room, he spoke in French. Prayers were read to him every day; and he frequently clasped his hands together, and showed strong signs of devotion. This is a soothing and gratifying circumstance. His last words were—'I pity you!' looking at his wife: just before, he had said, 'I die happy.' Of his talents there can be but one opinion. His natural disposition deserved, I really believe, all that could be said in its favour. I never knew a man of more apparent sincerity; more free from rancour, or even severity; and hardly any one so entirely devoid of affectation. His principles, unhappily, were not sufficiently fixed, and he was too easily led. The consequences of this event will be very embarrassing: with respect to his office, nothing is yet settled.'—*Ib.* p. 434.

The fascination of Mr. Fox was irresistible. It was felt by all who came in contact with him, and entered largely into his popularity. 'Little did I think,' said George III. to Lord Sidmouth, 'that I should ever live to regret Mr. Fox's death.' Lord Grenville's administration soon expired, and was succeeded by that of the Duke of Portland, under whom Lord Sidmouth declined to retain office.

'On retiring, now for the third time, from the councils of his sovereign, Lord Sidmouth pursued the same loyal and temperate course as upon the two former occasions. By disconnecting him from the Whig party, the late crisis had brought him back one step nearer his original position, from which he had been displaced by that dislocation of political bonds in 1804, occasioned by Mr. Pitt's coalition with Mr. Fox; and although he considered the new administration extremely feeble, still, as he had remarked to Bishop Huntingford, '*it is the king's government, and to a systematic opposition I will never be a party.*' It is my firm determination,' he proceeded, 'to support the king, and to resist any attempt to discredit his late conduct, to fetter his prerogative, or to offer any violence to his feelings on a point on which his sense of civil and religious duty is deeply and unalterably committed. Under this impression, I shall think it u-

cumbent upon me to oppose any motion, which, though only expressive of approbation of the conduct of his late servants, is intended to call in question that of the king.'—*Ib.* p. 469.

The duke's resignation in September, 1809, led to no material alteration in Lord Sidmouth's position. Mr. Percival who succeeded to the premiership, first sought to strengthen himself by the additions of Lords Grenville and Grey, but failing in this, he opened communications with Lord Sidmouth, informing him, 'that vacancies would be kept open for some of his friends in the House of Commons,' and soliciting his aid to secure their concurrence. This attempt to detach his friends from him was naturally resented, and the explanation subsequently given by Mr. Percival, rendered it evident that the exclusion of Lord Sidmouth arose from the hostile feeling of the Pitt section of the cabinet. The communication was described by Lord Sidmouth as amounting 'in substance only to this—if you will persuade *your* friends to support me, I will endeavour to persuade *mine* to permit you to come into office sometime or other?' This government, like that of the Duke of Portland, was so intrinsically weak, as to be wholly unequal to the crisis which had arrived, and Lord Sidmouth and his friends remained, therefore, in doubt as to the course they should pursue. This hesitation, however, did not long continue. He became President of the Council in April, 1812, and thus afforded another illustration of the pliancy of his views, or, as his admirers allege, of his candour and forgetfulness of personal affronts in deference to the public interest.

In the meantime, and before his resumption of office, Lord Sidmouth, June the 2nd, 1809, moved in the House of Lords, for returns of the licenses to preach which had been issued throughout England and Wales, since 1780, and received the warmest encouragement from various peers, both lay and spiritual. The matter was postponed till May, 1811, when his lordship introduced his celebrated bill, 'to explain and render more effectual the Acts of 1st William and Mary, and the 19th George III., so far as relates to dissenting ministers.' This bill was nominally designed to remedy the evils which he alleged had crept into the administration of the Toleration Act, but was really intended to put down the itinerant system of dissent, and to cripple its other movements. It afforded, however, to dissenters an opportunity to evidence the vigour, promptitude, and combination with which they could act, and thus materially contributed to the progress of sound opinion. Lord Holland and other peers expounded the doctrine of Locke with clearness and distinguished ability, and the ill-fated measure was rejected

on the second reading without a division. On the following day, Lord Sidmouth informed his brother, 'that he was uninjured by the storm which fear, faction, and fanaticism had co-operated to raise.' This language though unusually strong for the writer, is the customary style in which the advocates of intolerance describe the resistance with which they meet. Our history is full of it. It may be traced from the days of Parker, and is evidently borrowed from the vocabulary of Rome. His lordship's views on the subject of religious liberty, were not behind those of his class. So long as the public was silent he was greeted with the approval of bishops and statesmen, but when the rising storm was discovered, they prudently retired and left him to bear its fury. Had he succeeded, he would have been enrolled in the list of church worthies, but as a discomfited champion, his prudence was questioned, though the purity of his intentions, to use the cant of toryism, was undoubted. The treatment he received from his own party was far from generous, and may well caution adventurous politicians from imitating his example.

It is due to his lordship to say that he fell into the hands of bad advisers. He sought the opinion of those whom he deemed competent to inform him of the views of dissenters, and considering what has recently occurred, it is instructive to observe that these gentlemen were Methodists or Unitarians. Writing on the 20th of April, he says, 'This morning I had a meeting with Dr. Coke, the head of the Wesleyan methodists, and have completely satisfied him. His apprehensions are converted into zealous approbation.' And so late as the 9th of May, before going to the house, he informed his brother, 'From my communications with dissenters, I should think the measure, *in itself*, will be well taken by them.' Mr. William Smith, the chairman of the London Dissenting Deputies, is represented by his lordship as having mainly conducted to this confidence. His words are, 'Mr. Smith repeatedly told me that the bill was so reasonable in its principle, and so just and moderate in its provisions, that he could not oppose it. *The clause relating to probationers was introduced at his suggestion.*' *

The assassination of Mr. Percival in May 1812, made way for the administration of Lord Liverpool, under whom Lord Sidmouth held the seals of the Home Office until January 1822. This was a period of unexampled distress. Want of employment

* The 'warmest thanks' of the deputies were presented to Mr. Smith, May 28th, for his exertions in defeating this measure. (A Sketch of the History and Proceedings of the Deputies, &c., p. 116). How could these thanks have been received? We should like to see the memory of ~~Mr.~~ Smith relieved from the imputation cast on it by his lordship's words.

and dearness of food generated universal discontent, which showed itself in tumultuous assemblages, lawless outbreaks, and secret machinations, yet more formidable. The government saw the evil, and, like feeble men, sought to put it down by mere force. Sagacious statesmen would have regarded it only as symptomatic, and have sought its cure by an eradication of the disease whence it sprang: but not so the cabinet of Lord Liverpool. It sought to crush the discontent which it ought to have removed, and its measures were full of hazard to public liberty. In any other country they would have produced a conflict, which must have ended in military rule or popular ascendancy. Happily the body of the nation remained calm. The people saw and despised the feebleness and tyranny of their rulers, and awaited, in the confidence of ultimate triumph, the struggle which impended. Sound political principles were in the mean time extensively diffused. Men learnt the secret of their power; they gathered up their strength, and began to anticipate the moral conflict in which we are now actually engaged. The long premiership of Lord Liverpool served a purpose in English history, like that of the reign of James the First. The feebleness of the men who composed his cabinet awakened contempt, whilst their obvious hostility to popular liberty, chafed and exasperated the nation. The former stood in a similar relation to the Reform Bill, as the latter did to the Long Parliament. Dean Pellew discovers, of course, nothing but what was commendable in the policy of Lord Sidmouth and his associates. As a sample of his views we extract his reference to the trials of William Hone, in 1817, in which there is much to induce comment and censure, if our space permitted. We knew the defendant, and loved him for his virtues. He may have erred in the publications he issued, but there was no man in the kingdom less capable of the vices charged on him. He lived to indulge the hopes of Christianity, and died in the enjoyment of its peace. Speaking of 1817, our author says:—

‘Before the close of the year, a painful disappointment befell all serious Christians, in the acquittal, before Lord Ellenborough, by a London jury, of a bookseller, named William Hone, for publishing a series of blasphemous and disgusting parodies on the various solemn formularies of the Established Church, tending to destroy the salutary influence of the ministers of religion, and to bring Christianity itself into contempt. The defendant was tried on three several indictments on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of December, and was acquitted upon them all. His escape has been attributed by some, to the severe indisposition of the learned judge; and by others, to an impression entertained by the jury that Hone’s motives were political, and not directed against religion. But these excuses, even if correct,

do not rescue British jurisprudence from the stigma of having allowed one to escape punishment who had wilfully committed the crime of turning into ridicule the chief source of human happiness and human improvement, and of endeavouring to banish from men's minds those wholesome religious restraints which, during the recent war, had created the distinction between the loyal and God-fearing Englishman and that frantic worshipper of the blood-stained goddess of liberty, the French revolutionist. The verdicts, therefore, were totally unjustifiable; and if the more private particulars of this disgraceful transaction could be known, and the personal characters of the jurors be now examined, there can be little doubt that an explanation would thus be afforded.

'It should not be forgotten that a government, on such occasions as these, is placed in a very unfavourable point of view. It appears in the character of a persecutor; the images of past times arise on the memory; the fires of Smithfield, the dungeons of the Inquisition, the cruel execution of the penal laws. Amongst the jurors of a great metropolis, in a highly civilised state of society, there must always be found some who are indifferent to religion, and others who are hostile. Such men will go any lengths, rather than encourage the government in what they will call the practices of intolerance. It is in vain to represent to them the difference between the fair exercise of the rights of free inquiry, and the indecent and wicked abuse of such rights. They will distinguish nothing: they will hear nothing; and, by plausible declamation, they affect the minds of their fellows. Pious and good men, therefore, must consider—and it is a problem which can only be determined by the particular circumstances and difficulties of each separate case—whether it may not frequently be preferable to restrain their virtuous indignation; and, instead of interposing the shield of the law in defence of religion against every graceless and despicable assailant, to leave so sacred a cause to be protected by the good sense and good feeling of society at large. The enemies of the best interests of mankind will thus be defeated; for they will fall into neglect and oblivion, even from the very circumstance of their not having been noticed.'—Vol. iii. pp. 203—205.

We have no space to trace the subsequent career of Lord Sidmouth, and have said enough to indicate our estimate of his character and services. The volumes in which his career is recorded, should be read by all who are desirous of accurately tracing the course of our public affairs at the commencement of the present century. They are a valuable addition to our political biography, and in some cases furnish important corrections of the life of Lord Eldon, and of the diaries of Lord Malmesbury.

ART. II.—*The Religions of the World and their Relations to Christianity; considered in Eight Lectures, founded by the Right Hon. Robert Boyle.*
 By Frederick Denison Maurice, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, and Professor of Divinity in King's College, London. London: John W. Parker. 1847.

UNDER the above title, Mr. Maurice has presented to the public an admirable book. It is the work of a Christian gentleman and philosopher, as well as of an accomplished writer, whose acquaintance with foreign tongues, whether living or dead, has happily not taught him to forget his own. The wilful slovenliness, the elaborate carelessness, and the vulgar affectation of new coined or foreign words and phrases, which render so ridiculous, to men of taste, many of the philosophical works on religion in the present day, have no place in this valuable production. It is as pure in style, as it is great and catholic in its object. No needless addition, moreover, to the numberless publications of the day, it fills up a chasm in our theological literature; which, we have often thought, had too long been left open. Nor could the great philosopher himself, from whose benevolent bequest this work has arisen, have suggested to his lecturer a happier choice of subject.

By those who are anxious for the preservation of a sound theology amongst us, nothing should be more narrowly watched than the dominant influence of Germany upon the literature of this country. A nation, which, a century ago, could scarcely be said to have a literature of its own, has contrived, since the days of Leibnitz, and especially since the French Revolution, to place itself at the head of the great republic of letters; and, as mankind are no less the slaves of fashion in matters of this kind than in dress or manners, some of the most popular writers in our country, at the present time, are those who, in thought and style, are the mere apes of German eccentricities. They think and write, under a great show of originality, but in reality only as the Germans give them leave; nor is it easy to determine whether, by their attempts to mystify everything, they are doing more to corrupt the manly simplicity of the English understanding, or to disfigure the classical beauty and precision of our native tongue. Far be it from us to withhold from the great German nation, or assemblage of nations, a particle of due respect. Their herculean labours, in almost every branch of literature and science, we should be sorry in the least degree to undervalue. Nor would we pander to the insular prejudices of our countrymen, by fostering among them the slightest unwillingness to learn what Germany, or any other nation, is competent to teach.

But we would have Englishmen think, and think for themselves, as well as learn. With all its defects, we believe that the English understanding is far more healthy, more really profound and intrinsically good, for all the ends of human existence, than that of our present teachers. We are learning from them many things which, we feel assured, they ought never to have learnt themselves; and in such matters it would be far better for both parties, and for the world at large, that they should learn of us than we of them. If there be any one thing to which these remarks apply with greater force than to another, it is theology—a subject upon which, their known and avowed habit, of separating the theoretical from the practical, has infused so much heartless levity and recklessness into their speculations, as to render them as unphilosophical in their spirit, as dangerous in their tendency.

Whatever deserves the name of religion is not a theory but a law; not a speculative subject, but the revelation of an absolute will—a will fitly, irresistibly, and unquestionably absolute; to which no created intellect or will, without the most absurd and profane impertinence, can say, ‘What doest Thou?’ This, as the word implies, is true religion. All this, and nothing less or otherwise than this, Christianity professes itself to be. It tells us plainly, that, with our philosophies and theories, it neither stands nor intends to stand upon common ground: that its doctrines and precepts are the authoritative revelation of a wisdom, which, in most merciful condescension, is willing to guide us; but is far too merciful to allow the sufficiency of an understanding, dark and puny as ours, to guide itself. It commands us, therefore, not to question or dispute, but to believe and obey; laying, like little children, both intellect and will at its feet. Without this, it gives us plainly to understand, that we can neither reach its meaning or rewards; but must wander for ever in darkness, and be lost.

In dealing, therefore, with such an announcement, the office of the human understanding is simply to interpret its meaning; and determine, by a serious examination of its credentials, whether it is or is not what it professes to be. If it be not, let it be rejected, not as a mistaken theory, but as a blasphemous and detestable imposture, which, in the name of the universal lawgiver, and judge, has dared to trifle with the loftiest hopes and capabilities of his creatures. If, on the contrary, it is, what it claims to be considered, an authoritative announcement of an absolute and almighty will, then, to speculate on its infallible decisions, as though they were the hypotheses of a human theory, or to study them, with any other feeling than a devout and settled determination of yielding the

whole soul to their guidance, is to be guilty of the grossest and most disastrous blunder in philosophy. Whether true or false, Christianity is no matter for mere literary amusement or heartless speculation. Its very nature as a religion, an avowed revelation and law of the eternal God, demands that the heart and conscience should go with the intellect into all inquiries respecting it; and that it should never be meddled with, but with a view to great practical results.

But this practical earnestness, without which it is impossible that a right judgment of the Christian religion should be formed, is precisely that spirit which the education and institutions of Germany are all planned to repress and, if possible, destroy. In the profession and practice of religion, the German neither understands nor enjoys, nor wishes to enjoy, the right of private judgment. From conversation with some of the clergy and leading men in that country, as well as distinguished functionaries of our own and other countries, resident among them, we have been led seriously to question, whether religious liberty is not better understood even in popish countries, than by the people who were once taught by Luther to defy the power of Rome. How many, and what forms of religion are to be tolerated or sanctioned,—whether one or more, and whether the religions thus tolerated or favoured shall be Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Mennonite, or that of the Reformed Church of Switzerland, are questions which, throughout Germany, are settled by the government alone, and about which the people, from habit or necessity, take little or no concern. The worship which the German shall offer, the forms he shall observe, the creed he shall profess and swear that he believes, or teach his children to swear and profess that they believe, are matters with which his individual convictions, on pain of fines, imprisonment, and forfeiture, not only of all civil rights, but of his good standing in public opinion, must never meddle; so that, throughout that country, theory and practice are regarded as two separate things, which ought to have little or nothing to do with each other. Hence the king of Prussia, a few years back, with scarcely a murmur or show of resistance from his subjects, was allowed to change, very materially, the religion of that country; a melancholy instance of a whole people dead at heart to all that man, from the foundation of the world, had held most dear.

As, however, in such a state of things it is impossible that the human mind, so long as it retains the least recognition of Christianity, as an authoritative revelation of the will of God, should enjoy a moment's repose, we discover throughout Germany a general tendency, both in rulers and people, to

scepticism or infidelity; as the only means of quieting the mind in the maintenance of creeds and forms, in the choice of which the heart and conscience have had nothing to do. Hence that hollow, faithless, heartless jumble of Christianity and infidelity, which, for the last century, has distinguished the German theology. In some of their works, the Christian element predominates: in others, the sceptical; but, in either case, Christianity, even when its divine origin is admitted, is treated, not as a divine law, before which all human laws and wills should bend, but as a theory to be explained, accounted for, altered or improved, as the circumstances of the age may require. Even in the pages of the excellent Neander, a considerable infusion of this spirit may be detected. The great difficulty in Germany, as in all countries where men are driven into the profession of a religion, either against or without the conscience, is the word of God; which threatens them with eternal punishment, unless they disobey. In order, therefore, to release the people from the necessity of martyrdom on the one hand, or the dread of divine displeasure on the other, the German theologian endeavours so to mystify, explain away, or undermine the authority of the word of God, as to enable the people, without being troubled in conscience, to profess any religion convenience may dictate, or the law of the land impose. The general feeling is, touch the Lutheran church if you dare; but do with the word of God just what you please: take care that you are Scribes and Pharisees, even to persecution, in the profession and forms of religion; and in speculation you may be Sadducees, Libertines, Mystics, Christians,—anything you choose. Rulers and subjects, clergy and professors of divinity, with the exception of those who happen to be adherents of some one of the tolerated faiths, bind themselves by oath to maintain the Holy Scriptures, the works of Martin Luther, together with the symbolical books of the established church; and thus swear, by implication, that the Bible is divine. Nor do they hesitate to visit with fines, imprisonment, and public reprobation, those who attempt the smallest practical innovation on their forms. Yet, without an atom of shame or apparent consciousness of the profane levity or inconsistency of their conduct, they speculate on Christianity, not as a divine law, but as a mere human theory; not to learn what it teaches, but to show what it ought to teach; not as *the* religion, but as one of the religions of the world: not, therefore, to obey, but to alter and improve it, or see whether, by combining it with other theories and religions, they may not strike out a universal system, that shall be better adapted to the philosophical wants and discoveries of the age.

That, among the clergy and divines of that country, there are

many men of deep and earnest piety, who deplore as bitterly as ourselves the state of things around them, we not only believe, but know and can testify. But for many years the prevailing tendency of the theological and philosophical literature, as well as of much of the preaching in that country, has been so to maintain the forms of religion, as to reduce religion to a mere form; by mystifying the sense of Christianity, or placing it on a level with the other religions of the world. For this purpose the Naturalism, as it was called, of Lessing and Wolfenbüttel, or the anonymous author, whoever he was, of the fragments found in the library of Wolfenbüttel, was constructed out of the *disjecta membra* of Bolingbroke, Toland, Morgan, Chubb, Woolston, and other English Deists. This theory was founded on the direct assumption that the inspired writers were impostors: but, as only few could be induced to believe a charge so impudently gratuitous, it was soon displaced by the Rationalism of Eichhorn and his associates; who, allowing the sacred writers to be sincere, attributed to the philosophical ignorance of the age in which they lived, their accounts of supernatural occurrences; which were to be explained by the supposition of natural causes now better understood. The philosophy, as it is styled, of Kant followed, as a kind of interregnum; which, borrowing from Origen a large amount of mystical absurdity without his faith, reduced to moral allegory all that was too miraculous to be believed. Gabler and Schelling, unable to reconcile this, or any other preceding system with the laws of history, introduced the Mythic theory, on the principle laid down by Heyne, '*A mythis omnis priscorum hominum cum historia tum philosophia procedit*;' all the history of the ancients, as well as their philosophy, proceeds from Myths. The Holy Scriptures, therefore, like the early fabulous writings of heathen nations, are but the records of Jewish and Christian mythology, and as such are to be interpreted. Accordingly a mythology (!) of the Old and New Testament was published by Bauer; and the system, in all its reckless profanity, has been, subsequently, applied to the 'Life of Jesus,' by the daring hand of Strauss.

What will be the end of all this profane trifling with the Word of God by a nation, among whom any thing passes for philosophy if it happens not to be religion, it is impossible to say: but at present the subjective principle, with a halo of transcendentalism around it, seems to be the prevailing fancy. Truth is nothing objective, nothing independent of man himself, but simply what he happens to think, feel, or originate. The supposition, therefore, of a revelation or communication from God is absurd. No voice from another world has ever spoken, no heavenly vision been seen, no inspiration from above

received; so that the Jewish and Christian revelations, like the various pagan systems, are to be regarded as simply the religious dreams of men, who fancied themselves inspired; or the various developments of 'the religious principle in man.'

Our readers, who are acquainted with the works of Mr. Carlyle, and other writers of the same school, will at once recollect, from these remarks, how injuriously fine talents have been employed in retailing out, as so much original discovery, this German trash to the British public; and what an air of mystic quackery and conceit it has thrown over productions, which might otherwise have rendered great service to mankind. From these attacks upon revelation, insidious as they are, we have no fear whatever of the ultimate result. The philosophical theology, or in plain English, the infidelity of Germany has already, within the memory of the present generation, five times shifted its ground; and the subjective fancy, like its predecessors, will soon be displaced by some new whimsy from that land of dreams. But in the mean time, the fashionable rage for second-hand absurdities is spreading wider and wider; and it is humiliating to see how the native taste and practical good sense of Englishmen are giving way before it. Though there is a far less amount of plain out-spoken English infidelity than there was, we believe that the victims of this more fatal, because less tangible, scepticism are rapidly on the increase. As though nothing had ever been settled or proved in religion, every thing is thrown afresh into mysticism and doubt. If the Bible be read it is read, like everything else, with German eyes. Doubting Castle, (not John Bunyan's) but a new German philosophical one, built of transcendental clouds and vapours, is now the general asylum of a mad world; and the British nation, which once could think, is learning to dream; forgetful that men dream when they are asleep, but think when they are awake.

To this sceptical epidemic, Mr. Maurice, in his work on 'The Religions of the World,' has endeavoured to supply an antidote: and though, in doing so he has viewed it simply as it exists in this country, we feel persuaded that it is only by viewing it in its relations to the land of its birth, that its nature and tendency can be fully understood. We hope, therefore, that the preceding sketch of its history and progress will not be unacceptable to our readers. As to the extent to which it has already spread in this country, our author, who from his station may be regarded as a competent judge, writes as follows:—

'Faith, it is now admitted, has been the most potent instrument of good to the world; has given to it nearly all which it can call pre-

cious. But then, it is asked, is there not ground for supposing that all the different religious systems, and not one only, may be the legitimate products of that faith which is so essential a part of man's constitution? Are not they manifestly adopted to peculiar times and localities and races? Is it not probable that the theology of all alike is something merely accidental, an imperfect theory about our relations to the universe, which will in due time give place to some other? Have we not reason to suppose that Christianity, instead of being, as we have been taught, a revelation, has its roots in the heart and intellects of man, as much as any other system? Are there not the closest, the most obvious relations between it and them? Is it not subject to the same laws of decay from the progress of knowledge and society with all the rest? Must we not expect that it too will lose all its mere theological characteristics, and that what at last survives of it will be of a very general character—some great ideas of what is good and beautiful—some excellent maxims of life, which may very well assimilate, if they be not actually the same, with the essential principles which are contained in all other religions, and which will also, it is hoped, abide for ever?

‘Notions of this kind will be found, I think, in much of the erudite as well as of the popular literature of this day; *they are undoubtedly floating in the minds of all.*’—pp. 8, 9.

Such a statement from a distinguished clergyman of the Established Church, a professor of theology in the metropolitan university, and the chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, is sufficiently appalling. It is consoling, however, to find one or two admitted truths, like grains of gold, even in the midst of all this heartless scepticism. It allows us to assume as axioms, that ‘there is a religious principle in man;’ and, that ‘faith is the most potent instrument of good to the world.’ Upon both these admissions, we venture to think, with all due deference to our author, he should have taken his stand; and, allowing to a considerable extent the workings of the religious principle, in the different religions which have engaged the faith of man, have shown, as he might easily have done, its insufficiency and perversion. Mr. Maurice, however, has pursued a different course. Examining in succession the principal religions of the world, and comparing them with Christianity, he attributes the influence, which they have severally had, to something in each of them intrinsically good and divine, with which ‘the working of the religious principle’ has had nothing to do. At the same time pointing out their radical errors and defects, he shows how the former are corrected, and the latter supplied, by Christianity; while it embodies every principle, contained in them, that may be fairly regarded as divine. In accordance with his views on these points, he throws out many interesting suggestions as to the manner in which these religions should be met by the Christian missionary; and, though we cannot sub-

scribe to some of them, we think them all worthy of attention from those, whose high office it is to preach, among the heathen, 'the unsearchable riches of Christ.'

The first religion that passes before us in this grand review, is the Mahometan; and the causes, to which its success is usually ascribed, are successively examined and rejected. In opposition to all that has been written respecting the valour and discipline of the Islam troops; the proneness of the human mind to receive imposture; the alleged plagiarisms of Mahomet from the Word of God; the just and benevolent sentiments which he mingled with his follies and crimes; his commanding intellect and heroic force of character; his promise of a sensual paradise; his hatred of idolatry; and his terrible calling as an instrument, in the hand of God, to punish guilty nations, Mr. Maurice maintains, that Islamism should be regarded as a grand and blessed testimony to 'the existence of a Divine Almighty Will, to which all other wills were to be bowed,' and that this is the only proper explanation of its power.

Hindooism with its Brahm and Brahma (Supreme Intellect and Intelligence); its Preserver, Destroyer, and Restorer; its Avatars, Castes, and Immolations, next appears; and is followed by Buddhism, with its theistical, atheistical, pantheistical, and polytheistical notions. The theological meaning of its supreme and subordinate Lamas, of its sages and devotees is carefully examined and compared, in a manner highly interesting and instructive, with the paternal system, or state religion, of Confucius and the Chinese, together with the doctrines of the Taou sect in that country, or followers of Laoutsee, who worshipped the Divine Reason.

From the great prevailing faiths of the world, he turns to those which are now defunct, though once possessed of similar power; and the first of these is the ancient faith of Persia with its two great principles of Light and Darkness in the persons of Ormuzd and Ahriman—the authors of Good and Evil, Right and Wrong—together with a deeper and yet more hidden and mysterious power, denominated 'Time without Bounds.'

The ancient faiths of Egypt, Greece, Rome, and that of our Gothic forefathers, follow in order, in the grand procession; closing our author's deeply interesting and philosophical scrutiny of those Pagan systems, in which the destinies of so many millions of the human family have been involved.

In dealing with these religions he has determined to give them every possible advantage; and we believe that the heathen, themselves, would be astonished to learn from his pages how good they have been. But after all, apart from Christianity, what is the spiritual firmament of man, where most unclouded,

but a midnight sky? and when we attempt to form systems of the glimmerings of light that are sprinkled over it, how vague, how shapeless and monstrous are the constellations which they form! Mr. Maurice's pathway, however, through this region of darkness, like the Galaxy, though dim and often devious, is, as Milton has it, 'powdered with stars;' and nothing would afford us more pleasure than to follow his track, and notice the many beautiful thoughts, sentiments, and suggestions, which he has so copiously poured forth. Our space, however, will not allow us to do more than quote his own summary.

'I have now completed this division of my subject, and I may ask you for a moment to consider how the different portions of it are connected together, and what is the grand result. Mahometanism, we see, stands upon a different ground from all the rest. It starts from the Divine Will, it assumes a declaration of that Will to men, it affirms men to be the servants of God to execute His Will. Hindooism has only the faintest conception of a Divine Will, but it recognizes a Divine original Light or Intelligence, from which the intelligence of man proceeds, and which it is to contemplate. In striving to ascertain what this Light is—how it is distinct from the human intelligence—the Brahmin becomes lost in speculation. The Buddhist cuts the knot, practically makes man's intellect the origin of all things; yet recognizes a certain universal Intelligence dwelling in the race, and concentrated from time to time in some person. Hindooism and Buddhism have been compelled in different ways to come down from the merely abstract region, and to speak of the Divinity as concerned with the doings of ordinary men; as exercising influences beneficent or pernicious over them: each has been obliged to explain what the universe has to do with the original Intelligence, each has been compelled into an idolatry of material things, against which in its first conception it is a protest. Both have struggled with Mahometanism and been overcome by it; neither has been able to amalgamate with it, for neither has it been found a substitute. Buddhism in China has established itself side by side with a system of social order, the basis of which is the recognition of paternal authority, and which regards the knowledge of the invisible as unattainable. Entirely opposed to this system, Buddhism has been found, nevertheless, an indispensable supplement to it, even for the accomplishment of its own purpose. These different faiths claim something to satisfy them, something to unite them. . . . Each testifies that there is a chasm which the other seems meant to fill up; but it remains a chasm still. Not one of them can be satisfied by any philosophical theory about the universe, about man, or about God, or about all of them. Mahometanism meets all such substitutions by its primary proclamation, God is; He must be a living personal Being: He must be the King of men. Hindooism is continually attempting to philosophize, but every new turn of its history proclaims, We

want a living Intelligence, which shall hold converse with men. . . . Buddhism has been a continual effort at philosophy; but every passage of its history proclaims, We want a Living Intelligence to dwell in man. And now we have to add some new evidence to this. First, we hear from Persia a cry for some infinite absolute Being, the ground of Light and Darkness, which he can only call Illimitable Time. Then from the Egyptian the witness of an Ammon, or hidden God. Then from the Greek the cry for something which he cannot express—which must be veiled in mysteries which the poet speaks of as irresistible fate, which the philosopher says must be the Being, which cannot be material, and yet is no abstraction. The Roman must have an invisible God of the city, a righteous law-giver preserving the authority of his state or it perishes. Unless in the heaven, or the abyss, there be one higher than Mannus, the dark thoughts of the Goths signify nothing. But none of them can be satisfied with the recognition of this hidden Being. There must be a manifestation of Him. . . .

'This is the report which history gives of these religions—the mark which they have left of themselves in the actual universe. Dare you talk of all this as merely an illustration of the working of the religious principle in men? Dare you use such a dry, withered, heartless, abstraction? . . . Or can you comfort yourself with saying, These have all passed away . . . as visions of the night. Visions they were, but visions which came to men concerning the dreadful realities of their own existence.'—pp. 126—130.

Throughout this investigation our author maintains, that these religions unitedly and severally testify, that there is that in man which demands a revelation—that there is not that in man which makes a revelation. He contends also that, in each system, the theological element is altogether independent of the moral maxims or theories of nature with which it is associated; that, instead of being the drapery for them, they have been the loose, floating, absurd, and filthy drapery, with which the theology of the several systems has been disfigured; but which, nevertheless, it has changed and survived. The theology is the essential life; the morals and philosophy the mere accidents of the system.

In his fifth Lecture, he enters upon the second great division of his subject; viz., the relations of these religions to Christianity: and, after some discriminating remarks on the present state of the Jews, compares the Jewish, Mahometan, and Christian religions with each other. In the sixth and seventh, he points out what he considers to be the relations of Hindooism and Buddhism to Christianity. He then notices the way in which the ancient religions of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and Persia, were assailed by the Gospel, together with the degrees and causes of its failure and success, as well as the lesson, which it

ought to teach ; then solemnly reminding us, with an evident eye to prophecy as well as to the general aspect of things, that the time is at hand in which every religion will be put to the severest test, closes his eighth and last Lecture, with the following impressive words :—

‘ Circumstances are always changing ; but the necessities of man’s being do not change. What was true of man generations ago, is true now. If our condition be different from that of men two centuries back, the difference is this : we are come nearer to the great crisis of all controversies, there is less power of hiding ourselves from realities amidst shadows and appearances. Thanks be to God that such a time has come, terrible as it may be to many, nay to all of us. For this is the time which will show that truth is not of man, neither by man, but that it is for man, here and everywhere. Only when the grass withereth, and the flower fadeth—so speaks individual experience, so speaks the voice of history—is it known assuredly that the Word of our God shall stand for ever.’

With sincere admiration of the learning and ability, as well as the devout earnestness and catholic benevolence, displayed in these disquisitions ; with much gratitude, too, for what they have taught, and yet more for what they have suggested to us, we heartily congratulate our lecturer on the success with which he has mastered the difficulties of no ordinary undertaking. By the aid of modern discoveries, he has furnished us with a new Intellectual System of the Universe ; which, if less massive and profound than the first bold attempt of the illustrious Cudworth, is far more intelligible, as well as better adapted, to the age in which we live.

If, however, we have rightly understood him, and we have certainly spared no pains to do so, we cannot but regard some of his positions as extremely doubtful, if not wholly false and objectionable.

The modern infidel, enlightened, as we have seen, from Germany, and dreaming at the foot of a ladder, which as he supposes reaches to heaven, or, perhaps, a great way beyond it, maintains the sufficiency of the religious principle ; and resolves the religions of the world into its workings. On the contrary, Mr. Maurice, not contented with denying this solution of the Jewish and Christian faiths, maintains that it is equally false respecting the theological principles of the rest. But what, we would respectfully ask, has he done to fortify himself in this position ? If the heathen theologies, so highly extolled by him, are not the discoveries of the human mind, what are they ? Whence did they come ? Are they separate revelations ? Are they the traditionary forms of Christian, Jewish, patriarchal, or antediluvian revelations ; or from what other source did they

come? Our own conviction is, that they are a mixture of human speculation with divine traditions, modified and perverted by men of corrupt minds, who, when they knew God, glorified him not as God; neither were they thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Mr. Maurice, we should suppose, from his opposition to the modern infidel solution of them, must regard them as divine traditions; but he no where states this, or attempts to prove it. On the contrary, his pagan sages are strangely led into their conclusions by their reflections upon light, mental and material; upon the animal and spiritual properties of their own compound nature; upon the processes of preservation, destruction, and restoration, going on in the world around them; upon the stellar glories of a bright Persian sky, etc.

But he ought, we think, to have seen, that in all this there is nothing more than what the infidel asserts, namely, the working out of the religious principle in man into theories of the universe around and within him; and that his own arguments are fatal to his position. The Pagan theologies are either divine traditions or not; if they are, as Mr. Maurice's position assumes, they were not acquired in the way he describes; if they are not, then what are they, but the working out of the religious principle in man, which he denies?

The truth is, that our author, if we mistake not, has throughout the whole of his reasoning, masterly as it is in many respects, perplexed himself and his readers by confounding the fact of 'the working out of the religious principle' with the totally different and infinitely more important question, of the sufficiency of that principle to supply its own demands. In a manner most triumphant, he shows its insufficiency, and its constant yearnings after something higher and more certain than its own discoveries. But, this point established, he immediately jumps without further proof to the conclusion, that with the heathen as well as the Jewish and Christian faiths, this principle has had nothing to do; though his own arguments to show its insufficiency, if they prove any thing, prove the reverse.

Yet, so completely has he lost sight of this distinction, that he has been repeatedly led, not only into the logical discrepancy to which we have alluded, but into such a statement of his argument, as, if true, would be fatal to Christianity. Authorized, as he supposes from what he knows of its insufficiency, to deny altogether the working out of the religious principle in the Pagan systems, he concedes to the infidel the right of bringing to the test of that supposed fact the worth of Christianity. But, is it necessary, is it safe, to risk the credit of the gospel upon a

unproved and doubtful a fact? Is it not enough to show that all other systems, whatever their origin, are inadequate to our wants? Let our lecturer suppose some of his sceptical hearers, taking him at his word, to have addressed him in some such way as this, what could he have replied? ‘You tell us, that there has been no such thing as the working out of the religious principle in any of the theologies of the world; and that, by this universal test, we may fairly determine the divine authority and worth of Christianity. But if they did not spring from that source, pray what are they, and whence did they come? If they are separate revelations, or different traditions of the same revelation, why do you not plainly say so, and prove what you say? Not only, however, in taking us through the religions of the world, have you failed to do this; but, by a beautiful and elaborate account of the speculations into which the heathen sages, at different periods, were led by their religious feelings on the great primeval Intellect and Will, the fountain of life, beauty, and order, together with the origin of death and misery in the universe—you have established the point you so strenuously deny. If, then, by this universal test, Christianity ought, as you admit, like any other religion to be judged, the subjective theory, which ascribes all of them to the working out of the religious principle in man, is triumphant, and the cause of revelation is lost.’ Such a reply, we think, the sceptic might fairly make; and how Mr. Maurice would escape from the difficulty without shifting his ground we do not see. If the gospel be not to be believed until the divinity of every other religion is established, the day of its final triumph must indeed be remote.

With all deference to our author’s learning, we cannot but think, that his extremely favourable views of the spirit of Paganism are equally unsound. Nothing, either in history or the Word of God, allows us to think, that the Pagan systems owe their influence to those pure, amiable, and devout feelings and principles, to which he ascribes them; or that it is under the guidance of any such principles, that the people deluded by them habitually live. We believe, with the apostle of the Gentiles, that their superstitions are ‘the doctrines of devils’ adapted to the depravity of our fallen nature; and that the feeble glimmerings of truth, which, after laborious research, may be discovered in the midst of them, have little or nothing to do with the faith or practice of the people. Let the beautiful and ingeniously drawn picture of Hindooism, in the sixth Lecture, be fairly compared with the dark, terrific, but far more profound and graphic portraiture of the same system, by Foster in his Missionary Sermon; and no competent judge, we think,

will deny that the great essayist is right. Did we not know the power of hypothesis to pervert the judgment, our author's views of Islamism would appear to us most unaccountably mysterious.

The place assigned to Mahomet by Mr. Carlyle in his temple of heroes, not long since, was sufficiently startling to the common-sense of the world. Nor could Mahomet, himself, with the consciousness which he must have had of his crimes and impostures, have dreamt, that in a Christian land, he should find himself so favourably metamorphosed. But Mr. Maurice has out-Carlyled Carlyle, in his defence and admiration of the great Arabian impostor, whom he has converted into a religious reformer and witness for God! We are told to read Gibbon; we have read him and much besides; but still we have to ask, why a crafty homicide, who rioted through the whole of the latter part of his life in sensuality and blood, should be canonized in the nineteenth century as a great religious reformer or witness for God. The inspired apostle, who saw the Saracen horsemen, issuing like swarms of locusts, armed with the stings of scorpions, from the smoke of the bottomless pit, must have held a very different opinion. The Arabian soldier, it is true, vociferated 'God is great,' as he murdered and destroyed God's creatures, or spurred his victorious charger over heaps of the dying and the slain. But he also added, 'Mahomet is his prophet.' This was the crowning-note of his battle-cry; and this, our author may rest assured, was the key-note of his religion. This constituted his only quarrel with the Jews and Christians; and by this even Mr. Carlyle is led to doubt, whether it was true heroism or zeal for God that sharpened his scymtar. Since the days of Gibbon, it has been a growing fashion to transfer the pity due to martyrs to their persecutors and tyrants, and call it liberality. But so amiable and intelligent a writer as our author, ought to remember, that tenderness for oppressors is posthumous cruelty towards the oppressed.

In his survey of the relations of Paganism to Christianity, he notices, as we have already seen, the sacrifices of the heathen: and we naturally expected that he would have shown, how their wants of this kind were provided for in the great atoning sacrifice of the Son of God. But, instead of this, he would have the Pagans reminded of the self-denial, or spiritual sacrifice, which the gospel teaches us to offer. That Mr. Maurice believes in the atonement, we do not question: he casually speaks of Christ, with the devoutest feeling, as the Saviour and Redeemer, who has died for us and borne our sins; but he nowhere gives it the prominence which it claims, he nowhere

holds it forth as the great provision of divine mercy for those spiritual wants which the sacrifices of the heathen have so loudly expressed. Yet, what remedy is there for the woes of a dying world apart from this?

If, however, in this matter Mr. Maurice offer less than he should to the heathen; he goes much further in other respects to meet the prejudices of the world than Christianity warrants. Among the Buddhists and Brahmins there is a general notion of 'a twice-born man.' To meet them, therefore, at this point, he would not only proclaim among them the regenerating power of the Spirit of God, but insists that all our Englishmen who visit the East, should say, as 'their mothers have told them,' 'We are the twice-born men; men really and veritably born from above.' To meet the feelings of Jews and Mahometans, whose soldiers fought, and whose kings and caliphs reigned in the name of God, our kings, as the Lord's anointed, are to assume a spiritual as well as temporal authority; and our poor, swearing, drunken soldiers, whether at Sobraon or Waterloo, are to shoot and be shot, stab and be stabbed, in the name of God, and as the ministers of his will! But, surely in all this, our author is holding out to the world more to meet their prejudices than the gospel will make good. And, as too much is no compensation for too little in religion, we would seriously urge him, in his next edition, to blot out all this anti-Christian superfluity, to make room for what he has omitted respecting the Great Sacrifice for sin.

His vindication of Christian missions, from the charge of unnecessarily wounding the prejudices of the Hindoos, on the ground that, from the nature of their system, their prejudices are equally shocked by everything else which foreigners do in their country, is just and admirably expressed. But his apology for the men by whom the first British missionaries were denounced as 'apostates from the anvil and the loom,' whom the government were bound to persecute and crush, is like his tenderness for Mahomet, a waste of sympathy on the oppressor at the cost of the oppressed. Before he attempted their defence, our author ought surely to have considered, that the philanthropy which felt so acutely for heathen prejudices, but insulted so rudely and cruelly the holiest and tenderest feelings of British Christians; which, while whining over the wounded prejudices of the Hindoos, was robbing them of their country and homes; which was full of sympathy for the sensual and blood-stained orgies of the heathen, but not for the cry of burning widows, and poor helpless children in the jaws of crocodiles and sharks; the cry of suffering and blood, that from every ghaut, and shore, and meeting of the waters, was ascending hourly up to

heaven—such a philanthropy he ought surely to have considered as of too doubtful a character to merit his attempts to rescue it from the reprobation into which at length it has fallen.

Notwithstanding these blemishes, however, we again sincerely thank Mr. Maurice for his masterly publication; and earnestly recommend our readers, especially those connected with missions, to give it their serious attention.

ART. III.—*Florentine History: from the Earliest Authentic Records to the Accession of Ferdinand the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany.* By Henry Edward Napier, Captain in the Royal Navy, F.R.S. In Six Volumes. London: Edward Moxon.

OF all the republics of Italy, Florence, with the exception perhaps of Venice, presents the most attractive and singular history. It claims our attention not only from the startling interest which attaches to many portions of it, but from the light which it reflects upon the proceedings of surrounding states. We find Florence at first but the settlement of a few traders, gradually increasing in extent and resources, then freeing herself from foreign domination, and asserting her independence. This was effected by 'a self-governed nation of shopkeepers,' as Captain Napier properly calls them,—for even the nobles were eventually obliged to belong to a trade before they were eligible for public honours,—who not only earnestly sought their internal improvement, and the advancement of their commerce, but conducted with great ability their national affairs. In looking back, especially on the earlier period of her existence, while it is impossible to restrain a feeling of indignation and disgust at many of the acts of the government, of whatever parties composed, it is equally impossible not to admire the general wisdom which guided its proceedings. The glory of their country was the paramount object of the people; to it they sacrificed their wealth and lives; and were equally ready to furnish the means necessary for carrying on their ruinous and interminable wars, or, in the brief intervals of peace, to decorate their capital.

Internal union alone was wanting to make Florence the most powerful commonwealth of Italy; but from the time when the fascinations of the young Donati tempted Buondelmonte to heap dishonour on his friends—who, to avenge the insult, murdered him—the outbreaks of party factions, raged and

wasted her strength, and ended only with the extinction of her liberty. The people, in their battles with the nobles, fought not for equality, but for supremacy; and although, in the beginning of these disputes, the overbearing conduct of the aristocracy provoked the punishment with which they were visited, yet their subsequent treatment was as unjust as it was injurious to the welfare of Florence. The humiliation of their order tended greatly to the reduction of the military spirit of the country, and to the employment of strangers in its defence; who, having but one object—the hope of gain—cared little whether this was obtained from conquered enemies or from its own resources. In the contests between the nobles, no political principle was involved; the love of power and of domineering over their rivals was the end sought; and, under pretence of asserting some popular right, the nation was impoverished for the aggrandizement of a class. The main spring of Florentine existence was her commerce. Whatever of unity prevailed is attributable to the common interest of all in it. Trade being the only medium by which political office could be obtained embraced all ranks and orders. Her merchants were seen in every market of the world; their intelligence was everywhere acknowledged; and so universal was the estimate in which her citizens were held, that, in 1294, no less than twelve met, as ambassadors from as many different states, at Rome, to congratulate Boniface VIII. on his election. Prosperous indeed would have been her condition, had not wars and revolutions succeeded each other, and turned her history, for the most part, into a record of violence and outrage. So constantly was she engaged either in hostilities abroad or civil contentions at home, that merely to mention the more important events which affected her, would furnish no idea of the real state of her affairs—of the incessant agitations in which she was involved, and of the prudence and determination which surmounted the difficulties against which she had to contend. We prefer, therefore, to give our readers a somewhat continuous outline of the first portion of her history, rather than only notice the more eventful occurrences recorded in these volumes.

Of the early history of Florence, little is known. Its origin, that of its inhabitants and of its name, have been the subjects of multiplied conjecture and dispute. It is probable that it sprang from the adjacent city of Fiesole, the traders being able to bring small vessels as near to it as the present site of Florence. It thus became a depository for the produce, both national and foreign, intended for that city, and the residence of many of those who carried on traffic with it. Beyond the fact that Florence rapidly increased in population and resources, no au-

thentic history can be traced until the close of the eighth century. A tradition exists that it was destroyed by Totilla, an Italian of royal blood, about the year 542, and was rebuilt by Charlemagne. There seems good reason, however, for believing that this tradition is unfounded; and that the destruction, if any, did not exceed that of the walls and public buildings, after the then custom of the Lombards. Charlemagne, probably, restored these; and under his reign many families, which had retired into the country, returned to Florence, and a new form of government was instituted. To such an extent were walls and other defences required at this period, owing to the continued attacks of the Huns and Saracens, that scarcely a town, village, or convent, was without them. To these aggressions may be attributed the change which afterwards took place in the character of the people. When undisturbed by such assaults, and subject to a despotic government, self-reliance and patriotism were unknown; but when compelled actively to engage for their common safety, the citizens awoke to a sense of their importance; and through all classes an energy, which afterwards so greatly distinguished the Florentine people, was aroused.

The first important occurrence in Florentine history, and one of which various contradictory accounts are given, is the capture of the town of Fiesole. Under the emperor, Henry II., the extent and power of Florence had greatly advanced; partly caused by the emigration from Fiesole. Jealous, however, even of her declining condition, the Florentines resolved to master the town; but preferred to act by treachery rather than open defiance. Having concluded a truce by which mutual confidence was promoted, and the utmost freedom of intercourse held between the neighbouring towns, it was determined to surprise Fiesole on the festival of St. Romulus. The Florentine troops were divided into two parties, one of which, with their arms concealed, spread through the city, and gave signal to their comrades on the plain. Suddenly, the streets were filled with treacherous foes; to whom, after a vigorous defence from the citadel, the town surrendered. Fiesoline citizens were allowed either to retire to the country with their property, unmolested; or to reside at Florence with the rights of citizens. Many availed themselves of this privilege, and a considerable advantage thus accrued to the victors. It was impossible, however, that anything but discord should arise from such a union. From it, in fact, sprang the disturbances of which for so long a period Florence was the scene. Not many years after, the disputes between the church and the empire began, which, infamous in their origin, were the commencement of a long series of outbreaks, interrupted but by few intervals.

of peace, until they were consummated in the unappeasable contests of the Guelphs and Ghibelines. The precise period at which Florence became an independent city is unknown; it is clear, however, that she was so at the commencement of the twelfth century, when she entered into a contract with the town of Pogna to defend it from all enemies, the emperor and his nuncios only excepted, without reference to the Empress Matilda, or any other superior. At this time the city was presided over by two consuls, but their number was afterwards increased to twelve. Another class of governors was subsequently instituted, more effectually to administer and enforce the laws, with the title of *Podestà*. This office was filled by a foreigner, and his election was for one year. Thus singular were the people's notions of liberty. They appointed strangers to the highest positions in the state, who were above all law, and were tyrants instead of protectors. During the Ghibeline ascendancy in 1250, however, this appointment was suppressed, and was succeeded by that of a *captain of the people*, whose duty it was to guard the rights and protect the interest of the citizens against the exactions of the nobles. It was soon perverted, and instead of advancing the welfare of the people, became part of the regular government. The tyranny to which the Florentines were subject did not prevent a vast increase in their strength and influence. To the neighbouring country population, and to their chiefs, she offered her shelter and the rights of citizenship, which in many cases were accepted; while those who refused to recognise her authority were reduced by force, and their castles seized or destroyed. With this accession of power arose a desire for further conquests; and two expeditions—one against Monte Orlando, for rejecting her offer of support, and the seizure of Prato, for similar reasons—quickly followed. This period saw the commencement of those disputes which for so many ages wasted the energies of Florence, made civil war a familiar thing, and impeded her progress in civilization; disputes which, destitute of all the palliating qualities of war, destroyed even the ordinary bonds of nature; relationship was no pledge for safety; and affection and duty were forgotten in the virulence of party contests.

At the death of Henry v., a diet assembled at Mentz to appoint his successor. The rival houses of Bavaria and Franconia had each supported their partizans; but, by the bishops' influence, Duke Lothario of Saxony was elected King of Germany. From these families sprang the Guelphs and Ghibelines, to whose mutual hatred the progress and peace of Italy and of Germany were for so long a period sacrificed. These names, however, were not the distinctive appellations of the two factions until A. D.

1210, when Otho iv. was dethroned by Innocent iii. So deep was the rancour which prevailed between the hostile houses, that the slightest provocation was sufficient to cause an open rupture. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that the defeat of the Uberti at the annual election of consuls, by other powerful citizens, who for the first time opposed their nomination, should have been the occasion of a deadly outbreak. For many days the battle lasted, until the Uberti sought refuge in their towers, and prepared for future revenge. Their rivals also made ready, and aroused the people generally by denouncing the domineering influence of a few nobles to the injury of the community at large; while these protested against the republic of Florence being subject to the caprices of an oligarchy. The following extract refers to these transactions:—

‘ It was not the simple movement of one great body against another; not the force of a government in opposition to the people; not the struggle of privilege and democracy, of poverty and riches, or starvation and repletion; but one universal burst of unmitigated anarchy. In the streets, lanes, and squares; in the courts of palaces and humbler dwellings, were heard the clang of arms, the screams of victims, and the gush of blood: the bow of the bridegroom launched its arrows into the very chambers of his young bride’s parents and relations; and the bleeding son, the murdered brother, or the dying husband, were the evening visitors of Florentine maids and matrons, and aged citizens. Every art was practised to seduce and deceive, and none felt secure even of their nearest and dearest relatives. In the morning a son left his paternal roof with undiminished love, and returned at evening a corpse, or the most bitter enemy! Terror and death were triumphant; there was no relaxation, no peace by day or night; the crash of the stone, the twang of the bow, the whizzing shaft, the jar of the trembling mangonel from tower and turret, were the dismal music of Florence, not only for hours and days; but months and years. Doors, windows the jutting galleries and roofs, were all defended, and yet all unsafe: no spot was sacred, no tenement secure: in the dead of night, the most secret chambers, the very hangings, even the nuptial bed, itself, were often known to conceal an enemy.’—vol. i. p. 122.

For many years the records of Florence present us with little else than narrations of internal contentions, and of her expeditions against surrounding states; by which, owing to her prudent treatment of the conquered inhabitants, who were allowed to retain their own laws and customs, and whose subjection was merely nominal, she gained a considerable accession of influence and territory.

Amongst the Florentines, private quarrels were frequently the causes of public disturbances. An injury was never forgotten or

forgiven. No sooner had an insult, supposed or real, been offered to the chiefs of either faction, than the whole party were eager to punish the aggressor, and wipe out the stain by war. Of this, we have an illustration in the case of Buondelmonte de Buondelmonti; who, to adjust a dispute between Oddo Arrighi de' Fifi and himself, agreed to marry his niece. Prior, however, to the time appointed for his marriage, he was sent for by the wife of Forese de' Donati, with the beauty of whose daughter he was so captivated, that, forgetting his plighted faith, he asked and obtained the promise of her love. Such contempt was not to be endured; and the Amidei, to whom his first betrothed belonged, resolved to take summary vengeance upon her betrayer. Easter morning, 1215, was fixed for the bridal. Young Buondelmonte, however, was doomed; and, on his way to the house of his expecting bride, the daggers of Oddo and his kinsmen ended his career. This murder disturbed the whole Florentine population, and preparations were everywhere made for the impending storm. The Guelphic leaders and adherents of the church took part with the Buondelmonti; whilst another portion of the people joined the Uberti, who were leaders of the Ghibelines, and partisans of the empire. The houses were fortified and armed; the towers again bristled with warlike engines; barricades were erected; and the people, with consternation, anticipated the future. Nor were their apprehensions unfounded. The demon of civil war, now loosed, raged with unprecedented horror, and continued with but little cessation for nearly thirty-three years, until 1248, when, instigated and assisted by Frederick II., the Ghibelines drove their enemies from Florence, and a public act declared them exiled. The triumph of the imperial party, however, was soon abused. By the destruction of towers, palaces, and even churches, which belonged to the rival faction, and by the exactions of the government, their rule became odious, and the people began to feel that the church would afford the only security for their independence and welfare.

At the death of the Emperor Frederick, an entire change in the administration of the government was effected. It was at this time that the office of 'Captain of the People' was first created; and the Guelphs, after an exile of two years, were recalled, although with lessened influence. The late revolution had destroyed the exclusive government of the nobles, and the people now shared in the administration of state affairs. With this change came a vast accession to the power and prosperity of Florence, and her influence became paramount throughout the greater part of Tuscany. Fortune still attended her, and the year 1254 saw the further conquests

of Volterra and Pisa; to distinguish which events it was called *Anno Vittorioso*. Four years later, however, she suffered defeat in an engagement with the Siennese, by whom inroads were continually made upon her territory, and who, since Montalcino had placed herself under the protection of their enemies, had not ceased to keep it in strict blockade. To avenge these insults, and, if possible, utterly to destroy the power of their rivals, a call for assistance was made throughout the Guelphic league; and speedily was it responded to.

'Lucca was quickly in the field; Prato, Pistoia, and San Miniato, poured out their troops; San Gimignano, and Colle of the Vale of Elsa, armed their battalions; Genoa and Bologna united their Guelphic banners on the banks of the Arno; Modena was not lukewarm in the cause, and the more distant plains of Lombardy sent their squadrons across the Apennines to enrol themselves under the standard of Florence. Besides these, Arezzo and Orvieto were in full movement; and even Perugia is said to have joined in this formidable armament. Visconte of Campiglia, and Aldobrandino of Santa Fiore, mustered their vassals, and lent a willing hand to destroy the power that curbed their greatness; and Count Guido Guerra, although against the war, had already assembled his followers, not indisposed to break a lance with his Ghibeline kinsman, the chief of the Florentine exiles. His was the auxiliary force. In Florence, eight hundred men at arms, all nobles or rich citizens, pranced through her streets and arrayed themselves under the republican standard, while six hundred foreign veterans were already in their saddles quietly awaiting the orders of their chief. Heavy armed infantry, with ponderous bucklers, slender lances, and helmets of burnished steel; archers, cross-bowmen, and irregulars, poured from successive streams, from the six divisions of the capital, each under its banner and peculiar chief; nor was there a single family in Florence, whether noble, popular, or plebeian, but sent forth one or two of its sons to try their spirit in the coming war, on foot or horseback, according to its power and opulence. The *Martinella* was still tolling when the Red Carroccio, the military Palladium, rolled heavily from the precincts of the Baptistry to its war-station in the centre of the Mercato-nuovo. The last hours of August witnessed these two '*pomps*' of the Florentines move slowly over the Arno amidst the shouting of a multitude, which gazed with pride, but for the last time, on that veteran banner which, for ten successive years, had led them on to victory. The rear-guard soon cleared the town, and all the army was then seen winding amongst the hills in full march to the enemy's capital.'—*Ib.* pp. 243—244.

The Florentines and their allies, to the number of nearly 40,000, encamped upon the hill of Montesperto. The battle which ensued, owing to bad generalship and Ghibeline treachery,

ended in the total defeat of the allied troops, with the loss of 2,500 killed, besides the wounded and prisoners. This disaster fell heavily upon Florence.

'The gates were closed, the shops and houses shut, and men looked sad and silent at each other; fugitives flocked in hourly, but brought no hope; despair in their heart, and death in their aspect; a downward glance on their bloody garments was the only reply to loud and frantic inquiries; the widow, the orphan, the sister, and the promised bride, had no other comfort; but to the graver questions of bearded men they sorrowfully answered, 'It is not for them who have bravely died in battle for their country's cause you should weep, but for us who have survived the conflict; *they* have fallen with glory as soldiers, but we are spared only to become the objects of scorn and mockery to our bitterest foes.'

• So fatal was the effect of this defeat upon the remaining citizens, that the Guelphic families, not only of Florence, but, with one exception, of the allied towns, retired to Lucca and Bologna. Still a deep, though for some time unobserved, attachment to the Guelphic faction existed; and but a few years after, we find Count Guido Novello—who, since the battle of Montcaperto, had ruled with almost despotic power in Florence, inviting two members of a newly-appointed order of religious knighthood—one a Guelph, the other a Ghibeline—jointly to assume the office of Podestà. By them, with the assent of the people, were elected a deliberative council of thirty-six citizens, who passed measures in which the Count was neither consulted nor considered. One of the advantages secured to the citizens was the right of the '*arts*,' or '*trades*,' to assemble in arms whenever their interest might require it, a measure which afterwards proved of infinite service to the popular cause. The nobles, dreading the growing influence of the democratic party, and adverse to the measures enacted by the council, began openly to complain. In this they were encouraged by Guido, and by his advice collected their friends and retainers, whilst he increased the number of his troops by reinforcements from neighbouring towns to 1,500 men. The newly-appointed senate, having refused the additional supplies demanded for their support, soon found themselves at war with the chiefs. The people, however, triumphed; and Count Guido, six years after his proud entry into Florence, left it in dismay. A new government was organized by the citizens, who generously determinated that the gates of the city should be left open to receive the exiles to whichever party they belonged; and, to consolidate the peace, numerous marriages between members of the rival houses were celebrated. But the hatred of the factions for each other was not subdued.

The Guelphs could neither forget nor forgive their six years' banishment, and a fresh outbreak soon broke up the hollow truce, and ended in the defeat of the Ghibelines. Another scheme of government succeeded, and to Charles of Anjou was offered the sovereignty of Florence for ten years, which, with some modifications, he accepted. The dissensions between the Guelphs and Ghibelines, however, still continued, although many attempts at pacification were made. To these may be added the not unfrequent feuds between members of the same party.

An interval of peace succeeded; and in 1285 the population of Florence had so much increased, that a new circuit of walls was necessary, the old city being but the centre of a larger town. Never had such prosperity been enjoyed. The disputes between the citizens had been forgotten in the succession of wars in which they had been engaged, and the historians of the period enlarge upon the happiness and festivity which prevailed. This condition of affairs, however, was made an occasion by the nobles for renewing their aggressions. No sooner were they free from external foes, than they made enemies of each other. Not only were private families at war with others, but sometimes amongst themselves. To such contentions the people were indebted for their liberty. The nobles had re-enacted their character of tyrants, and their exactions had been submitted to from the conviction that resistance would be useless. The judges were afraid duly to administer the laws. Even the senate and its enactments were disregarded. Murmurs and discontents were everywhere heard, but for some time no one ventured to attempt a change. At length, Giano della Bella, a patrician, but friendly to popular government, having harangued the populace on the evils to which they were subject, a commission was appointed to report upon the alterations necessary for the equal course of justice. The changes which ensued were, as in similar cases they generally are, excessive, and as unjust as the conduct of which the people had complained. Not only were the nobles excluded from any part in the government, but all families any members of which enjoyed the degree of knighthood; whilst, to ensure the safety of any citizen having a charge against the nobles, a box was placed at the residences of the Podestà and Captain of the People, into which it might be placed. Incensed at their loss of power, and the control to which they were subject, the nobles entertained for the reformer the most bitter hatred, and gladly availed themselves of his unpopularity amongst some of the lower citizens, with whose dishonest practices he had interfered, to excite in their minds a similar feeling. How well they succeeded shortly appeared. The Podestà, having unjustly condemned one of the parties in

a feud in which his servant was killed, was denounced by the populace, who hurried to his palace, destroyed everything in it, and shouted death to the Podestà. Giano della Bella, hoping to appease their anger, hastily repaired to the spot. His intercession, however, was unavailing; and for his own safety he was compelled to retire. New Priors were immediately chosen, and Della Bella was accused of instigating the tumult, which, at the hazard of his life, he had endeavoured to subdue. He was condemned, and died in exile! Such was the reward of a man who, though not free from faults, had raised the people to a higher position and influence in the state than they had ever before attained; and this, too, in a republic.

Meanwhile, the internal condition of Florence was greatly advanced by the continuance of peace. New churches, hospitals, and aqueducts, were constructed; and a revision of their laws was undertaken by a committee appointed by the citizens. This tranquillity, with the exception of an occasional outbreak between the nobles and the people, without which the Florentines were not long contented, continued until 1300, when it was terminated by a quarrel between two neighbouring families. Near the houses of the Donati and Pazzi lived the Cerchi, of low extraction, but whose wealth procured for them more authority than the illustrious descent of their aristocratic neighbours could secure. Unable quietly to endure the growing influence of their plebeian rivals, whom they both dreaded and despised, and being joined by the leaders of the Neri faction—who, in consequence of their disputes with the Bianchi in Pistoia, had been banished with the chiefs of the other party to Florence—they sought an opportunity for revenge. In the meantime, the Cerchi were strengthened by the adherence of the Bianchi; and the city was soon divided into two parties, without reference to politics, under the titles of Neri and Bianchi, or Black and White factions. The constant encounters and disputes between these factions were not confined to Florence, and were attended with varied success. At length, by the influence of Corso Donati, Charles of Valois, whose bias in favour of the Neri he well knew, offered his mediation; his real object being to obtain the government of a city so wealthy as Florence. This was accepted. His first act was to deceive the Priors, and to replace the Florentine guards by Frenchmen. Although treachery was suspected, the government was timid and irresolute, and little was done to prepare for the coming contest. To settle the differences between the Neri and Bianchi, Charles proposed that the chiefs of each party should be handed over to him that he might effectually do justice between them. To this the Neri willingly consented; but the Bianchi only because they were

unable to resist. The former were instantly released ; the latter he ' kept that night without straw or mattress, like condemned criminals.' On this, the Priors resigned ; and the Black Faction triumphed. Outrage and murder followed. The property of the Bianchi was seized, their daughters married by force for their inheritance, and their sons killed. A series of engagements between the Bianchi and their more fortunate rivals ensued. The aggressions, however, of the latter upon the liberties of the citizens were so oppressive, that, about A.D. 1307, the people, from having been the victims of tyranny, became, when the opportunity presented itself, by an almost universal rule, the tyrants. Various changes were made in the constitution, having for their object the increase of popular influence. A new officer, under the title of the ' Executor of the Ordinances of Justice,' was appointed, whose principal duty was to enforce the punishment of any noble for offences against the citizens ; and these, discarding the denominations of Neri and Bianchi, by which they had been distinguished, adopted the appellation of ' The Good Guelphic People.' The comparative quietness which succeeded these events was soon disturbed, and the tumult was directed to another and a different quarter.—to the man who had been the leader of his party—to whose skill they owed their success, but whose restless ambition now became the source of apprehension, and his party, to secure themselves, determined to sacrifice him. Availing themselves of the temporary suspension of warfare, some of the leading houses in the Black Faction, alarmed at the growing influence of Corso Donati, and envious of the unequalled splendour in which he lived, made his marriage with the daughter of Ugucione della Faggiola, chief of the Romagna Ghibelines, a pretext for asserting his aim at supreme authority. This accusation made a strong impression upon the mind of the populace, who, once distrustful of their leader, cared only for the overthrow of his power. Having refused to answer the charge of ' conspiring to overthrow the liberties of his country, and endeavouring to make himself tyrant of Florence,' he was condemned to lose his head, as a ' rebel and a traitor to the commonwealth.' The haste exhibited in his trial was shown also in the intended execution of its sentence. The whole civic force at once proceeded to his palace, where, unaided, he gallantly defended himself. Overcome by numbers, he attempted flight, but was interrupted by some Catalonian troopers, whose lances ended a life to which his country owed much both of good and evil.

Not long after, the military spirit hitherto so paramount in Florence declined. Amongst the Italian states the system of hiring mercenary troops had gradually increased, and the mili-

tary profession, consequently, was less respected. In addition to this, the ransom required for a Florentine so much exceeded that of any other Italian soldier, that they the more readily acquiesced in the employment of these hirelings. This decline was greatly hastened by the failure of their attempts to raise the siege of Montecatini in 1315, in which fourteen hundred of the highest families, and many of their nobles, perished. Crippled, however, in resources, and the energy of the people thus lessened, it was not long before Florence was again called to action; and her ancient spirit re-appeared. Her condition had been improved by the settlement of internal discords, and after assisting King Robert in his defence of Genoa, she was involved in a long and serious war with Castruccio Castracani. This general having been actively engaged with the Ghibeline party at the battle of Montecatini, was afterwards invested with the government of the Lucchese. To him it was represented that the Florentines, with the Pope and the King of Naples, had invited Philip of Valois into Lombardy as imperial vicar, to act against the Ghibelins and himself, for having aided the Genoese exiles. Hostilities were soon commenced, and continued from 1320 to 1328, in which year he died. So destructive to Florence were these expeditions, that in 1325, her resources being exhausted, and weakened by the loss of many of her chief families and the ravages of disease amongst the people, she sacrificed her independence for assistance, and Charles, Duke of Calabria, was appointed to the lordship of Florence for ten years. As a soldier he was inferior to Castruccio, who gained several advantages over the magnificent army under his command. Nor did their internal affairs prosper during his rule. He claimed supreme power, appointed every public officer, and assumed the right of restoring exiles and rebels even in opposition to the laws; hence his government became obnoxious to the people. Happily for the Florentines he did not long survive Castruccio. By his death they were enabled to retrench the enormous expenses to which he had subjected them, and to remodel their constitution. A short interval of peace, spent in preparing for future wars, was succeeded by an attack upon Lucca which eventually proved unsuccessful. Pistoia afterwards requested the Florentines to assume the temporary government of their city, which under the guise of voluntary subjection continued ever after. Florence soon recovered her position and energy. With the exception of Lucca, every state in Tuscany acknowledged her as an ally or sovereign, and a prosperity unequalled since the close of the thirteenth century gladdened the people. Their naturally gay and joyous disposition was again in action and filled the city with festivity and

mirth. Not long, however, did their happiness continue. No enemy came upon them, no internal discord again deluged the city with blood, nor did a foreign governor extort and oppress. The impending calamity was of a different order. The Arno burst its banks and nearly destroyed the city. We must give our author's description of the scene:—

' On the first day of November, 1333, the heavens seemed suddenly to open, and pour down an incessant stream of water for ninety-six hours successively, not only without diminution but in augmented volume: continued sheets of fire with sharp and vivid flashes struck from the clouds, while peals of thunder bellowed through the gloom, darting bolt after bolt into the earth, and impressing on mankind the awful feeling of universal ruin.

' The natural and superstitious fears of the people were painfully excited, and all the church and convent bells were tolled to conjure the spirit of the storm: men and women were seen clambering on slender planks from roof to roof amidst falling tiles, crying aloud for mercy with such an unusual din as almost to drown the deeper tones of distant thunder, and realize the idea of chaos or the infernal regions of their own great poet. The first burst of the Arno, even near its source, broke over rocks, and woods, and banks, and fields, and deluged the green plains of Casentino; then sweeping in broad and spreading sheets over those of Arezzo, flooded all the upper Val-d'Arno, and with mighty force bore off mills, and barns, and granaries, in its course, with every human habitation and all that it contained, animate and inanimate, like weightless things. Trees were uprooted, cattle destroyed, men, women, and children suffocated, the soil washed clean away, and the dark torrent thus unnaturally loaded came roaring down on Florence. The tributary Sieve, after swamping its native vales, rushed madly down, with the soil of half a province on its wave, and swelled the bounding Arno; the Africa, the Mensola, every common ditch, now changed to torrents, gave force and danger to the flood which rolled its angry surges towards the capital.

' On the 4th of November, 1333, the whole plain of Saint Salvi was covered to the depth of twelve, sixteen, and even twenty feet; the waters mounted high against wall and tower, and swept round Florence like the tide on a stranded ship. For a while the ramparts withstood this pressure, but presently the antiport of Santa Croce gave way; then the main gate; then the Porta Renaiia; and then night set in: but with it was heard the crash of falling towers and the onward rush of the water, which, still unchecked, swept wavy, broad, and cold, over the ill-fated town. Two hundred and fifty feet of the walls had been crushed by the enormous pressure; the red columns of San Giovanni were half buried in the flood: it deluged the cathedral, encompassed the altar of Santa Croce, measured twelve feet in the court of the Bargello, sapped the shrines of the Badia; covered almost all

the rest of the city four feet deep, and even beat on the first step of the public palace, the loftiest ground in Florence.

'The town beyond Arno was scarcely less submerged; nearly a thousand feet of the ramparts fell, and the wear, then above Ponte Carraia, was entirely destroyed; this brought instant ruin on the bridge itself, which all except two arches was buried in the wave; that of La Trinità as quickly followed; then the Ponte Vecchio, its shops and houses, gold and jewellery, went down in masses; Rubaconte stood in part, but the indignant waters, overleaping a lateral arch, shattered the solid quay and dashed against the palace-castle of Altafronte, and this with such fury as to bring down that solid mansion, and most of the houses as far as Ponte Vecchio, in one continuous ruin. The statue of Mars, the rude witness of Buondelmonte's death, tumbled headlong from its base into the tide below, and disappeared for ever. The whole line of houses between the bridges, with many more on every side, next fell, like the walls of Jericho before the sacred trumpets; nothing but lightning and devastation met the eye, nothing but hideous shrieks, the crash of houses, the roar of waters and dismal peals of thunder struck the ear; in what this awful scene would have ended seemed evident, had not a startling crash, with the fall of near nine hundred feet of the western ramparts, opened a wider vent for the waters and saved Florence from destruction.'—pp. 546, 549.

Incredible as it may appear, the day after the waters had subsided an attempt at a revolution was made by certain noble families! Such was the temper of the Florentines. Their attention was soon absorbed by the Lombard war, which, having continued nearly three years, was closed by a peace unproductive of any adequate return for their expenditure and assistance.

To it succeeded an expedition to Lucca, the siege of which they were unable to raise. The repeated mishaps and ultimate failure of this war filled the Florentines with indignation and distrust, and a change in the administration, which resulted in the appointment of Walter de Brienne, as '*Captain and Conservator of the People*,' and afterwards in his assumption of absolute power, was demanded. His tyranny, however, soon turned the popularity which obtained for him this eminence into the deepest hatred; and the people, who to free themselves from the misguidance of others, had invested a despot with supreme power, now sought to rid themselves of their oppressor. Not long afterwards the cry of 'Death to the tyrant' was heard in the streets, and his life was saved at the price of his renunciation of all authority over Florence. A long series of misfortunes followed. For more than thirty years, wars, scarcity, floods, and fires, desolated this unhappy city; and in 1348 these calamities were consummated by the horrors of the plague, with

which it was again visited in 1653. About this latter date the Florentines were confronted with a new enemy. One whose military skill and powers of endurance far exceeded those of any other soldiers to whom they had been opposed, and whose indifference to the changes of the season astonished them. A party of English soldiers, accustomed to constant service in the long wars between France and England, and commanded by Sir John Hawkwood, who served in them during the reign of Edward the Third, joined the Pisan forces, the command of which was intrusted to the English general. Two campaigns in the Florentine territory closed, after many engagements in which success alternated between the rival forces, by the loss of five hundred men at arms, and two thousand wounded, on the part of the Pisan army, without any decided advantage having been gained. Scarcely had their enemy retired, before the Florentines determined on revenging the injuries they had lately sustained, and a mixed force under De Montfort ravaged the Pisan territory to within three miles of the capital, which they would have attacked, had not a band of fourteen hundred mercenaries arrived in Pisa seeking employment. Their subsequent operations afford a curious illustration of the spirit of the age, and of the change which had taken place in the chivalrous feeling which once regulated their military proceedings. The time for which the Germans and English had been engaged by the Pisan government having nearly expired, the former were bribed with forty-four thousand, and the latter by seventy thousand florins, not to act against Florence for five months, but to ravage the Siennese states instead. Hawkwood, and about a thousand English, however, were not involved in this arrangement. An engagement between the Pisan and Florentine armies shortly occurred, in which the former, still under the orders of Sir John Hawkwood, were completely routed. The enormous expenses occasioned by this continual warfare tended to neutralise the hatred which existed between the belligerents, added to which the insubordination of the Florentine army, and the distrust of their general, Malatesta, created a universal desire for peace. Similar feelings being entertained by the Pisans, a commission was appointed to settle their differences, and a treaty was arranged which restored to Florence her ancient mercantile privileges, and gave her a tribute of ten thousand florins yearly for ten years. These, however, were a poor compensation for the expenses of the war, and the devastation of the country.

An interesting portion of history succeeds these events, embracing the three years' war which, at the head of many

other cities, Florence sustained against the Pope. It originated in the hatred felt for the French priests, whose cupidity and tyranny had exasperated the people, and who aimed at nothing less than the extinction of liberty in Italy, and ended by the appointment of the Bishop of Bari, an Italian, to the Papedom under the title of Urban VI. Twelve years of freedom from external war ensued, but during this period internal dissensions continually prevailed, and the power and reputation of Florence were greatly lessened. At its termination, and for nearly an equal time, she was engaged in war with Gian-Galeazzo Visconte, into which she entered as the guardian of her own and of Italian liberty. This was the greatest enterprise she had ever undertaken, and, after sustaining various severe losses and defeats, she was only saved by his death, which took place in 1402, as is alleged from the effects of poison.

Our space is filled, and we must close with one or two remarks. We have seen somewhat of the troubles through which Florence passed. She was perpetually engaged either in the field, or in domestic conflicts. These disturbances, however, served to arouse the mental energies of the people, and to the discussions which ensued may be greatly attributed that spirit of political freedom, far from perfect indeed, but yet the forerunner of a brighter and nobler inheritance, which existed, and the progress which she made in the path of civilization. Captain Napier has done full justice to his task. He has accomplished it with honour to himself, and great advantage to the reader of history. His style is vigorous and graphic, and often eloquent. His sympathies are with the people rather than their rulers, and whilst denouncing that worst of all tyranny which is often masked in the guise of freedom, he is always the advocate and admirer of popular advancement and real liberty. Further examination has confirmed the opinion we expressed, when the first volume only had appeared, of the strict impartiality which he has observed; such a quality being the more valuable in a work on Italian history, since most of the native writers have been the advocates of a party rather than the investigators of truth, and have cared little for transmitting an imperfect record of the events they pretended to narrate, so long as their end was gained by the bias their works were intended to give. From all such influence Captain Napier is free. Intimately acquainted with the annals of the country he describes, he has examined the writings of her historians without contamination from their prejudices, and brings to bear upon their conflicting statements an independent and acute judgment; while the results of his researches, whether of men or measures, are stated in an open and fearless manner. He has deeply

studied not only the political and constitutional history of Italy, but the less obtrusive and more silent progress of peaceable institutions and social changes; and not content with the development of those occurrences which absorb the attention and involve the interests of nations, has traced the effect which such transactions have upon the affairs of ordinary life. This history of Florence is in every way worthy of the gallant author; and we trust he will realise an adequate reward for the talent and time expended in its production.

ART. IV.—1. *Lucretia; or, the Children of Night*. By the Author of *Rienzi*, etc. Saunders and Otley.

2. *A Word to the Public*. By the Author of *Lucretia*, &c.

3. *Tancred; or, The New Crusade*. By Benjamin Disraeli. Colburn.

'*LUCRETIA*' and '*Tancred*' are, and are likely to continue, the most memorable fictions of the season of 1847. Sir E. Bulwer Lytton has long been one of the few writers of the day, each of whose works must be read, whether for applause or condemnation, by every one who has the slightest pretensions to a knowledge of this age and generation. Mr. Disraeli has, of late years, after publishing half a score, perhaps, of forgotten poems and ephemeral novels, secured for himself the general attention of the public, and just at present everybody must be acquainted with '*Coningsby*,' '*Sybil*,' and '*Tancred*.'

There is not a more curious figure in the public life of England at this hour than is this Mr. Benjamin Disraeli. He is as prominent as anybody. No man is more remarkable. We have had our eyes upon him for many years, and are not sure that all the elements of his complex character are yet visible to us. Of course the common view of him is obvious enough, which regards him as a disappointed, renegade, and satirical Jew. But what has not been noticed is, that he has no genius apart from his satire. Genius is new and reproductive individuality. The genius of Mr. Disraeli is a sting. In nothing he writes and in nothing he says, is there genius, apart from the inspiration of disparagement. His intellect is of a very ordinary calibre among literary and public men. He has absolutely no argumentative power, and only a small acquaintance with the forms and shows of ratiocination. During the discussions on the corn-laws, he indulged in occasional dips into the depths of economical science. On these occasions he reminded us of a sea-gull, such a one as we have often seen when sailing off the rocky Scotch east coast, and looking through the green crystal waves far

down upon the many-hued and marvellously beautiful ocean flowers—a sea-gull, which generally skims, hovers, whirls, and screeches over the surface, and dips only to gratify a temporary appetite, and seize a defenceless prey. Of the science of economics not only had he no knowledge, but he obviously had no capacity for knowing it. On one occasion he tried to deviate from sarcasm into argument. But he has no power even of sophistry. His apparently argumentative compositions are to logical arguments what wax work figures are to living men. He talked about ‘fighting hostile tariffs with free imports,’ in a way which showed ignorance of the meaning of both phrases, and quoted the authority of Mr. John Stuart Mill in opposition to free trade! Though weak in reasoning, he was powerful in invective, and won a place in history for himself by his *Peelippics*. We shall leave to historians their own work of estimating his conduct, content with recording the fact that many of his contemporaries saw a great statesman doing a great public service, bravely and skillfully, amidst a coil of difficulties which noble motives alone could have prompted him to encounter, and enabled him to surmount, and all the while subject to the assaults of an unusually splendid gadfly. People remembered that Mr. Disraeli had been a radical candidate for Marylebone, and beheld, with amazement, his performances in the character of the Tory prophet of party consistency!

All the productions of Mr. Disraeli have excited a slight sensation, on their first publication, and all are dead, with the exception of a few of his sarcasms, which will live with the memory of these times. His assertion that Sir Robert Peel had caught the Whigs bathing, and walked away with their clothes, embodied a general opinion in a shape so witty, that it will long be remembered. Every one acquainted with the history of free trade knows that the politicians of the school of Pitt long preceded the politicians of the school of Fox, in the adoption of economical truths. Peel was a free trader a quarter of a century ago, when Russell was a protectionist. Still though false, the sarcasm will live, because there is wit in the composition of it. If critics, like kings, had the power of prescribing armorial bearings, we should assign to Mr. Disraeli for his crest, a sting. There is a force in the sarcasms of Mr. Disraeli superior to all our other satirists. This Jew is full of the bitterness with which persecution has embued his race. He vilifies with the fervour of a Shylock, who has been robbed not of his daughter, but of his career. His audacity is brilliant. Aware of the fascination of personality for the mob of readers, he has made novels, with public men of the day for characters, and speeches, in which the most eminent of statesmen was a constant dish, served up in a

variety of sauces, for the entertainment of the public. Scarcely any writer who has tried it, has been disappointed in obtaining readers by means of the prurient appetite for personal details, respecting distinguished personages; and often as he had been unsuccessful, Mr. Disraeli at last succeeded, where few have failed. By making a great minister his butt, the coughed and laughed-at orator obtained the ear of the House. By making living personages his characters, the contributor of novels to the dust of the shelves of the libraries, produced fictions which were eagerly and extensively read. But this success is neither legislative nor literary fame. Excepting always a few sarcasms, Mr. Benjamin Disraeli has created nothing; he has discovered no truths, he has expounded no science, he has presented our imaginations with no characters, and nowhere made evil give way to good. A convert from the liberal opinions of his youth to the superstitions of the sinister interests of the upper classes, from light to darkness, his genius has been confined to a region and an atmosphere favourable only to the production of venom. Consequently he stings from the heart. Ready to take up any cry by which fame might be won, -sympathy for the poor, in 'Sybil,' or the want of romantic faith, in 'Tancred,'—he is never thoroughly in earnest, and hence never generative and creative, except when giving utterance to his scorn.

However, in truth and justice, be it observed, the scorn of Mr. Disraeli is not mean or base. If fired by disappointment, it was not an ignoble ambition which was crushed by the matter-of-fact caution of the conservative premier. Had Sir Robert Peel been a greater man than he is, he would have enlisted this extraordinary satirist on the side of his patriotic ameliorations. With larger views of men, and better judgment in choosing help, Sir Robert would have engaged this parliamentary sting on the side of economical truth.

We are grateful to 'Tancred' for having enabled us to feel an emotion of respect for its author. His perseverance, energy, and accomplishments, are unquestionable. But these are not his worthiest qualities. What we like best is his boasting pride and scorn as a Jew. We like and respect the intensity of his feeling for his race,—his contempt for the flat-nosed Franks, and his exultation in the achievements of the seed of Abraham. This is all full of manhood. His pride and his scorn are real. Brooding over the history of the Jews, and glorying in the grand and divine deeds of his race, need we wonder if he should come to deem, even a brave and useful, Sir Robert Peel fit only for scorn, as the representative of an age and generation of mediocrities and utilities? Audacious, self-reliant, and defiant in his spirit, no modesty within him seems to have prompted

the query, 'But is scorn the right feeling from *me* to *him*, considering what he is, and what I am?' Mr. Benjamin Disraeli is the most prominent Jew in political and literary life, and there is something mournful in the fact that his inspiration is bitterness, and his Helicon the well of Marah.

'Tancred' is the eldest son of an English duke of the present day, who has the good sense to see that his order exists only on sufferance, and the excellent frankness to tell his old-fashioned parents his doubts whether the constitution of England is worthy of any more defence. He thinks there is more feasibility in going to the Holy Land in search of a new revelation. The youth is delayed in London during the railway mania of 1845, and his feelings are played upon by a married lady of rank, who professes to share his Judean enthusiasm, but is an intense speculator in railways. On receiving the news of the triumph of the broad guage, she faints, and Tancred, disenchanted, is off for Palestine.

The best passage in the first volume is a character of Charles James, Bishop of London.

'About the time of the marriage of the Duchess of Bellamont, her noble family, and a few of their friends, some of whom also believed in the millennium, were persuaded that the conversion of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland to the true faith, which was their own, was at hand. They had subscribed very liberally for the purpose, and formed an amazing number of sub-committees. As long as their funds lasted, their missionaries found proselytes. It was the last desperate effort of a church that had from the first betrayed its trust. Twenty years ago, statistics not being so much in vogue, and the people of England being in the full efflorescence of that public ignorance which permitted them to believe themselves the most enlightened nation in the world, the Irish 'difficulty' was not quite so well understood as at the present day. It was then an established doctrine, that all that was necessary for Ireland was more Protestantism, and it was supposed to be not more difficult to supply the Irish with Protestantism than it had proved, in the instance of a recent famine (1822), to furnish them with potatoes. What was principally wanted in both cases were—subscriptions.

'When the English public, therefore, were assured by their co-religionists on the other side of St. George's Channel, that at last the good work was doing, that the flame spread, even rapidly—that not only parishes but provinces were all agog—and that both town and country were quite in a heat of proselytism, they began to believe that at last the scarlet lady was about to be dethroned; they loosened their purse-strings; fathers of families contributed their zealous five pounds, followed by every other member of the household, to the babe in arms, who subscribed its fanatical five shillings. The affair looked well. The journals teemed with lists of proselytes and cases

of conversion; and even orderly, orthodox people, who were firm in their own faith, but wished others to be permitted to pursue their errors in peace, began to congratulate each other on the prospect of our at last becoming a united Protestant people.

'In the blaze and thick of the affair, Irish Protestants jubilant, Irish Papists denouncing the whole movement as fraud and trumpery, John Bull perplexed, but excited, and still subscribing, a young bishop rose in his place in the House of Lords, and, with a vehemence there unusual, declared that he saw 'the finger of God in this second Reformation,' and, pursuing the prophetic vein and manner, denounced 'woe to those who should presume to lift up their hands and voices in vain and impotent attempts to stem the flood of light, that was bursting over Ireland.'

'In him, who thus plainly discerned 'the finger of God' in transactions in which her family and feelings were so deeply interested, the young and enthusiastic Duchess of Bellamont instantly recognised the 'man of God;' and, from that moment the right reverend prelate became, in all spiritual affairs, her infallible instructor, although the impending second Reformation did chance to take the untoward form of the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, followed in due season by the destruction of Protestant bishoprics, the sequestration of Protestant tithes, and the endowment of Maynooth.

'In speculating on the fate of public institutions and the course of public affairs, it is important that we should not permit our attention to be engrossed by the principles on which they are founded and the circumstances which they present, but that we should also remember how much depends upon the character of the individuals who are in the position to superintend or to direct them.

'The Church of England, mainly from its deficiency of oriental knowledge, and from a misconception of the priestly character which has been the consequence of that want, has fallen of late years into great straits; nor has there ever been a season when it has more needed for its guides men possessing the higher qualities both of intellect and disposition. About five-and-twenty years ago, it began to be discerned that the time had gone by, at least in England, for bishoprics to serve as appanages for the younger sons of great families. The Arch-Mediocrity who then governed this country, and the mean tenor of whose prolonged administration we have delineated in another work, was impressed with the necessity of reconstructing the episcopal bench on principles of personal distinction and ability. But his notion of clerical capacity did not soar higher than a private tutor who had suckled a young noble into university honours; and his test of priestly celebrity was the decent editorship of a Greek play. He sought for the successors of the apostles, for the stewards of the mysteries of Sinai and Calvary, among third-rate hunters after syllables. These men, notwithstanding their elevation, with one exception, subsided into their native insignificance; and during our agitated age, when the principles of all institutions, sacred and secular, have been called in question; when, alike in the senate and the market-place, both the doctrine and the

discipline of the church have been impugned, its power assailed, its authority denied, the amount of its revenues investigated, their disposition criticised, and both attacked ; not a voice has been raised by these mitred nullities, either to warn or to vindicate ; not a phrase has escaped their lips or their pens, that ever influenced public opinion, touched the heart of nations, or guided the conscience of a perplexed people. If they were ever heard of, it was that they had been pelted in a riot.

‘The exception which we have mentioned to their sorry careers, was that of the too adventurous prophet of the second Reformation; the ductor dubitantium appealed to by the Duchess of Bellamont, to convince her son that the principles of religious truth, as well as of political justice, required no further investigation—at least by young marquesses.

‘The ready audacity with which this right reverend prelate had stood sponsor for the second Reformation is a key to his character. He combined a great talent for action with very limited powers of thought. Bustling, energetic, versatile, gifted with an indomitable perseverance, and stimulated by an ambition that knew no repose, with a capacity for mastering details and an inordinate passion for affairs, he could permit nothing to be done without his interference, and consequently was perpetually involved in transactions which were either failures or blunders. He was one of those leaders who are not guides. Having little real knowledge, and not endowed with those high qualities of intellect which permit their possessor to generalize the details afforded by study and experience, and so deduce rules of conduct, his lordship, when he received those frequent appeals which were the necessary consequence of his officious life, became obscure, confused, contradictory, inconsistent, illogical. The oracle was always dark. Placed in a high post in an age of political analysis, the bustling intermeddler was unable to supply society with a single solution. Enunciating secondhand, with characteristic precipitation, some big principle in vogue, as if he were a discoverer, he invariably shrank from its subsequent application, the moment that he found it might be unpopular and inconvenient. All his quandaries terminated in the same catastrophe—a compromise. Abstract principles with him ever ended in concrete expediency. The aggregate of circumstances outweighed the isolated cause. The primordial tenet, which had been advocated with uncompromising arrogance, gently subsided into some second-rate measure recommended with all the artifice of an impenetrable ambiguity.

‘Beginning with the second Reformation, which was a little rash but dashing, the bishop, always ready, had in the course of his episcopal career placed himself at the head of every movement in the church which others had originated, and had as regularly withdrawn at the right moment, when the heat was over, or had become, on the contrary, excessive. Furiously evangelical, soberly high and dry, and fervently Puseyite, each phasis of his faith concludes with what the Spaniards term a ‘transaction.’ The saints are to have their new churches, but they are also to have their rubrics and their canons;

the universities may supply successors to the apostles, but they are also presented with a church commission; even the Puseyites may have candles on their altars, but they must not be lighted.

'It will be seen, therefore, that his lordship was one of those characters not ill adapted to an eminent station in an age like the present, and in a country like our own; an age of movement, but of confused ideas; a country of progress, but too rich to risk much change. Under these circumstances, the spirit of a period and a people seeks a safety-valve in bustle. They do something, lest it be said that they do nothing. At such a time, ministers recommend their measures as experiments, and parliaments are ever ready to rescind their votes. Find a man who, totally destitute of genius, possesses nevertheless considerable talents; who has official aptitude, a volubility of routine rhetoric, great perseverance, a love of affairs; who, embarrassed neither by the principles of the philosopher nor by the prejudices of the bigot, can assume, with a cautious facility, the prevalent tone, and disembarass himself of it with a dexterous ambiguity, the moment it ceases to be predominant; recommending himself to the innovator by his approbation of change 'in the abstract,' and to the conservative by his prudential and practical respect for that which is established; such a man, though he be one of an essentially small mind, though his intellectual qualities be less than moderate, with feeble powers of thought, no imagination, contracted sympathies, and a most loose public morality;—such a man is the individual whom kings and parliaments would select to govern the State or rule the Church. Change, 'in the abstract,' is what is wanted by a people who are at the same time inquiring and wealthy. Instead of statesmen, they desire shufflers; and compromise in conduct and ambiguity in speech are—though nobody will confess it—the public qualities now most in vogue.'—Vol. i. pp. 140—150.

While this masterly satiric sketch is fresh in the public recollection, the Bishop has completed it in his own person. The Rev. Dr. Thorpe petitions the House of Lords against the decision of the bishop in refusing to license an Irish clergyman in his diocese. The bishop replies in effect:—'I do not thank Dr. Thorpe for bringing this matter forward,—if I refused to license his assistant, I have since offered to do it, and I refused in accordance with a rule—a rule which has existed for four and twenty years, which was never meant to be kept, and has been more frequently broken than kept.' Disraeli could not match the exquisite self-portraiture of this speech in which this prelate unconsciously reveals, that the licensing of Irish clergymen to officiate in London is a favour dependent on his caprice, and marvels that any one should find a grievance in the fact.

The gods of Olympus have still worshippers in Palestine. Perhaps the most curious passage in this novel, is the account

of the interview between Tancred and the Queen of the Ansarey, in which he explains his hope of a new religion or revelation being inspired in the Holy Land. There is a much more ambitious scene on Mount Sinai, but its sublimity is the sublimity of Vauxhall.

Sir E. Bulwer Lytton and Mr. Benjamin Disraeli, both make much of the accident or rather the incident of birth. Perhaps there is not any greater nonsense agog among clever people, than there is about what is called race. Sir E. Bulwer Lytton is all for the Normans, as splendid fellows. With far more reason Mr. Disraeli is wild for the Jews, as the race who have done the greatest things in the history of man. In reference to the Normans we have read all Sir Edward has ever said in their favour, and nothing remains except that they have made themselves the feudal aristocracy of Europe. But as we regard feudalism as a barbarous institution, without a single particle of civilization or beneficence in it, there is nothing noble to our eyes in such an achievement. From first to last feudalism has been the enemy of all goodness, and all truth, and all the best servants of mankind have been at war with it. Feudal aristocracy from the days of the conquest to the repeal of the corn-laws, has, in England, been an organization of rapacity, and a source of crime in society. The Norman castles are mouldering every where, and are not in a more dilapidated condition than the institution of which they are a portion and a symbol. But there is nothing but strength defending rapacity in the meaning of these castles; they were not sources of light to guide, nor of love to sweeten the dark and bitter lot of man. They were a magnificent organization of the Dick Turpins and Claudes du Val, of the middle ages, and nothing more—these proud Norman lords on whose genealogies Sir E. Bulwer Lytton is so eloquent. The greatest things of English civilization have all been done by men of Saxon names. A Caxton introduced printing; a Wicliffe and a Knox did the best part of the work of the Reformation; a Bacon expounded the method of Experimental Philosophy: in poetic art a Milton and a Shakspeare have made all the Normans that ever rhymed, poetasters in comparison; a Cromwell established religious liberty; and a Watt built the steam engine; and when in the last generation the French had subdued the most of Europe, they were beaten on behalf of England by a Wellesley on the land, and a Nelson on the sea! Statesmanship would seem to be a field in which the Normans had peculiar advantages, yet the superiority of the men of Saxon names has been manifest in almost every generation, from Thomas à Becket to Robert Peel.

Of course, if ever there was a race which did great things, the

Jews are the race. Of their achievements, as we feel this is not the place to write reverently, we shall not write at all. But, when so much is made of race, and writers are found who refer the mournful phenomena of Ireland itself, to this word, there is a necessity for submitting the truth that, this notion of race is little better than a delusion. There is no such thing as distinctions of race, if by race be meant the offspring of any other than the primal pair. An advanced physiology shews that there is nothing in the differences which obtain among the various races of mankind, which may not be accounted for by climate, habits, and institutions, and the conformation and propagation of the effects by hereditary transmission. Physiologists say a six-fingered race might be produced by the intermarriage of people who happen to have six fingers. Seth Wright, a Massachusetts farmer, sixty-five years ago, produced the otter breed of sheep, from one ram with a remarkably long body and short legs. When both parents were of the other breed, their offspring had the peculiarities invariably of legs too short and crooked to be able to leap fences. There is a wonderful power in this hereditary principle. It destroys for ever the pride of race. The Caucasian is only a man of a nation whose peculiar circumstances have developed the capacities common to all men in an extraordinary degree. That branch of the human family is noblest which has best served man and God. Hunger and ignorance, defeat and distress made the native Irish of the barony of Flews, a barren and mountainous district into which they were driven by their conquerors, in a few generations, ugly, big mouthed, stunted, pot-bellied, bow-legged, with depressed noses, and exposed gums, in fact, gaunt and spectral savages. Man is exceedingly pliable, and malleable to his circumstances, and there is an extraordinary power in the reproductive processes, of transmitting and perpetuating the effects of circumstances, as the quality of families. This fact is full of rebuke to the writers and persons who encourage any boasts in mere blood in the absence of the illustrious qualities. This fact is full of hope for the friends of human improvement, for it shews that all the splendid qualities which men have ever unfolded, may again be shewn, by men with surpassing lustre and glorious breeds of people summoned forth, who will have all the worth of the men of old, with new worth which can be known only to the men to come.

The aristocratic feeling as it exists in this day and country, plays a considerable part in Bulwer Lytton's 'Lucretia.' But the approach to this work is stopped by a controversy respecting the province of fiction. Its appearance was a signal for a yell against the use of crime. Certain writers denounced the

author as a corrupter of public morals; and he has published a defence of himself under the title of 'A Word to the Public.'

This defence is complete as respects the charge against him, of having a morbid taste for the delineation of crime. Of sixteen fictions which he has published, criminals have been the heroes of only three. The greatest masters of art in all ages have employed the greatest crimes in tragic fiction. What is admissible for dramatic is admissible for narrative fiction, wherever and whenever it occurs, provided the facts can excite terror. The authors who deal with crime, however, are wrong when by the portraiture of the deed, or their sophistries about the criminal, they seduce their readers into admiration for the crime. Authors are to be condemned when, by licentious scenes, they appeal dangerously to the senses. They are justifiable only when they have a thoughtful purpose, and seek, by the delineation of crime, to illustrate some wise and serviceable truths. If tried by these tests the fictions of this author cannot be condemned.

But we submit with much deference that an author never can wisely enter into controversy with his critics. When the hostile criticism arises from differences of a fundamental kind, he does not do justice to his own principles of art, in presenting them defensively as shields of his individual reputation. Besides, such replies are not sound policy, for they encourage the notion that on the whole the slashing style of criticism is best for critics. Nobody can suspect slashing critics of wishing to toady their authors. Slashing criticisms have the best chance of producing 'sensations.' Critics eager to attract notice to themselves and their journals, know there is nothing better for their purpose than cutting attacks on authors who write and publish replies. Once upon a time a writer in a *Quarterly Review* in a passage of his article, supplied the newspapers with a topic of controversy for several years. The reviewer was congratulated by one of the most experienced and influential of the critics of the day. 'You have done the best you could for the Review,' he said, and the reviewer replied, 'Have I! what is that?' 'You have made it talked about;' and this critic spoke the practical truth with respect to all periodicals and all reviewers. Now, we submit that Sir Bulwer Lytton is just the right sort of author for this kind of critics. He is a replying author. The ablest criticism, if generous and just, can call forth only a letter of thanks from the author to the critic, and obtain an agreeable but not a noisy approbation from its readers. But a fierce attack makes the town ring. The assailing journal and the truculent critic are talked of by every body. Sir E. Bulwer Lytton ought to have had experience enough not to

fall into such traps. There is a trick of the autograph collectors of which it is said his grace the Duke of Wellington is always a dupe. They write to him not to obtain his opinion, but his autograph, on subjects with which he has nothing to do, and he answers every letter he receives, and is thus the victim of every collector. Sir Edward ought not to be the victim of every assailing critic. He would be less attacked, could he diffuse through the fraternity the conviction that 'it is of no use attacking him, for he will take no notice of it.'

But the objection to the use of crime in fiction has been brought forward in a really ingenious way in the 'Westminster Review,' for last month. Admitting the validity of his defence against the charge of a morbid partiality for crime, the reviewer moots the question, has Sir E. Bulwer Lytton ministered to a healthy taste, or to one for morbid excitement? He doubts 'whether the contemplation of unalloyed evil produces, under any circumstances, a salutary impression.' When any notion obtains possession of the imagination, the mind is biased by it. Hence when a girl throws herself off the Monument, an iron protection has to be erected to prevent suicidal boys and girls from imitating the deed. Hence the imitative mania for shooting Queen Victoria and King Louis Philippe. He classes pleasurable excitement from the passion of terror, with gladiatorial contests and bull fights, and the conflicts of wild beasts. Ethical philosophers and criminal reformers are describing terror as a reforming moral influence. But the attractiveness of good, and not the repulsiveness of evil, is the most powerful agency for virtue.

We agree with this reviewer in disbelieving in the purifying of the heart by terror. The feelings may be softened and elevated by pity, but never by terror. The omnipotence of terror was the reliance of society in its stern battle with crime, and all its punishments, however severe, have failed—racks, blocks, axes, gibbets, halters, and guillotines. There is an omnipotence of love, of which the cross erected on Calvary was the highest expression, and which has been, and is likely still to prove, the best antagonist of crime.

But there is a sufficient answer to this reviewer, which he might have extracted for himself, from the novel of 'Lucretia,' and the defence of it by its author. A new superstition has arisen, and is infecting the age—the worship of intellect. Francis Bacon, a great intellect and a great criminal, was an apostle of knowledge, and his repeaters, in the nineteenth century, have been eloquent in proclaiming the glad tidings of encyclopedical information. Writers have arisen who have portrayed the great parts played by great men in human affairs, and hence the propagation of a sort of religion of which intel-

lect is the deity, knowledge the creed, and lionism the worship. There is a great controversy in this day about intellect and goodness. Sir. E. Bulwer Lytton has done a valuable service, therefore, we submit, by delineating in this novel the compatibility with crime of every kind of intellectual ability, whether scientific, artistical, or practical.

'Lucretia' is the niece of an old baronet, Sir Miles St. John, of Laughton, who is very proud of his pure Norman blood, and thinks the maintenance of its purity a sacred duty. His niece is his heiress, and he indulges the hope of seeing her married to Charles Vernon, the representative of the elder branch of his family. Her tutor, Dalibard, a man of science, was an actor in the French Revolution, under Robespierre, and corrupts her mind with the ideas of the sceptical French philosophy, while he is himself an adept in the dark art of poisoning. Dalibard, the tutor, himself aspires to her hand, for which the head of the St. Johns sues feebly in vain, while the young lady herself has secretly given her heart to a young, soft, and handsome Mr. Mainwaring, the son of a land agent. Varney, the son of Dalibard, is the spy of his father on all the proceedings of the niece and her uncle. It is cleverly managed by the tutor and his son that Sir Miles shall himself discover the secret engagement of his heiress to the son of a land agent. He alters his will, leaves his estates to Vernon, cuts off his niece with £10,000, and dies of apoplexy. The mother of Lucretia had forfeited the favour of her brother by her second marriage with a physician, Dr. Mivers. Susan Mivers, the half sister of Lucretia, had often met her lover, Mainwaring, before he had visited Laughton, or been seen by its heiress, and an unavowed attachment had sprung up between them. Bereft of her heritage, Lucretia discovers this attachment by the arrangement of Dalibard, and the result is, she is also bereft of her affianced husband. Madened by disappointment, Lucretia weds herself to Dalibard and to crime. In Paris, Dalibard is an important man under Napoleon. But his son Varney and his wife Lucretia have observed the mysterious death of a rich relative of Dalibard's, and the attentions of the poisoner to the widow. They foresee their danger, the son and the wife, and set the followers of George Cadoudal, whom Dalibard has betrayed to death, upon his track, and the father and husband is found murdered in the chamber in which he prepared his poisons. Lucretia, a widow, returns to England, and resides with her half sister and her husband, Mainwaring, her own only love. She had in the bitter hour of her renunciation of her sweetest hopes, breathed a vow, as she kissed the forehead of Helen. She enters their home to execute her revenge. Mainwaring, who had become a

partner in a bank, is inveigled by her advice into speculations which ruin his fortune, and blast his name. The sweetness of her revenge is to make her sister and her lover pensioners on her bounty. But now a religious fit seizes Lucretia. She joins a small sect, of extraordinary austerity, and marries one of the leading laymen of it. This person, named Braddel, is a hypocrite and a bankrupt, and her fortune is lost. Believing that his wife has poisoned him, he causes their only child, a boy, to be hidden from her, and brought up under the care of a young sister of the sect. Beggared, widowed, suspected, bereaved of her child, as she had been of her heritage and her lover, Lucretia wanders to London, where she meets with Varney, the son of her tutor, corrupter, husband, and victim. They live in a partnership of crime for years. Susan Mivers and Mainwaring left on their death, as the only issue of their marriage, a daughter, Helen Mainwaring. Charles Vernon took the name of St. John, with the estate at Laughton, and, after marrying, died, leaving an only son, Percival St. John. This youth is about twenty when he arrives in London. On the night of the coronation of William the Fourth, a beautiful girl is separated from her friends by the crush of the crowd at the Corner of St. James's-street and Pall Mall. Two rakes pursue her, and, to escape their rudeness, she flies up Cleveland Row. Percival St. John offers his arm and protection to Helen Mainwaring opposite the door of the house then occupied by the late Earl of Durham. They love. Beautiful as a sunbeam out of a lowering heaven upon a storm-vexed sea, is the love of this virtuous boy and girl amidst the black horrors of assassination. By means of Beck, a crossing sweeper, Percival St John finds out the residence of his love. His relationship to Madame Dalibard, under whose roof Helen lives, warrants him in calling at the gloomy residence of the murderess in Old Brompton. Lucretia watches, with a malignant interest, the attachment between the son of the man who had obtained her heritage, and the daughter of the sister who had wedded her lover. Percival St. John, in the absence of his mother abroad, invites Helen and her aunt to Laughton.

Varney had insured the life of Helen in several offices, to the extent of £15,000. He had also committed a forgery; and to obtain this money, was the only means by which he could escape detection. The poisons work, and the health of Helen declines. But this crossing sweeper recognises in Varney a confederate of criminals, and watches the proceedings of the partners in guilt. He observes Madame Dalibard, who pretended to be paralytic, straight and active, visiting stealthily, at midnight, the bed-chamber of the death-stricken girl. He overhears Lucretia and

Varney debating the best time for assassinating Percival. They reckon the hour of his anguish for the death of Helen suitable for the administration of a poison which produces *angina pectoris*. Lucretia fancies she has discovered her lost son by Braddel, in young Ardworth, a noble-minded and able sub-editor of a daily paper. She purposes to destroy all the heirs of entail between her son and the heritage she had lost. But Beck, the crossing sweeper, discovers her secret. Before he can make off to warn his master, Lucretia detects him, and infuses delirium and death into his veins with the prick of a poisoned ring. Beck rides off to warn his master, and Varney starts in pursuit of him. He meets a carriage containing the Ardworths, who take the dying man into it. His tale is ascribed to delirium. The Ardworths prove to Lucretia that Beck is her lost son, and the revelation destroys her intellect. She had found her son in the denouncer she had assassinated. Varney is found guilty of forgery, and lives a chained convict in a penal colony. There remains for Percival St. John the sweet and holy memory of Helen, and it is no unworthy morality which the novelist teaches when he makes it the blessed lot of this lovely girl to die young, guiltless, and beloved.

Of course this work cannot be fairly estimated from our bald analysis of the story, nor can any extract convey an adequate idea of the extraordinary power displayed in its treatment. We shall therefore only quote 'the prologue':—

'In an apartment at Paris, one morning, during the Reign of Terror, a man whose age might be somewhat under thirty, sat before a table covered with papers, arranged and labelled with the methodical precision of a mind fond of order and habituated to business. Behind him rose a tall book-case, surmounted with a bust of Robespierre, and the shelves were filled chiefly with works of a scientific character; amongst which the greater number were on chemistry and medicine. At one of the windows, a young boy was earnestly engaged in some occupation, which appeared to excite the curiosity of the person just described; for this last, after examining the child's movements for a few moments with a silent scrutiny, which betrayed but little of the half-complacent, half-melancholy affection with which busy man is apt to regard idle childhood, rose noiselessly from his seat, approached the boy, and looked over his shoulder unobserved. In a crevice of the wood by the window, a huge black spider had formed his web; the child had just discovered another spider, and placed it in the meshes; he was watching the result of his operations. The intrusive spider stood motionless in the midst of the web, as if fascinated. The rightful possessor was also quiescent; but a very fine ear might have caught a low humming sound, which probably augured no hospitable intentions to the invader. Anon, the stranger insect seemed suddenly to awake from its amaze; it evinced alarm.

and turned to fly; the huge spider darted forward—the boy uttered a chuckle of delight.

‘Child,’ said the man in French.

‘The boy turned quickly.

‘Has the great spider devoured the small one?’

‘No, sir,’ said the boy, colouring; ‘the small one has had the best of it.’

‘Spiders, then,’ said the man, after a short pause, ‘are different from men; with us, the small do not get the better of the great. Hum! do you still miss your mother?’

‘Oh, yes!’ and the boy advanced eagerly to the table.

‘Well, you will see her once again.’

‘When?’

‘The man looked towards a clock on the mantel-piece—‘Before that clock strikes. Now, boy, come with me; I have promised to show you an execution. I am going to keep my promise. Come!’

‘The boy clapped his hands with joy; he caught up his gay cap and plume, and followed his father into the streets.

‘Silently the two took their way towards the *Barrière du Trône*. At a distance, they saw the crowd growing thick and dense, as throng after throng hurried past them, and the dreadful guillotine rose high in the light blue air. As they came into the skirts of the mob, the father, for the first time, took his child’s hand. ‘I must get you a good place for this show,’ he said with a quiet smile.

‘There was something in the grave, staid, courteous, yet haughty bearing of the man, that made the crowd give way as he passed. They got near the dismal scene, and obtained entrance into a waggon already crowded with eager spectators.

‘And now they heard at a distance the harsh and lumbering roll of the tumbril that bore the victims, and the tramp of the horses which guarded the procession of death. The boy’s whole attention was absorbed in expectation of the spectacle, and his ear was, perhaps, less accustomed to French, though born and reared in France, than to the language of his mother’s lips—and she was English: thus he did not hear or heed certain observations of the bystanders, which made his father’s pale cheek grow paler.

‘What is the batch to-day?’ quoth a butcher, in the waggon.

‘Scarce worth the baking—only two:—but one, they say, is an aristocrat—a *ci-devant* marquis,’ answered a carpenter.

‘Ah! a marquis!—*Box!*—And the other?’

‘Only a dancer; but a pretty one, it is true: I could pity her; but she is English.’ And as he pronounced the last word, with a tone of inexpressible contempt, the butcher spat, as if in nausea.

‘*Mort Diable!* a spy of Pitt’s, no doubt. What did they discover?’

‘They are coming! there they are!’ cried the boy, in ecstatic excitement.

‘The crowd now abruptly gave way. The tumbril was in sight. A man, young and handsome, standing erect and with folded arms in

the fatal vehicle, looked along the mob with an eye of careless scorn. Though he wore the dress of a workman, the most unpractised glance could detect, in his mien and bearing, one of the hated *noblesse*, whose characteristics came out even more forcibly at the hour of death. On the lip was that smile of gay and insolent levity, on the brow that gallant if reckless contempt of physical danger, which had signalled the hero-coxcombs of the old *régime*. Even the rude dress was worn with a certain air of foppery, and the bright hair was carefully adjusted as if for the holiday of the headsman. As the eyes of the young noble wandered over the fierce faces of that horrible assembly, while a roar of hideous triumph answered the look, in which for the last time the *gentilhomme* spoke in scorn of the *canaille*, the child's father lowered the collar of his cloak, and slowly raised his hat from his brow. The eye of the marquis rested upon the countenance thus abruptly shewn to him, and which suddenly became individualized amongst the crowd,—that eye instantly lost its calm contempt. A shudder passed visibly over his frame, and his cheek grew blanched with terror. The mob saw the change, but not the cause, and loud and louder rose their triumphant yell. The sound recalled the pride of the young noble;—he started—lifted his crest erect, and sought again to meet the look which had appalled him. But he could no longer single it out among the crowd. Hat and cloak once more hid the face of the foe, and crowds of eager heads intercepted the view. The young marquis's lips muttered; he bent down, and then the crowd caught sight of his companion, who was being lifted up from the bottom of the tumbril, where she had flung herself in horror and despair. The crowd grew still in a moment, as the pale face of one, familiar to most of them, turned wildly from place to place in the dreadful scene, vainly and madly through its silence, imploring life and pity. How often had the sight of that face, not then pale and haggard, but wreathed with rosy smiles, sufficed to draw down the applause of the crowded theatre—how, then, had those breasts, now fevered by the thirst for blood, held hearts spell-bound by the airy movements of that exquisite form writhing now in no stage-mime agony! Plaything of the city—minion to the light amusement of the hour—frail child of Cytherea and the Graces,—what relentless fate has conducted *thee* to the shambles? Butterfly of the summer, why should a nation rise to break *thee* upon the wheel? A sense of the mockery of such an execution, of the horrible burlesque that would sacrifice to the necessities of a mighty people so slight an offering, made itself felt among the crowd. There was a low murmur of shame and indignation. The dangerous sympathy of the mob was perceived by the officer in attendance. Hastily he made a sign to the headsman, and, as he did so, a child's cry was heard in the English tongue—'Mother—mother!' The father's hand grasped the child's arm, with an iron pressure; the crowd swam before the boy's eyes; the air seemed to stifle him, and become blood-red; only through the hum, and the tramp, and the roll of the drums, he heard a low voice hiss in his ear—'Learn how they perish who betray me!'

- ART. V.—1. *Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures.* Translated, with additions and corrections from the author's 'Thesaurus,' and other works. By Samuel Prideaux Tregelles. 4to. pp. x.—884, 36. London: Bagster & Sons. 1846.
2. *Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar, from the Fourteenth German Edition, enlarged and improved by E. Rödiger, Ph. D., D.D. Professor of Oriental Literature in the University of Halle.* Translated by Benjamin Davies, Doctor in Philosophy of the University of Leipsic. With *A Hebrew Reading Book*, by the Translator. 4to. pp. x.—232, 18, with copious paradigms. London: Bagster & Sons. 1846.

THOUGH the students of Hebrew may not, in these days, require such information as a stimulus, some of them may like to be informed that this department of learning was, at the time of the revival of letters in Germany, very greatly indebted to the influence of alarm. The rise of Puseyism of late years was hardly more so; nor is voluntarism, in these palmy days of prelacy and extortion, in greater peril than, if Reuchlin may be believed, was the cause of sacred literature just before the outbreak of the German Reformation. Some curious hints on this subject occur in Reuchlin's letters to his brother Dionysius, which are printed in his '*Rudimenta Hebraica*,' especially the first of them. Some of his expressions in this first letter read very much like the account which has been given of the meditations and misgivings of the monks of Oxford, in 1834, when they feared that all the ancient landmarks and bulwarks of their superstition were about to be removed by public clamour and the strong arm of civil power. We give them below.*

To avert this calamity, he thought that nothing would be so efficacious as to induce the learned to read the Scriptures in the original languages, especially the Hebrew, which still remained unknown to them. 'It is necessary,' he says, 'that the ancient dignity of sacred literature should be restored for the use of Latin scholars, to whom it is as yet unknown; so that the too great familiarity of their daily reading being done away, we may, not without some admiration of this unheard-of and

* 'Persæpe mihi cogitanti de communi sacrarum literarum jactura, Dionysi frater, quæ cum multitudine sophismatum annis superioribus, tum maxime nunc propter eloquentiæ studium et poetarum amœnitatem, non modo negliguntur, verum etiam a quàm plurimis contemptui habentur, in mentem venit tandem opportuni cujusdam remedii, ne sancta bibliæ scriptura vel aliquando tota pereat, et simul animarum nostrarum progressus cum suavi cantu Sirenarum, quas ne Ulysses quidem audiret, ad inferos abeat.'—*Rud. Hebr. ut sup.*

recent study, learn that new and native manner of speaking in the divine scriptures, which the mouth of God employed.' *

Afterwards, noticing the fact that Hebrew bibles had been printed in several places in Italy, and were to be obtained at reasonable prices, (we are afraid we should think the prices rather high now, if we had to pay them), and yet, that of the entire body of the learned, there was not to be found one man, or, at most, no other than himself who was willing to unfold the principles of the Hebrew language for the advancement of theology, possibly as he thinks, because their forefathers had declined so great a labour, (*qui prope, mea sententia, est infinitus,*) or perhaps because they thought it derogatory to their dignity to leave the higher departments of divine and human learning, and devote themselves 'as schoolmasters to childish elements,' he resolved to do it himself. The words in which he announced this intention are not merely remarkable, as expressing the ordinary difficulties of a scholar of the fifteenth century, they intimate a most sagacious presentiment of the storm which his self-denying perseverance in the cause of Hebrew learning actually brought down upon him. '*Ego miseratus tam sanctas literas, indolui mea ætate studiosos diutius Hebraicæ linguæ scientia carere, qua propter illorum ingenio favens, ausus sum, licet supra modum forsitan temere, primus omnium, et tam grave pondus meis humeris imponere, et simul offerre me latratibus mordacium; utinam Judaicis solum.*'†

It may not be without interest, if, before we attempt to

* '*Erit necesse, veterum sanctarum literarum dignitatum in novam faciem latinis hominibus hactenus incognitam reverti; ut nimia familiaritate quotidianæ lectionis explosa, novum et nativum in divina scriptura dicendi genus, quale os Dei locutum est, nosmet ipse non sine quadam inauditi ac recentis nuper studii admiratione apprehendamus.*'

† The whole letter is full of interest, especially where the writer defends himself by ancient authorities for descending to such a kind of labour, and where he relates to his brother how he had acquired his own knowledge of the language. On the latter subject he says:—'*Cumque me suum recepisset ad Serenissimum Imperatorem Fredericum tertium inclytus princeps Eberhardus Probus, isqui postea in splendidissimis vangionum comitiis a Max. Æmiliano, Romanorum rege, uno imperii consensu Dux primus Wirtembergensium auctoratus est, de cujus patriciis ego quoque consul eram; tum reperi ea in legatione Judæum doctum simul atque literatum, nomine Jacobum Jehiel Loans, imperiale munificentia et Doctorem Medicinæ et Equitem Auratum. Is me supra quam dici queat, fideliter literas Hebraicas primus edocuit. Post vero legatus Rhomam ad Alexandrum Sextum, qui reliqui fuerant ea in lingua canones, eos a Cesinatensi Judæo, scilicet Abdia filio Jacobi Sphurno petivi, qui me quotidie toto legationis tempore perquam humanitis in Hebraicis erudivit, non sine insignis mercedis impendio. Quod idcirco, Germane frater, ad te scribo, ut animadvertas, et sæpius cum tua mente revolvās quātis laboribus, temporibus et impensis Hebraicæ linguæ sola initia sortitus sim*' &c.

exhibit the relation in which Reuchlin's labours stand to the more perfect productions of our own age, we devote a few paragraphs to the hot controversy, partially foreseen by him, in which his zeal in the cause involved him.

The '*Rudimenta Hebraica*' was first published in 1506. The work, which consisted of a Lexicon and Grammar, (then distributed into three parts, though reduced by Sebastian Munster, in his edition of 1537,—the second edition,—to two), and the preparation of which, we are informed in a letter written by Reuchlin himself, consumed not only much of his time, but also a considerable part of his fortune, did not immediately on its appearance provoke much hostility. For this, various causes may be assigned. Reuchlin's high rank as a scholar, and his influential position as a judge and imperial counsellor, were, of course, a great protection. Then the work itself was of a size and class which forbade its very extensive or rapid circulation; we have intimated that the second edition did not appear till 1537;—and then the subject, though no special favourite, as the extracts we have given from Reuchlin's letter intimate, with even the restorers of learning, who were chiefly devoted to the literature of Greece and Rome, was, perhaps, on that very account, not so much an object of alarm to the favourers of the ancient ignorance. Indeed, the virulence with which Greek literature and its restorer were assailed in Italy and Germany, was occasioned by the fact, that Greek was the language of the rival church under the government of the patriarch of Constantinople, between which and the Roman there had ever been a deadly feud. The Jews, though hated, were too despicable in the eyes of the papacy to be feared; the revival of their literature did not, therefore, for a few years excite the same unrelenting hostility which followed the restoration of Greek learning. But the storm was even then brewing, and we may, perhaps, infer from Reuchlin's expression, '*utinam Judaicis solum*,' that he knew the quarter whence it was to spread. In 1507, only a year after the publication of the '*Rudimenta*,' a work appeared at Nuremberg, with the title of '*Judenspiegel*;' and, in 1508, another, entitled, '*Der Juden Beichte*,' both of which, under a great show of seeking the conversion of the Jews, were filled with calumnies against them and their literature, and proposed the persecution of the one and the suppression of the other. These works were the productions of a baptized Jew, named Pfefferkorn, who had taken up a profession of Christianity in 1504; apparently from very unworthy motives, for his character was no higher than his learning, which, whether in the language of his nation or the classical tongues, was, as compared with his professions, contemptible. This man, how-

ever, obtained such influence with the Dominicans of Cologne, whom he flattered with the hope of acquiring great credit to their order through the success of his proselyting schemes, that they were induced to petition the emperor Maximilian for an inquisition against the Jews and their writings; so that, in 1509, the emperor ordered that all Jewish books should be sought after and destroyed by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. The execution of this mandate naturally devolved on Pfefferkorn, who endeavoured, though in vain, to induce Reuchlin to act with him in the business. The resistance he every where met with, both from the magistracy and the clergy, at last compelled him to seek new powers from the emperor. He begged for an order commissioning him to seize and destroy all Hebrew books, except the Bible. The emperor, brought to reflection, referred the matter to the archbishop of Mentz, requiring at the same time, that various universities, and certain individuals who were known to have studied Hebrew (Reuchlin being one), should investigate it. Reuchlin's authority as a Hebrew scholar being greater than that of all his other coadjutors, the archbishop, as the surest way of giving effect to the emperor's intention, sent him the mandate, with a letter requiring him to deliver his judgment on the question, whether it was to the advantage of Christian religion that the Jewish Commentaries on the Old Testament should be destroyed. This occasioned Reuchlin's 'Inquiry, whether the Jews ought to have all their books taken away, destroyed, and burnt;' a temperate piece, in which he refuted all the objections which had been preferred against their books, in detail and with great discrimination. This document furnished the ostensible occasion for the public controversy we have spoken of, and which continued, with little interruption, for several years, till it issued in the triumph of Reuchlin's cause.

The first piece which appeared in this contest, was an invective published by Pfefferkorn, with the assistance of the Dominicans (of whom the too-famous Hochstraten was the most conspicuous) under the title of 'Hand spiegel'—Handglass. This came out in 1511, at the Easter fair; it bitterly reviled Reuchlin, charging him with ignorance of Hebrew, with piracy and fraud in the composition of the 'Rudimenta,' and with having taken bribes from the Jews to support their cause. To these calumnies, Reuchlin, finding that through various accidents the matter was likely to be neglected by the authorities to whom the emperor had committed it, replied, in a work entitled, 'Augen-spiegel'—Eye-glass. In this he communicated to the world his 'Inquiry,' mentioned above, which Pfefferkorn and his friends had hitherto suppressed, and which so satisfied all

impartial and right thinking men, that he had testimonies of approbation from several quarters. Pirkheimer, Erasmus, and Vadian wrote their approval of him in strong terms, though they expressed regret that he had considered it necessary to contend with so worthless a man as Pfefferkorn. We should have said, that Reuchlin's refutation of the charge of fraud in the composition of his '*Rudimenta*,' was most triumphant. He refers to the fact, that there existed no grammar from which he could have taken his material; asserts that he was the first to ascertain and systematize the rules of the language; and that, as Pfefferkorn well knew, he had no one in his house who could have done the work for him, since it was from him principally that those who had attained any proficiency in Hebrew had derived their knowledge of it.

Reuchlin was blamed by many of his friends, for doing more in his defence than publishing his '*Inquiry*,' which his enemies had suppressed. But it cannot be believed that any such moderation on his part would have prevented the continuance of the controversy; the temper of his adversaries forbids any such conclusion. They were virulently determined to destroy, if possible, all Hebrew books, and to suppress the rising interest in Hebrew literature. As it was, the appearance of the '*Augenspiegel*' was the signal for new and more embittered attacks on Reuchlin. The theological faculty of Cologne came forward immediately in aid of Pfefferkorn and Hochstraten. Arnold von Zungarn was appointed to examine the book, with what result may be supposed. The book, of course, was very bad; the only question was, should it be burnt?—or should its author be cited to answer before the faculty for having written it? Information of this having been conveyed to Reuchlin, a correspondence ensued between him and Arnold of Zungarn, on the one side, and Conrad Kollin on the other, with a view to an accommodation; a correspondence in which Reuchlin, under his first terrors from the inquisition, betrayed some weakness. Happily, the audacity of his enemies disclosed the true character of their projects, and he soon recovered himself. In March, 1512, he wrote a letter to the Faculty, declining to take any steps to suppress the '*Augenspiegel*,' which, he said, was no longer in his own hands, but those of the booksellers; and remonstrating in strong terms with the Faculty for the part they were taking in oppressing him, and adopting the cause of Pfefferkorn. He assured them at the same time, that the learned, many of whom had been his pupils, would not forsake their master in this exigency, but would so support him that posterity would know from their writings how unworthily the theological faculty of Cologne had interfered in the matter.

At the Easter fair, in 1512, he also published his 'Clear Explanation in German,' 'Ain klare Verstentnus in Tütsch,' the sale of which his adversaries endeavoured to prevent by authority, using the name of the Elector, who, however, interfered, and permitted the sale. These measures had the effect of causing the quarrel to be discussed beyond the circles of the learned. The whole impression was immediately disposed of. Senators and laymen not at all addicted to theological discussions, are said to have carried the book about with them, repeating large portions of it by heart. The result was, that even in Cologne, the Dominicans became an object of general contempt, while Reuchlin's friends could not suppress their joy at his perseverance for the truth, and the favour with which his conduct was regarded by the learned, and the people generally.

The next movement of his adversaries was, to prepare their 'Articuli sive Propositiones de Judaico favore nimis suspectæ ex libello Theutonico D. Johannis Reuchlin, Leg Doct., Cologne, 1512, a work in which the old calumnies were reiterated, and new ones added. To this Reuchlin replied, in his 'Defensio contra Calumniatores Colonienses,' with all his accustomed ability and force. Immeasurably superior to his antagonists in the justice of his cause and the power of his pen, his friends regretted that he did not in this piece maintain the same superiority to them as he had before done in the style and temper of his reply. It was a great blemish to this 'Defence,' and did Reuchlin injury, that he descended, like his Colognese accusers, to use nicknames and contemptuous language. Towards the close of his 'Defence' he promises, that if any find fault with him for having dealt too mildly with his adversaries, he will reserve the stripes which he had not given them there for their other cheek, if they raged against him again. The violence with which the controversy was now conducted, produced, however, one important result; for the emperor, in 1513, issued an edict commanding both parties to be silent.

Henceforward, the affair was conducted before the tribunals. Hochstraten commenced the process by citing Reuchlin to appear before the inquisition at Mentz; but it would serve no useful purpose to detail the particulars or relate how, after his adverse judgment, the dean and chapter of Mentz espoused Reuchlin's cause, and procured a mandate from the archbishop, deferring the execution of the sentence; or, how the investigation was transferred by Pope Leo x. to the Bishop of Spire, who, on Hochstraten's continuing in declining to appear before him, decided in Reuchlin's favour. The usual intrigues accompanied and followed the subsequent appeal to Rome; but, although the university of Paris, and several other influential

universities used their influence on behalf of the Dominicans, the matter terminated in Reuchlin's acquittal, and a severe censure upon Hochstraten. By the prompt interference of Franz von Sickingen, on his return from the siege of Stuttgard, in 1519, Hochstraten was also compelled, at last, to indemnify Reuchlin for the costs of his proceedings, and make some further compensation and apology.

The whole of these proceedings were providentially subservient, not merely to the revival of Hebrew literature, but to the progress of the Reformation. Luther owned Reuchlin as his master. Perhaps no single writing, except Luther's translation of the Scriptures, had so great an influence on the literary and religious movement of the age, as the singular '*Literæ obscurorum virorum*,' a work in which Ulrich von Hutten is supposed to have had the greatest share, and which entirely arose out of the Dominicans' quarrel with Reuchlin. To this cause also must be referred the close and active confederacy which was formed among the friends of the new learning, who took the name of Reuchlinists, and by whose labours both oriental and occidental literature were made subservient to the great cause, not merely of protestantism, but evangelical religion.

To return to the '*Rudimenta Hebraica*.' It will not, of course, be expected that this work, great as were the merits and scholarship of its author, should sustain a comparison with the grammars and dictionaries of the nineteenth century. The last thirty years have seen improvements in lexicography, of which Reuchlin had not the remotest conception. Something was, indeed, attempted during the last century, in one of these elements of improvement, the comparison of the Hebrew with the cognate dialects, particularly the Arabic; but the success of these attempts was by no means commensurate with the reputation of their authors. This failure is to be ascribed to the want of discrimination, itself a result no doubt partly of inexperience—for, as we have said, the attempt was new,—but partly also of rashness, caprice, and the affectation of originality. It was from these causes that the labours of Simonis, Michaelis, and Eichhorn failed to advance lexicographical science to the extent of the opportunities afforded them by the new materials and methods which their times supplied. The first really great and essential improvement appeared, in fact, in the '*Hebräisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch*' of Gesenius, published, 1810—1812, in two volumes, octavo, and in which all the peculiar distinctions of modern lexicography were, more or less, exemplified, though still very unequally. In the illustration of the particles, for instance, and the orderly development of the derived significations, he fell short of his other attain-

ments, and was not seldom surpassed by Winier, in his revision of Eichhorn's *Simonis*. But, generally speaking, Gesenius's first lexicographical work exhibited, not merely the rudiments of a really scientific Hebrew dictionary, but a successful, though practical development of lexical principles; and it is his honour to have realized in his later publications of the same class, each of which is an improvement on its predecessor, almost all that human ingenuity, judgment, and diligence could accomplish in his time. Whatever improvements may be yet looked for, will not, we can safely assert, consist in the introduction of new methods. They will be realized in the carrying out into fuller detail of methods which Gesenius has already exemplified with distinguished success; and will probably be restricted to a more comprehensive and discriminate comparison and analysis of roots, suggested and supplied mostly from rabbinical, but partly from Indo-germanic sources, and to a still more perfect arrangement of significations ascertained in those investigations.

It can be hardly necessary that we should detail or describe at any length, the characteristics of a scientific lexicon. Suffice it to say, that every such lexicon must, in addition to the points already noticed—we mean, the discriminate and masterly comparison of cognate dialects and languages, and the orderly development of the derived significations—be distinguished by the following marks. It must carefully distinguish the varieties of signification in the different species of verbs and nouns. It must indicate unusual species and unusual or occasional forms. It must show the various ways in which the signification of words is affected syntactically by other words—verbs, for instance, by the different prepositions which govern their complementary nouns, and must account for these changes. It must also exhibit, though without discussing them, which is the province of etymology, the exact formal derivation of the words themselves, as primary or otherwise. It must indicate related roots. It must distinguish the prosaic from the poetic forms, and, as far as possible, the more ancient from the later ones. No lexicon in which any of these explanations or distinctions is neglected, can lay any claim to the character of a scientific lexicon.

It must be owned, that these conditions are but imperfectly complied with by Reuchlin. The Hebrew scholar had enough to do in his day to get a tolerable collection and orderly arrangement of the phenomena of the language. This was also the case with other languages: there was no good lexicon to any. The chief assistance Reuchlin had in his laborious task, was, doubtless, derived from the 'Thesaurus' of David Kimchi, to whom Pagninus was subsequently much indebted. But he

mea). (c) **יָצַח לִימָה** instruit litem seu causam forensem, Job, xiii. 18; xxiii. 4 cf. Ps. l. 21.

(2). Seq. **יָצַח** composuit (zusammenstellen mit etwas) *contulit, comparavit* (vergleichen) Jer. xl. 18, **לֹא יִצָּח עִי וְיִצָּח עִי** *quam similitudinem ei comparabitis?* Ps. lxxxix. 7, xl. 6. **יִצָּח לִי** *nil est tibi comparandum*, Job, xxviii. 17, 19 (quo utroque loco **לִי** est dativus pro **מִי**).

(3). *Æstimavit* (quod fit, pretium rei cum pecunia contendendo) max. *magni fuit* (cf. **יָצַח**), Job, xxxvi. 19, **יִצָּח לִי** *num divitias tuas magni faciet, i. e. respiciet?*

Hiph. i. q. Kal. no. 3, *æstimavit*, Lev. xxvii. 8, 19; 2 Reg. xxiii. 35.

Derivv. **יָצַח**, **יָצַח**, **יָצַח** et.

יָצַח m. cum Suff. **יָצַח**. (1) *ordo, strues*, panum appositiciorum Ex. xl. 23,—(2) *instructio, apparatus*, spec. vestium, armorum, Jud. xvii. 10, **יָצַח** *apparatus vestium* (Ausrüstung mit Kleidern) i. e. quæcunque ad vestitum pertinent. Egregie LXX. Vatic. **στολή** *ιματίων*, **στολή** enim vox est in hac re propria (cf. lat. *stola*) Alex. **ζεύγος** *ιματίων* unde vulg. *vestem duplicem* (quod vindicare studet Lud. de Dieu ad h. l.) *De armaturâ* (qs. *stolâ*) crocodili, Job, xli. 4—(3) *æstimatio, taxatio*, **יָצַח** *secundum æstimationem tuam*, Levit. v. 15, 18, 25; xxvii. 12. **יָצַח** *secundum æstimationem tuam, sacerdotis* inquam; neque aliter eadem formulo accipienda erit, Comm. 2, **יָצַח** *secundum æstimationem tuam* (sacerdotis) *Deo offerantur homines*. (Cf. de h. l. de Wette et Dettinger, in theol. Studien und Kritiken 1831, p. 303; 1832, p. 395, 396). Inde de *pretio* quo æstimanda est res. Job, xxviii. 13; Ps. lv. 14, **יָצַח** *tu vir, quem mihi ipsi æquiparo.*

The difference between the two preceding articles is obvious to the most cursory glance. It consists not nearly so much in the extent as in the quality of the illustration they convey. The article from Gesenius, though not particularly selected for the purpose of exhibiting *all* the characteristics of a matured lexicography, leaves, as must have been seen, not one of them, or hardly one, unexemplified. It is this feature of his lexicons, and especially the uniform, sustained equality they exhibit throughout—for no man can stand less chargeable than Gesenius with remissness or carelessness in details—which has given to them and to their author the highest place in Hebrew lexicography.*

* There is one feature in Reuchlin's Lexicon hitherto unnoticed, just because it has properly nothing to do with lexicography; but which, as considered in relation to him, it may be worth while not wholly to pass over. Reuchlin having been instructed by teachers of the Jewish nation, and having been previously a little touched with the Platonic taste of the age, of which Marsilius Ficinus was such a notable instance, fell into the mysteries of the Cabbala, and wrote several pieces on the subject. It was to be expected, therefore, that it would not be wholly neglected in his lexicon. The following is a specimen of this kind, extracted from the article **קַבָּלָה**. * * * 'Inde dicitur cabala, id est, receptio, secundum Rabi David Kimhi in libro de radicibus, ex quo nostri arcanorum indagatores artem cabalisticam nominant scientiam receptionis, eo quod per successivam re-

The lexicon at the head of this article is not, like Dr. Robinson's, a mere translation of Gesenius. In this respect the title does not convey a full idea of the work, which, besides the 'additions and corrections from the author's 'Thesaurus,' and other works,' contains many important additions and corrections, supplied by the translator. We do not say that the purchaser has any reason to complain of the omission; far from it. But we think that the alterations and intended improvements enumerated in the preface, should have been indicated on the title-page, in some form or other. We shall now state what these are, or, rather, let the translator state them.

'In 1836, there was a translation published in America, of the 'Lexicon Manuale,' by Edward Robinson, D.D.

'This work of Dr. Robinson, as well as the translations of Gibbs, had become very scarce in England; and the want of a good Hebrew and English lexicon really adapted to students, was felt by many.

'The question arose, whether a simple reprint of one of the existing translations would not sufficiently meet the want. It did not appear so to the present translator. As regards the translation of Dr. Robinson, considerable difficulty was felt, owing to the manner in which the rationalist views, unhappily held by Gesenius, not only appeared in the work without correction, but also, from the distinct statement of the translator's preface, that no remark was required on any theological views which the work might contain. Marks of evident haste and oversight were also very traceable through the work; and, these considerations combined, led to the present undertaking.'—Preface, p. vi.

Mr. Tregelles speaks, in a subsequent part of his preface, respecting Dr. Robinson's second edition, as 'liable to various objections, especially on the ground of its neology; scarcely a passage having been noted by Dr. Robinson as containing anything unsound.' 'This,' he adds, 'was decisive.' And with respect to his own work, he says:—

'It has been a special object with the translator to note the interpretations of Gesenius which manifested neologian tendencies, in order that by a remark, or by querying a statement, the reader may be put on his guard. And if any passages should remain unmarked, in which doubt is cast upon scripture inspiration, or in which the

ceptionem unius ab altero ad nos usque sit derivata, sicut clare ostendit nobilissimus ætate nostra philosophus Johannes Picus, comes sacri Romani imperii Mirandulanus et concordie dominus, in sua apologia contra et adversus calumniatores suarum conclusionum, quæstione quinta: ex qua quidem arte multi putant arcanas operationes oriri. Fuit autem nulla unquam arcanorum operatio, quæ non aliquando ab aliis bona, et ab aliis mala diceretur, præsertim ignorantibus. Sic Pharaonis magici virgam Moïse contempserunt, sic Christi miracula Pharisei criminati sunt; unde non est

New and Old Testaments are spoken of as discrepant, or in which mistakes and ignorance are charged upon the 'holy men of God, who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost'—if any, perchance, remain, in which these or any other neologian tendencies be left unnoticed—the translator wishes it to be distinctly understood, that it is the effect of inadvertence alone, and not of design. This is a matter in which he feels it needful to be most explicit and decided.'—Pref., p. vii.

Though we were not by any means convinced, when we first read this preface, that the evil was of that very great consequence which the strength of the preceding language intimates, and though we do not always approve the style in which the translator's corrections are expressed, we must concede that an examination of the work now before us, has induced us to think rather differently on the subject. Using only the 'Lexicon Manuale,' as published by Gesenius himself, and the 'Thesaurus' more occasionally, and using them as a part, and but a small part, of the apparatus which our exegetical studies require, we had not been particularly offended with the neological element in this production. His other writings, and the writings of other authors which we have been obliged to use, contain so much more of it, that when it did not escape, it yet did not provoke us. But our examination of Mr. Tregelles's work, with this subject in view, has enabled us to form what we are satisfied is a correct view of the subject, and we are sincerely thankful to that gentleman for his corrections. To the youthful student, and especially in this age, they may be of much greater consequence than they would be to one of maturer mind, and fuller scriptural knowledge. We will give a few specimens of the corrections to which we refer.

Under the article מָשִׁיחַ, Gesenius in his 'Lexicon Manuale' writes: 'Semel de Cyro, Persarum rege, Jer. xlv. 1, de *Messia venturo* nunquam (quanquam sunt qui huc referant, Ps. ii. 2.), etc. This declaration is glossed over by Dr. Robinson, who translates—'Never of the Messiah to come, unless according to many in Ps. ii. 2,' evidently in accommodation to the feelings of American readers. Gesenius had a right to complain of such a rendering, (we know not that he did so) as imputing to him a concession he never meant to make. Mr. Tregelles translates

mirum, si Græcorum antiquitas quæ ad tantam cabalisticæ scientiæ perfectionem venire nunquam potuit cernendo arcanas operationes, inde nasci artem ipsam nominarunt deceptoriam, ut est apud Aristophanem in comædia ranarum, ubi Hercules loquitur ἡμῇν κοβαλλάγειςιν ὥς καὶ σοὶ δοκῇ. Sed Deo adjuvante hac ipsa de arte posthanc eos faciemus certiores quos experiamur legendis nostris in lingua Hebraica sudare.' Our readers will not be sorry that this subject is dispensed with in modern lexicons.

—‘Never of the future Messiah, (although some refer Psalm ii. 2, to him), but adds,’ [This is an awfully false statement, *many* of these passages, as well as Psalm ii. 2, refer to Christ only.] This is much more honest than Dr. Robinson’s unavowed emendation. Whether Mr. Tregelles was correct in his exegesis of the other passages, or has expressed his disapprobation of his author in the best manner, are points on which his readers will think variously. In our judgment, every good purpose would have been answered, had he said that the statement was not correct. He should also have specified the *many* instances which he intended, for in a lexicon nothing should be left obscure. As a motive to milder censure, the contrary to which seems applicable only in the case of intentional perversion, not erroneous judgment, he would have done well to remember, that there are many students of scripture, and diligent and prayerful students too, who would not venture to say with him, that Ps. ii., and some of the other oracles enumerated in the article, refer to the divine Messiah *only*.

The article on עֲדָנָה supplies several examples of the translator’s corrective additions. Gesenius had said, for instance, ‘since true piety and uncorrupted morals are ascribed to men of old, עֲדָנָה Psalm cxix. 24; עֲדָנָה Job xxii. 15; עֲדָנָה Jer. vi. 16; עֲדָנָה Jer. xviii. 15, is the (true) piety of the fathers; compare עֲדָנָה ancient justice or innocence, Dan. ix. 24.’ On this Mr. Tregelles observes: ‘[It need hardly be pointed out to any Christian, that this passage in Daniel can have no such meaning as this; it speaks of the everlasting righteousness to be brought in through the atonement of Christ.]’ The article continues: ‘It does not always denote the most remote antiquity, as is shown by עֲדָנָה which, in Isa. lviii. 12; lxi. 4, is used at the end of the Babylonish captivity [written prophetically long before] of the ruins of Jerusalem.’ It is scarcely necessary to inform those of our readers who are interested in the subject of the present paper, that the view which Mr. Tregelles contradicts in the words last bracketted, is the dictum of Gesenius so well refuted by Kleinert and others, that Isaiah xli—lxviii is the work of a different and later hand than the preceding chapters; in fact, the production of a pseudo-Isaiah.

Towards the end of the same article, we find the following statements, with Mr. Tregelles’s corrections in brackets:—

‘Also, a peculiar class is formed of those places (*e*) in which the Hebrews use the metaphysical notion of eternity by hyperbole in speaking of human things, especially in the expression of good wishes. Here belongs the customary form of salutation addressed

to kings, **יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַמֶּלֶךְ לְעֹלָם** 'Let my lord the king live for ever,' 1 Kings, i. 31; Neh. ii. 3, (compare Dan. ii. 4; iii. 9; Judith xii. 4. Ælian, Var. Hist. i. 32), also the wishes of poets for kings and royal families [these passages are really *prophecies*, not wishes; and the eternity spoken of, instead of being at all hyperbole, is the literal truth which God has vouchsafed to reveal] as Ps. lxi. 8, 'Let (the king) sit on his throne before God *for ever*,' compare v. 7, (let) his years be **כְּיָמֵי רַבִּים** like many generations), Ps. xlv. 7, 'Thy throne established by God, (really 'thy throne, O God,') **יָמֶיךָ עָלָיו** (shall stand) *for ever*.' Ps. lxxxix. 37, 'His (David's) seed shall endure *for ever*.' How much these expressions imply, may be understood from the words which immediately follow 'his throne (shall stand) as the sun before me;' ver. 38, 'like the moon it shall be established *for ever*;' and Ps. lxxii. 5, 'they shall fear thee, (O king) so long as the sun and moon endure *throughout* all generations; *ibid* 17, 'his name shall be **עָלָיו** *for ever*, so long as the sun shall his name flourish.' That is, by the figures of hyperbole there is invoked for the king, and particularly for David and his royal posterity, an empire not less enduring than the universe itself. [These are prophecies, not hyperbolical wishes.] Also, Psalm xlviii. 9, &c. &c.'

Similar instances of correction occur in the article **מֶלֶךְ** and many more which we had marked for extract; but it is unnecessary to give further exemplification. These corrections attest in the most satisfactory manner, the scholarly diligence the scripture knowledge, and the Christian earnestness of the translator. They are very numerous, and some of them are not merely valuable, but necessary. We do not approve of all of them, but we can see that Mr. Tregelles is not one with ourselves in his views of the literary and real connexion between the Old and New covenants. He denies, for instance, the double reference of prophetic passages, where we should not hesitate a moment in admitting it. But we have traced him through the work with a sincere admiration for his conscientious reverence for the word of God, and deep anxiety to preserve the fountains of our sacred knowledge from being corrupted by the vain and deceitful philosophy of a proud and carnal intellect. This admiration was not diminished by our recollection of the honesty which refused to garble the passages he felt compelled to impugn.

The same comparison having also satisfied us, that the translation itself is more faithful, and in every respect superior to Dr. Robinson's, we think it just, both to the undertakers of the work and its possible purchasers, to notice some of the other improvements made in it upon the 'Lexicon Manuale.' This we shall do by means of some extracts from the preface.

'This translation was conducted on the following plan: each root was taken as it stands in the 'Thesaurus,' and the 'Lexicon

Manuale was compared with it; such corrections or additions being made as seemed needful; the root and derivatives were at once translated, every scripture reference being verified, and, when needful, corrected. A faithful adherence to this plan must ensure, it is manifest, not only correctness in the work, but also much of the value of the '*Thesaurus*,' in addition to the '*Lexicon Manuale*.'

'Every word has been further compared, and that carefully, with Professor Lee's Hebrew Lexicon. And when he questions statements made by Gesenius, the best authorities have been consulted. In Arabic roots, etc., Freytag's Lexicon has been used for verifying the statements of Gesenius which have been thus questioned. Winer's '*Simonis*,' and other authorities, were also compared.

'In the situations and particulars of places mentioned in the Old Testament, many additions have been made from Robinson's '*Biblical Researches*.' Forster's '*Arabia*' also supplied (as the sheets were going to press) some indications of tribes and nations mentioned in scripture. The '*Monumenta Phœnicia*' of Gesenius (which was published between the second and third parts of his '*Thesaurus*,') has been used for the comparison of various subjects which it illustrates. It is a work of considerable importance to the Hebrew student; and it would be desirable, that all the remains of the Phœnician language therein contained be published separately, * so as to exhibit all the genuine ancient Hebrew which exists besides that contained in the Old Testament. A few articles omitted by Gesenius have been added; these consisting chiefly of proper names. The forms in which the proper names appear in the authorized English translation have been added throughout.'—Pref pp. vi., vii.

We need hardly add, that Mr. Tregelles's '*Gesenius*' has our warmest recommendation. We say this, though there are evidently points of difference between him and his reviewer respecting Old Testament interpretation, which lead to important consequences both in apologetics and exegesis. But we can safely assure the Hebrew student, who is in want of a good Hebrew-English lexicon, that he will make a great mistake if he does not select this one. It is also as cheap as it is good, being very little higher priced than Robinson's, though containing much more matter, and most carefully and beautifully printed on superior paper. We have noticed but two errata; one on page 444, '*Müllec*' for '*Müller*;' and another, in the Hebrew, a dropped vowel, which we marked, but cannot re-discover.

The extended notice which was taken some little time since in this journal, of the labours of Gesenius as a Hebrew grammarian, renders it quite unnecessary that we should discuss at any length the merits of the Grammar named at the head of

* We highly approve of this suggestion, and would refer it back again to Mr. Tregelles and his respectable publishers for their own practical consideration.—*Rev.*

this article. Still, we must not dismiss it without some notice, for several reasons. Not only is this work, which, in the German, is published as the fourteenth edition, a very decided advance upon all preceding editions; it is also the *debut* of a great oriental philologist in the department of Hebrew grammar. The labours and duties of Gesenius in this respect seemed naturally to devolve upon the person who succeeded to his chair and classes. Professor Rödiger has accordingly undertaken not only to edit the remainder of the unfinished 'Thesaurus,' but to supply the still urgent demand for the Grammar. Of the extent of the improvement made in this edition, something may be gathered from Dr. Davies, the translator's, preface:

'Changes have been made in almost every paragraph. One section is wholly (§ 88), and not a few are so altered as to be virtually new (eq. §§ 1, 23, 35, 79, 130). The views here given of the Aspirates (§ b. 3), of the vowels (§§ 7—9, 25—28), and of the sheva (§ 10) differ, more or less, from those of Gesenius; and the breathings ׀ and ׀ (§ 23) are treated of apart from the feeble letters ׀ and ׀ (§ 24). Essential changes have been made likewise in the sections on the article (§ 35), on the verbal suffixes (§§ 56—60), and on the verbs ׀, ׀, ׀, ׀ (§§ 67—74.)'—Pref. pp. v., vi.

We need only add, that the translation gives proofs of exemplary care and diligence, and that the Grammar is in every respect entitled to accompany the Lexicon, in conformity to which it is published. The public, and especially all Hebrew students, are under the greatest obligation to the enterprising publishers for the persevering attachment they evince to the cause of sacred literature; and we most unfeignedly hope that these publications will meet with the favour they deserve. More we could not wish them; more they could hardly receive.

ART. VI.—1. *Correspondence on Transportation. Presented to Parliament by Command of her Majesty, the 16th February and 15th April, 1847.*

2. *Debate in the House of Lords upon Transportation, 5th March, 1847.*

A GENERAL opinion has grown up that the transportation of convicts to the Australias *must* be abandoned. That this general opinion is not entertained universally, and that it is not carried to the abolition of transportation in every form, can only be accounted for by the obscurity permitted to hang over the subject. In reality, it shares, by reason of this obscurity, the unsteadiness which is the bane of every branch of our colonial administration. The special circumstances of the penal settlements, one after another—first, those of New South Wales; then a disclosure of the abominations in Norfolk Island; then more frightful revelations from Van Diemen's Land—not any enlarged views of policy, based upon accurate statements, guide our ministers in forming their plans. There is, consequently, a perpetual danger, that the most solemn determination of to-day in a right direction, will to-morrow give way to some proceeding already condemned by reason: and soon, in its turn, to be condemned again upon experience of its erroneousness.

The despatches of Lord Stanley, of Mr. Gladstone, and of Earl Grey, during the last five years, offer abundant instances of this discreditable state of things; and do but present a repetition of what has been going on in the Colonial Office respecting convict transportation for the last twenty years and more. One broad fact explains all this, namely, the profound ignorance of the Colonial Office touching the elements of the whole matter. Not only is that ignorance the occasion of daily reproach at home, and of as perpetual complaint in the colonies, but in an official document published last year, Mr. Gladstone confessed the fact without reserve. Incredible as this assertion may seem, it is capable of demonstrative proof; and the ignorance so confessed is beyond all doubt attributable to the Colonial Office itself.

In the House of Commons' paper, No. 178, for 1846, certified by Lord Lyttleton, then under-secretary of state, in page 61, is the following document, here copied verbatim:—

'Copy of a Despatch from the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone to Lieutenant-Governor Sir Eardley Wilmot, Bart.

'Downing Street, 10th April, 1846.

'SIR,—It has appeared to me very desirable that Her Majesty's Government should have at their command the means of ascertaining the amount of crime in Van Diemen's Land, and the class of the population

by which crime is usually committed; I have therefore to desire that you will for the future transmit to me periodical returns of the population of Van Diemen's Land, showing—

1. The total amount of the population.
2. The number of free persons who have never been convicts.
3. The number of emancipists.
4. The number of persons holding conditional pardons.
5. The number holding tickets of leave.
6. The number of passholders employed.
7. The number of passholders unemployed.
8. The number in the probation gangs.

Accompanied by returns showing the number of police offences, of committals, and of convictions to final judgment, classified according to the above division of the population.

‘ I have, &c.

(Signed)

‘ W. E. GLADSTONE.’

To be sure it was ‘very desirable that her Majesty's Government should have at their command the means of ascertaining the amount of crime in Van Diemen's Land,’ as Mr. Secretary Gladstone here says on the tenth of April, 1846; a few days before he signified to the governor of New South Wales, his intention to *renew* transportation to that colony. And if knowledge of so capital a fact was desirable in Mr. Gladstone's time, it was not less so in Lord Stanley's, when the *old* scheme of founding convict settlement in North Australia was completed. Such new acts as those two of Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Stanley, done in the dark as to our experience in Van Diemen's Land, and if in Van Diemen's Land, so in New South Wales also, constitute grave charges against their administrations.

But what will be thought of the Colonial Office in our time, when it shall be seen as the truth is, that what is thus formally required by the secretary of state from the governor of Van Diemen's Land in 1846, was, in a great measure, expressly enjoined by Act of Parliament in 1823, and provided for by the returns usually furnished by the local authorities after that period. The statute of 1823, was framed with great care upon the able report of Commissioner Bigge, with the immediate object of securing to the government at home, a regular and periodical supply of the knowledge asked for by Mr. Gladstone. The Act was duly executed both in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Large masses of valuable information were sent to Downing Street in compliance with it; and about 1830, the late member for Jersey, Mr. Briscoc, called for their production. They ought to have been analysed from the first; and so presented to Parliament in a readable shape. Distinc-

tions could easily have annexed all new elements of penal discipline, such as *passholding*, and *probation gangs*, to the older ones. But, in point of fact, either the practice established by the Act of 1823 has been abandoned; or the returns which it originally prescribed, are no more thought about in the Colonial Office.

It is not too late for analyses to be made of the returns which did once come home; and of which those produced upon Mr. Briscoe's motion were part. Such collective materials are invaluable; and accompanied by other statistics, they would remove most of the difficulties occasioned by the conflicting opinions of the best informed individuals. Upon these authentic grounds it is, that convict transportation must stand or fall. Running over many years, and recording the criminal results of all the complex circumstances of convict society, they confirm, or refute the popular objections to it.

In the convict colonies, numerous systems have been in force during the last twenty-five years; and the number of criminals congregated together is so great, that the character of every change of system is speedily shewn, by changes in their conduct. Something like an average, therefore, may be struck upon each kind of discipline. Thus, extreme severity of punishment uniformly produces full calendars in the various courts of justice; and laxity of administration even with a milder code has the same tendency. The Colonial Office will never obtain public respect, until it has ceased to neglect colonial statistics, and all the other branches of colonial information which give to dry statistics their true value.

A curious example occurred lately before a committee of the House of Lords, of the indifference with which these sources of knowledge are treated by men of considerable authority. Lord Brougham has taken up the vindication of transportation; and when a witness was produced before the committee capable of shewing the exact amount of crime committed by having as attorney-general, for a certain length of time, had official access to every thing connected with it, his lordship, the chairman of the committee, fell foul of the colonial lawyer, with the virulence of a partisan, and attempted to pull to pieces what did not square with his own foregone conclusions. It is not yet too late for Lord Brougham, and the House of Lords to procure the true and rigorous *statistics* of convict crime, so as to be relieved from vague, mistaken, or interested personal testimony.

Before carrying his resolution into effect, Mr. Gladstone called for the opinions of the colonists upon the subject. This call, made in April, 1846, has produced public meetings in New South Wales; and memorials and petitions signed by many

thousands of the people, one by 6,765, another by 1,210, others by fewer subscribers.

Of the unanimity of the people of New South Wales on the subject, there is no doubt. The legislative council of that colony, to which the petitions were addressed, appointed a committee to examine the question, and that committee made a report from which the following passage is extracted :—

‘ Your committee are sufficiently cognizant of the state of public feeling among their fellow-colonists at large to be satisfied that—if *the proposed renewal of transportation were any longer practically and substantially an open question*—if it rested with the colonists themselves to decide whether the deportation of convicts to this hemisphere should cease or continue—if it were thus placed at their option, whether they would at once and for ever free themselves and their posterity from the further taint of the convict system, doubtless a large majority, especially of the operative classes, would give the proposal for renewed transportation an unhesitating veto.’

This committee, however, influenced by the idea that the *Home* Government had resolved, at all events, to renew transportation to New South Wales, fell in but too zealously with a measure which they declared to be odious to their constituents.

Earl Grey has announced to the House of Lords that the ministers who succeeded Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues have resolved ‘ virtually to abolish transportation ;’ and a beginning has been made in this new policy, by *suspending* that of men for two years. It is to be regretted that so great a change is begun without the solemn and direct sanction of Parliament. The doubt that has been expressed upon the *power* of the crown to *suspend* transportation by the prerogative, seems to be well founded. The Colonial Office has been let alone so long by Parliament and by the public, whilst performing the most outrageous acts, that it is led, by mere habit, to do even a good thing illegally.

The tasks undertaken by her Majesty’s ministers for the reform of our penal system, is too momentous to belong to the closets of a public office ; and all the wisdom, with all the power of both houses of parliament, must be appealed to, in order to execute this task. But it is a noble thing to have begun so great a reform. When the vain struggle of more than two centuries against convict transportation is considered, and when that bad system is seen to have defied the wise warning of Bacon ;* the humour of Defoe ;† the patriotism of Frank-

* See Lord Bacon’s ‘ Essay on Plantations.’ 1600.

† See Defoe’s ‘ Colonel Jack.’ 1700.

lin;* the humane judgments of Blackstone, Howard, and Eden;† and the sagacity of Bentham;‡—it may be permitted to their more fortunate followers, led by the learned and zealous Archbishop of Dublin, § to be proud of their coming success. To Lord Brougham belongs the memorable part of standing in the way of reform, and of thus aggravating the difficulty of obtaining it.

ART. VII.—*The History of the Revival and Progress of Independency in England, since the period of the Reformation, with an Introduction, containing an account of the development of the principles of Independency in the age of Christ and his Apostles, and of the gradual departure of the Church into anti-Christian error, until the time of the Reformation.* By Joseph Fletcher, Editor of the 'Select Works and Memoirs of the late Dr. Fletcher,' &c. London: John Snow. 1847.

It is impossible to contemplate the leading events of the political world, or the great questions which are now agitating the churches of Christ, and the councils of anti-christ, without regarding the subject of the work before us as one of inconceivable importance; and that man is no prophet, who does not see, that it must shortly become the grand controversy of the world? Are the realms of conscience to be governed by man or by God? Are the churches of Christ to be regarded as voluntary and independent associations, or as mere vassals, subject to the will, and dependent on the pleasure of task-masters? These are the mighty questions, in which the followers of Christ and the rulers of the world are, at present, most deeply concerned. As fast as the hours can carry us, we are advancing towards the crisis, the grandest in the annals of time, in which these questions must be decided. Whether we turn our attention to newspapers or religious periodicals, to the signs of the times or the sure word of prophecy, we hear distinctly the clash and roar of a battle, at no great distance, which will shake the earth, and settle the boundaries between

* See Dr. Franklin's indignant retort against convicts being sent to North America. 1750.

† Blackstone and Eden warmly opposed the desecration of Botany Bay by making a convict settlement of it. 1780—5.

‡ In one of his earliest and best works Mr. Bentham denounced convict transportation by the detail of its inevitable evils.

§ Archbishop Whately has been engaged for eighteen years in exposing the evils of transportation.

human and Divine authority, speedily and for ever. In the existing state of things, neither the rulers of the world nor the churches of Christ can carry out their purposes; and there is nothing to keep the wheels of time from a dead lock, but a speedy and final settlement of the conflict between human laws and the word of God.

Any apology, therefore, for a work so seasonable, as the one before us, excepting as it may serve to show the modesty of the writer, will appear, we feel assured, to our readers, a mere waste of paper. A few years back, when our good, easy dissenters were wrapt in elysian dreams, that ecclesiastical despotism, if left alone, would be kind enough to destroy itself, a few preparatory sentences of apology, from an author who ventured to disturb their slumbers, might perhaps, for his own safety have been desirable. But the events of a few short months have called back millions, already, from the land of visions to the stern realities of life; the drowsiest amongst us are now opening their eyes to the fact, that war is at our gates; and, though the faithful sentinels, who sounded the first alarm, were rebuked as disturbers of the peace; no one, now employed in furnishing suitable weapons for the conflict, will be condemned by his comrades as troublesome or officious.

Our author therefore, in the present instance, may safely give his anxieties and apologies to the wind. His present production will not be regarded by any one as born out of due time; and we shall be greatly mistaken, if those, who read it as attentively as we have, do not acknowledge that, in addition to its seasonableness, it is possessed of great intrinsic worth. Within the same compass, it has rarely been our lot to meet with a larger amount of sterling good sense; and we know of no work, in which the subject of Independency is exhibited with so much clearness and force. More brilliant, pointed, or subtle disquisitions on portions of that subject, are sometimes to be met with either in ordination sermons or in productions of the press; but so clear, tangible, and convincing an exposition of the whole question we have never before seen. Instead of perplexing himself and his readers with minute details, Mr. Fletcher has very wisely and ingeniously reduced the whole subject to three great principles; well assured that, these being established, the settlement of all minor points will follow as matter of course. He lays down therefore as his first proposition, that 'every *individual* is independent of human authority in all matters pertaining to religious faith and practice.' Secondly, that 'every congregation, or local church composed of Christians, meeting in one place, is independent, internally and externally, of all human authority in matters of religion.'

Thirdly, that 'the churches of Christ in their *aggregate character* are independent of all state connection, sanction, influence, and subordination whatever, as independent communities, whose catholicity or oneness is religious, and for religious ends only.'

After a very judicious and luminous statement of these principles, and a most triumphant appeal to the testimony of Christ and his apostles in proof of their validity, in a line of argument strikingly direct, forcible, and in many respects original, our author enters upon the history of subsequent ages; pointing out as he goes along the various ways, in which one principle of independency after another was corrupted and destroyed. But this was no pleasant task. To pass from the Christianity of Christ and his apostles to that of synods and bishops, popes and fathers, must have been like stepping out of Goshen into the surrounding darkness which might be felt; and we do not wonder that, like Christian when entering into the valley of the shadow of death, our author should shudder at the prospect of the dismal path he had to tread.

'We now,' he says, 'take leave of this portion of our subject, in order to review the history of the church of Christ [1] in ages succeeding the apostolic. We seem to be passing from holy to common ground. . . . The personal ministry of the great Head of the church has ceased. Apostles no longer watch over the disciples. Every living inspired voice is silent. The footsteps of infallible men no longer awaken the echoes in the peaceful vale, where the sheep are gathered. The age of miracles is past. Nature resumes her ordinary operations. Prophetic warnings sound in our ears respecting grievous wolves that shall devour the flock, and false teachers that shall lead astray, but no infallible living guide remains to set things in order, to rebuke or even to reprove. . . . We seem to leave the bright circle in which heavenly voices, actually blending with the human, syllable forth the indications of the Divine will, directing, instructing, warning, reproofing; and we descend to the common earthly ground, where human voices alone are heard—a mingled and confused sound—and only replete with truth and harmony in so far as they echo the sentiments of the Written Word.

'Let us descend, then, and 'try the spirits whether they be of God.'—pp. 96, 97.

Between the realms of light and darkness, there lies, in the age immediately succeeding the apostles, as our readers are most of them aware, a kind of twilight region, which our author next proceeds carefully to explore. For this purpose he avails himself largely of the researches of Leander, Giesler, Mosheim, Bingham, Whately, Coleman, Bennet, and the Biblical Review; under whose guidance, he shews most clearly, that the testimony of Clement, Polycarp, and Justin Martyr, is decidedly in-

favour of independency; and that the alleged counter-testimony of Ignatius, in consequence of the shameless liberties which subsequent ages have taken with his writings, is utterly worthless. The glaring discrepancies between the longer and shorter Greck texts and the recently discovered Syrian version of the epistles, to which the name of the good old martyr has been appended, are distinctly pointed out; and the quotations from competent critics, with which our author has strongly fortified himself, are such as to render his position impregnable.

In the next age, we see the effects of a gradual but decisive and fatal innovation. The idea of a visible catholic church, unknown to former ages, now begins to prevail. A presiding bishop learns to style himself, not *a* bishop, but *the* bishop of the church, and at length wholly engrosses the episcopal name, in distinction from his fellow bishops or presbyters, whom he regarded, till now, as his equals. Greece, in imitation of her political confederacies, introduces the practice of convoking synods or councils, as they were subsequently styled by the Latins; which, though at first nothing more than friendly associations, gradually acquire authority, and sap the independency of the churches. Now it was that Levitical analogies were most effectually employed to corrupt the simplicity of the Christian ministry, and advance the growth of hierarchical pretension. Distinctions between the clergy and laity, town and country, metropolitan and other bishops, now begin to prevail; Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, &c., as important cities and scenes of apostolic labour, demand from other cities the acknowledgment of their metropolitan superiority; and Rome begins to whisper that she is the mistress of them all. As a natural consequence the word of God loses its authority, and the doctrines and ordinances of religion are gradually perverted and changed. Baptism is confounded with regeneration; episcopal confirmation is added to baptism; the eucharist, no longer a feast of commemorative love, is converted into a sacrifice; and no one must partake of the bread and wine, until they are offered upon the altar by a human mediator or priest. As a matter of course a gorgeous hierarchy must have a gorgeous worship; and the ministers of religion, though still nominally chosen by the people, begin to reign like kings or despots over the professed followers of the Lord. In Mr. Fletcher's observations, on what he styles the second post-apostolic age, or the age of innovation, all these points are handled with much force and precision; and we cannot but regard this chapter as by far the ablest in the volume.

The period from Constantine to Charlemagne, and onwards to the separation of the east and western churches, our author

denominates the third post-apostolic age, or the age of subversion; and shews in what way, through the union of the church and state, the last traces of religious freedom were obliterated. The next age, from A.D. 1073, to 1517, he shews to have been of the purest despotism, in which the 'Man of Sin,' was suffered to reign in all his glory. A valuable appendix on 'the assembly at Jerusalem,' 'the Epistles of Ignatius,' and 'the Forgery of the Clementines,' follows and completes the present volume, the only one, we believe, as yet published; though we hope it will not be long before the others make their appearance.

Had our space allowed, it would have afforded us great pleasure to enter much more fully into the merits of this judicious and well-timed production, and to have gratified our readers by copious citations. But with one or two remarks, on the literary qualities of the work, we are compelled to bring our observations to a close. From what we have already advanced it will be seen, that, in our judgment, the manner, in which our author has hitherto executed his difficult undertaking, is on the whole highly satisfactory. Remarkably free from the slightest taint of sectarianism, he writes, throughout, with the spirit of one who is anxious only for the truth, but is at the same time justly confident of the validity and worth of the principles which he maintains. His reasoning, on every point, is sound, massive, and clear; and his style firm, simple, and perspicuous; and, therefore, admirably adapted to the nature of his work. Occasionally, however, he has suffered himself, apparently with a view to effect, to be drawn away from his own manly simplicity of thought and expression into a declamatory diffuseness, which, in historical, not to say philosophical writing, cannot be reconciled with good taste. In these passages, without considering sufficiently how widely the historical style should differ from the oratorical, and how essentially from the peculiar character of his mind, the style of one writer ought to differ from that of another, Mr. Fletcher appears, evidently, to have taken for his model, the late excellent Dr. M'Al. Hence, his eloquence, like the gait of a person attempting to keep step with another of very unequal stride, is in the cases alluded to, over-strained and artificial: full of the laboured inversions, measured pauses, and wearisome antitheses of the original, without the polished gracefulness, the lofty conceptions and dazzling fancies which gave them attractiveness and power.

In discharging the duties of a friendly critic, we say, let all ambition of ornate or impassioned eloquence, especially in the prosecution of such a work as the present, be laid aside: assured, from the more masculine qualities of our author's mind, that a higher fame is within his reach. With a retentive

memory, a solid judgment, a clear, philosophical, perception, and a strong and comprehensive grasp of thought, together with a large amount of that kind of imagination, which the calm dignity of philosophical history requires, Mr. Fletcher's own genius, if he gives it fair play, cannot fail of insuring his success. We venture, therefore, to say, let all oratorical models be laid aside, let semi-poetical phrases, (and therefore in prose semi-barbarous) such as 'chronicled,' 'syllable forth,' 'pale his light,' together with such expressions, as 'Shade of Clement,' &c., be for ever avoided—let him use his own words, trust his own powers, and he cannot but prosper. In justice, however, to our author, we are bound to say, that these blemishes, are very few and of comparatively trifling importance, and that a better work on the subject of Independency we have never seen.

ART. VIII.—*Political Economy, and the Philosophy of Government; a series of Essays selected from the works of M. de Sismondi, with an Historical Notice of his Life and Writings.* Translated from the French, and illustrated by Extracts from an unpublished Memoir, and from M. de Sismondi's private Journals and Letters; with a Preliminary Essay, by the translator. London: John Chapman. 1847.

THE first essay in the present work, extracted from the *Revue Encyclopédique* for September 1826, is entitled 'Preface to new Principles of Political Economy, and the light which they may cast on the crisis which England is at this time experiencing.' In that essay it is said, describing the condition of our country in 1826:—

'Universal competition, or the effort always to produce and always cheaper has caused production by manufactures to advance with gigantic steps; but it has, from time to time, precipitated the manufacturers into frightful distress. . . . Crises utterly unexpected have succeeded one another in the commercial world; the progress of industry and opulence has not saved the operatives who created this opulence from unheard of sufferings. . . . In this astonishing country, which seems to be submitted to a great experiment for the instruction of the rest of the world, I have seen production increasing while enjoyments were diminishing. . . . I see the enterprizes of commerce embrace the whole world; its agents brave the ices of the Pole, and the heats of the equator, whilst every one of its leading men meeting at the Exchange can dispose of thousands. At the same time, in the streets of London, and in those of the other great towns of England, the shops display goods sufficient for the con-

sumption of the world. But have riches secured to the English merchant the kind of happiness which they ought to ensure him? No. In no country are failures so frequent—no where are those colossal fortunes, sufficient in themselves to supply a public loan to uphold an emperor or a republic, overthrown with so much rapidity. Twice within an interval of a few years, a terrible crisis has ruined part of the bankers, and spread desolation among all the English manufacturers. Another crisis has ruined the farmers, and been felt in its rebound by retail dealers. . . . Has not England, by forgetting men for things, sacrificed the end to the means? Her example is so much the more striking, because she is a free, enlightened, well-governed nation!

So far we use M. de Sismondi, and at once we part from him, meaning, on the present occasion, to take no further notice of his work, bearing him much respect as an earnest, but not deep inquirer after truth, and praising his writings as always affording us instruction. We have quoted the passage as an introduction to our remark, that England is again involved in another crisis, such as M. de Sismondi deplored in 1826, and is again submitted to 'a terrible experiment' for her own instruction, and the instruction of the rest of the world. M. de Sismondi and his translator must excuse us, but we have no time for mere criticism; the recurring and now *frequently* heard-of sufferings of the operatives, who have created 'the wealth that fills our shops,' sufficing for the consumption of the world, engages all our affections, and interests all our sympathies. They compel us to leave all meaner things, and devote our whole mind to the elucidation, if we can, of the causes of the terrible crises to which England, apparently more than any other country, is exposed.

We must say at the outset that we have no intention to treat this matter as merchants or bankers, as capitalists or labourers, or to treat it as exclusively affecting the interests of any one class. However admirably each class may do its duty in its own sphere, it is not on that account peculiarly qualified to discuss questions affecting the whole community, or to make laws which under some limited or local title, like the law for regulating the Bank of England, have a powerful and continued influence on the general welfare. As long as the landlords and tenants only, constituting the agricultural interest, were consulted, the corn-laws were highly approved of by the legislature. That they were detrimental even to agriculture, is now ascertained by the exertions that have been made to improve it, since they were seriously threatened. We therefore should no more think of consulting merchants, bankers, and capitalists, exclusively, to explain the present crisis, however much it may affect them,

than of consulting exclusively the agricultural interest on the subject of corn laws. Men strongly biased by their own interest, having their views necessarily contracted by intense and continued application to one subject—not that of the general welfare, are at all times bad councillors for the legislator, and if exclusively attended to, they are equally sure to warp the views of the public writer. We profess, then, a further aim, to be reached by a wider induction, than is to be found recorded in pass-books and ledgers.

Before going further, we must try to remove an error, which meets us at the threshold, and forbids all inquiry, by asserting that crises like these are natural to commerce; and the financier who contributes to bring them on, soothes his conscience and takes refuge from responsibility in the vulgar and unfounded assertion. If the main causes of fluctuations in the conditions of society, be the variations of the seasons as to productiveness, then, as the very business of commerce is to equalize, as far as possible, the effects of these variations, to buy food at the place where it is plentiful, and bring it for sale where it is scarce; to store it up when cheap, and sell it when dear;—the principle of commerce is to prevent such crises, not to bring them on. It would, consequently, be more correct to say that they are natural in the uncivilized state of mankind, before commerce becomes extensive, but that commerce, equalising the effects of the seasons, tends to guard mankind from them. The more extensive commerce becomes, the less frequently they should return; and when they frequently recur with extensive commerce, the more needful it is for the lawmaker, instead of shielding his idleness and his ignorance behind the first error that easy credulity offers to his hand, to inquire into their causes.

Our readers, we take it for granted, cannot be ignorant of the fact that since 1793 at least, and in fact before that period, there has been, at intervals, varying from seven to ten years, a succession of crises such as are mentioned by Sismondi. They have now taken place under almost all conceivable circumstances, at the commencement of war and of peace, and in the midst of both;—before small notes were generally issued, and after they were suppressed; before the restriction on cash payments, during its existence, and after it was put an end to; with currencies wholly metallic, wholly of paper, and mixed of both; when country bankers grew rapidly into existence, and were flushed with success, and when they had almost ceased to exist from bankruptcy, or had been superseded by the more stable joint-stock associations; when paper money had no legal validity, and when it was everywhere, except at the bank counter, a

legal payment equal to gold. When the harvests have been abundant, the agriculturalists have been bankrupts, and when they have been scanty, the manufacturers and merchants have been unable to meet their engagements. As these crises have taken place under such varying circumstances, the successive causes assigned for them have been removed, or have disappeared, one after another; but still they return, and overwhelm us, and carry dismay to the stoutest hearts.

The present crisis seems peculiarly instructive, because it occurs under a system of banking, and under an arrangement of the currency which are supposed to have removed, by giving great stability to the former, and assuring the limitation of the latter—most of the causes assigned for previous similar crises. Banking has been, according to the wish of some economists, placed under the control of legislation, and no paper money is now issued without an adequate security, while its quantity is regulated by the state. Our currency is sound and convertible. Speculation is nowhere excessive; and vast exportations have not been forced, as in former periods. Our trade, it is universally said, is conducted on a sound basis. Nevertheless, the community is filled with alarm. Paper, that in ordinary times the discounters are glad to get, cannot be discounted, except at a high rate. We are assured by Lord Ashburton, and other authorities, that thirteen per cent. has been given on the best bills, and bills that in ordinary times would be considered unexceptionable, cannot be discounted at all. In consequence, much trade is paralysed. Around, and in Manchester, at the commencement of the month, of eight hundred and fifty-two cotton mills, four hundred and five were working short time, and a hundred and twenty were closed. Of 186,386 hands, about 77,000 were fully employed, 83,850 were partially employed, and 24,000 were unemployed. Numerous bankruptcies, such as took place on former occasions, have not yet happened, but it is feared they will happen; and the apprehension of them gives rise to many of our present inconveniences. There have already been at Nottingham and Manchester meetings of the workmen, and more such meetings are anticipated. Bread riots have occurred at various places. There is scarcity, and suspension of employment, and worse is dreaded. So far as these are not the palpable and immediate consequences of the failure of the last harvest, it is required of the intellect of the community to lay bare their causes, that it may be known whether they can be avoided or remedied, or whether they be incurable diseases of our civilisation.

At present the extension of railways is the *bête noire* of our greatest orators and most popular periodical writers. On

former occasions, small notes, country bankers, or unprincipled speculators, were denounced, at once exonerating the legislature from all blame. But there were no railroads at any former crisis except that of 1836-37. As they could have no influence in 1793 and 1826, it may be doubted whether they have any now, or whether they be more than symptoms, which vary according to circumstances. Unquestionably the formation of railways is one of the distinguishing circumstances of the period, and such a novel and vast enterprize must have a commanding influence on society. We, however, are only called on to consider its effects in abstracting floating capital from other occupations, and thereby causing the present monetary crisis.

To say that parliament has authorized within the last two years the application of £124,586,000, to make railways, and of this sum that £28,000,000 has been paid up, in addition to large sums previously appropriated to the same new enterprize, and that this vast amount is to be taken from the floating capital of the country, accounts at once, in the estimation of those who want capital, for the difficulty of procuring it. But of the sum subscribed and appropriated for railways, one portion pays for the land, and in the generality of cases is immediately invested in some other securities, or employed in improving the remainder of the landowner's estate, or it is laid out in consumption, and immediately increases other employments, extends wages and profits, and replaces the capital employed in bringing to market what the landowner consumes. Another large portion goes to buy the wood, the iron, and the bricks, with all the other materials of which the railway is made; and not only immediately pays the wages of all the workmen engaged in procuring or making these materials, but it replaces, with a profit, all the capital of the several merchants and manufacturers who employ men. A still larger portion, perhaps, is directed to pay the wages of all the men who are actually employed in making the railroad, including overseers, clerks, secretaries, directors, &c., but the bulk of that portion is immediately spent in consumption, and pays the wages and the profits, and replaces the capital of all the persons (farmers, millers, bakers, butchers, grocers, &c.,) who contribute to supply the wants of the railway labourers. The floating capital of all these tradesmen is replaced, with a profit, every day, and the capital, nominally applied to railways, is really transferred to them. Another portion, and a very large one, consumed in law expenses, fees to parliament clerks, &c., is partly expended on the consumption, and partly turned into capital. Of the whole sum subscribed and expended, all that portion which goes to

pay wages or salaries, and which is expended on immediate consumption through all the persons connected with railways, from the projector, who first issues a prospectus, and employs a printer, till the completed rail is swept clear of all impediments, and the first carriage begins to run, yielding an income to the proprietors, a very large proportion, far from being wholly abstracted from the general floating capital of the country, is actually devoted to replacing, with a profit, all the capital immediately employed in providing the articles consumed.

The mistake of those who are struck with the magnitude of the sum applied to railways, and assert that it is all abstracted from other occupations, arises from their overlooking this fact. Enormous as the amount appears, it is a trifle compared to the whole amount of capital in the country, as measured by the successive transfers and replacements of capital which take place day by day. Besides the land, there is nothing whatever diverted by railways from other occupations, but the labour employed in making them.

But of labour, there is a surplus in the country; and though the great extension of railways has, in some cases, beneficially raised the rate of wages, yet they are not exorbitant, and no great and necessary work has been given up or left incomplete, for want of labour. On the contrary, cultivation generally, and drainage in particular, has extended with railways. Around the metropolis, and in other parts of the country, new and splendid towns have been run up. Throughout the manufacturing districts, we hear of new furnaces and new factories; many ships too, have been built; until the check in the present spring, every branch of business was flourishing, and certainly no one has been delayed by a want of hands. Railways have created a vast quantity of employment, and have roused into activity much labour that would otherwise never have existed. But labour is the parent of capital. The labour on railways has stimulated other labour, and in every department of industry has increased production. One species of industry begets another, and every species gives profit to the capitalist—for that is at present the condition which it is expected to fulfil when exercised—and promotes accumulation. The more there is of labour, the faster may capital increase. Since they were first begun, railways have continually called into life new labour, and have created probably as much, or more capital than is required to carry them on. 'The last two years,' said Mr. Morrison, in the House of Commons, on May 14th, and his testimony, as an opponent of railway enterprize is valuable, 'have been years of business and of *saving*.' The assertion, then, that railways abstract vast sums from the floating capital of the country, does not suffice

to explain the present pressure. Those who make it think only of the nominal capital, which they compare with the amount of currency, while the only thing really abstracted from other employments, is the labour applied to railways. On the whole, the construction of them has rather added to than subtracted from the floating capital of the country. How they have influenced the present crisis, we shall hereafter consider.

The principal fact which ushered that in was the failure of the potatoe crop. Throughout Ireland and throughout the greater part of England, that was lost. The crops, too, of spring corn last year, were generally deficient. Some part of the censure thrown on railways is, that under these circumstances they have given a great stimulus to consumption. But railway projectors are no more to blame than other men for not having foreseen the potatoe rot. Those who make the accusation imply that if the harvest had been very abundant, railways would have been deserving of support; and that not railways, but the seasons are in fault. So far as such a general calamity should delay the progress of railways, that must be determined by the price of provisions and the rate of discount. Members of parliament who wish to check that progress, will find we are afraid soon enough that it is sufficiently delayed, when the workmen are discharged, and contribute to swell the mass of the unemployed, in the manufacturing and agricultural districts.

The value of the lost potatoe crop in Ireland alone has been currently estimated at £16,000,000, and we shall put down £10,000,000 for the loss of the crops last year in Great Britain, making a total of £26,000,000. Mr. McCulloch estimated the income of the people of Great Britain alone at £310,000,000 in 1839. Since that period, it has probably increased more than one-tenth; but assuming the increase to be no more, that will give £341,000,000 as the income of 1846. Adding, according to Mr. McCulloch's estimate, about £60,000,000 for all Ireland, we shall have £400,000,000, speaking in round numbers, as the income of the united empire. The most valuable of our cereal crops were last year abundant, and consequently the loss of £26,000,000, or less than one-thirteenth of the whole income of the people; while to lose a third of the more valuable cereals, is no extraordinary occurrence—is not sufficient, of itself, to account for the derangement of the whole social economy of the empire.

The loss was, in one respect, very unusual. It fell almost exclusively on the lower, and nearly destitute classes, who had nothing they could give up, and continue to live. In general, the failure of the crops is shared, in the first instance, by a great number of capitalists, and ultimately it is distributed over

a vast body of opulent consumers. A loss, twice as great in amount as that of last year, spread over the whole empire, would only have enforced more care and prudence than usual, and spurred on exertions to procure a sufficient supply. But falling on the destitute Irish, and exposing many of them, in the absence of a poor law, and with a landed proprietary, in general, regardless of their wants, to death from starvation, the government thought it necessary to interfere. Into that questionable policy, that wide departure from all general principles, we shall no further enter than to say, that a delusive reliance on the resources of the government, imagined to be almost infinite, immediately superseded care and frugality, where these virtues were most needed, promoted a great increase of consumption, prevented a sense of scarcity from reaching all classes in due season, pressed upon the money market, already weighed down with the claims of commerce, and produced a host of evils which the failure of the potatoe crop itself would never have engendered. We refer to the matter, to draw the attention of our readers to the effect of the government, at such a time, going into the market for a loan. It borrowed £8,000,000 to relieve the Irish; it borrowed, also, in the course of last year—and this, besides the temporary relief it gave last year—£2,000,000, to advance to the Irish landlords, and for reclaiming waste lands in Ireland, a part of the loan having since been transferred to railroads; and £2,000,000 to advance to the landlords of Great Britain to improve their estates, making a loan, when there was a great pressure in the money market to carry on the usual amount of commerce, of £12,000,000. In 1793, Mr. Pitt's loan of only £4,500,000, in conjunction with the French war, which was not quite so disastrous to trade, as the loss of the potato crop, preceded, if it did not suffice to cause, the great money convulsion of that year. We must assert, therefore, that the ministerial loans, amounting to £12,000,000, in 1846 and 1847, had no inconsiderable effect in bringing about the tightness of money, which has lately been experienced in every branch of trade.

But the chief consequence of the failure of the crops was the necessity to import great quantities of food. A large increase in our exports preceded the crisis of 1809, 1811, and 1825-6. Foreign loans were contracted for in England, at the latter period, to the amount of £55,000,000, which were mostly remitted in commodities. In 1835-6, too, there were prodigious exports, amounting in the two years to £163,606,368 official value, as compared to £135,020,889 exports in 1833-4. On the present occasion, the exports fell off from £53,298,026 declared value in the year ending January 5, 1846, to £51,279,735 in the year ending January 5, 1847. In 1836-7, we could

throw some blame on the United States; now we can scarcely give them sufficient praise for their assistance. There is now no repudiation to censure. The great excess in our one-sided traffic is all of imports. In several articles there has been an increase; but in bread stuffs the increase has been astonishing. In 1846, the foreign grain entered for home consumption amounted to four million, three hundred and five thousand, one hundred and eighty-five quarters, and three million, five hundred and thirty-six thousand, nine hundred and seventy-one hundred weight of flour and meal; while, in the preceding year, the grain entered for home consumption amounted to one million, three hundred and forty-four thousand, six hundred and seventy-five quarters, and the flour and meal to six hundred and thirty-two thousand, four hundred and seventy-nine hundred weight, the increase in 1846 being more than treble the quantity of grain, and more than quintuple the quantity of flour in 1845. This excess of imports continues in the present year, and amounted in the first three months to three million, one hundred and ninety thousand quarters. All this is true wealth, and though it has to be, or is paid for, it is such an addition to our means of subsistence as is calculated to fill our hearts with rejoicing. Such a vast supply commanded by our commerce is really a happy augury for the difficult times that yet stand before us. The destitute Irish, indeed, have nothing wherewith to buy the produce of foreign lands; from the practice of the only industry they are acquainted with, that of tilling the soil, they have been tempted or debarred; and having nothing, should their crops again be, as apparently they will be, insufficient, they must, of necessity, be fed by the labour of England. Our gigantic power will be, we hope, if left unfettered, commensurate to the great task; but should another failure of our harvest occur, it may be doubtful if the whole world will then be able to supply our wants. Of that dread future we do not seek to lift the veil; we see, on the one hand, in the skilful industry of our people, a wonderful power of purchasing; but we see, on the other, a possibility of another scarcity occurring over the whole of Europe, and we can only trust, without exactly seeing the way, that the closely compacted millions in these islands will even then procure a sufficiency of food.

Our special business, however, is not with the future supply, which well deserves the consideration of statesmen, who should remove every obstacle out of its way, but with the effect which the great importations of food have had on the money market. Merchants and manufacturers willingly refer their embarrassments to this cause; but it is rather singular that the difficulty of raising money is not felt by those who import and deal in

bread stuffs. Every cargo they have imported has come to a rising market, and might be instantly turned into money with a profit. For it there have been many bidders, and no want of means to make the purchase. To commerce, which at this season of dearth supplies our wants, we are deeply indebted, and it smacks of ingratitude to ascribe to its beneficial exertions the derangement of the money market, placing on its shoulders the consequences of the improvident policy of the government, and of the unthrifty enterprizes and damaged credit of every suffering manufacturer and trader in the empire. The importations of food, which are so beneficial, seem to us no more calculated than the loss of £26,000,000 by the failure of the harvest, or than the supposed employment of forty millions of capital in railways to explain the general derangement of trade now complained of.

All these circumstances have been influential; but the mode in which they have operated seems to require explanation. Formerly, individuals grew corn or wove cloth chiefly to supply their own wants, and only disposed of the surplus. Now, corn is grown and cloth woven almost exclusively to sell, a happy change, which makes the prosperity of all the industrious classes,—the great multitude of mankind; for, however much skill and knowledge may lighten his task, man must still live by labour,—dependent on the prosperity of those he works for, in whatever country he may live. There is no other means of paying for cloth but by corn, or some other product of labour, and thus the real payment for the produce of one industrious man is always the produce of some other industrious man. The Manchester cotton spinner is paid by bread, bacon, and groceries. Accordingly, the value of what is produced in Manchester depends not exclusively on the labour employed in producing it, but on the quantities of other things produced for which it is to be exchanged. It is this circumstance which makes the failure of the crops so influential on trade. The value of the produce of the manufacturer is lessened materially by the failure of the harvest in Ireland.

Had the importations to which derangement is ascribed been over and above the ordinary harvests, they would have added to the value of the manufacturer's products, and we should have heard no complaints; but being substituted for losses they are blamed, as if they had caused them. The wheat, oats, bacon, and butter, usually imported into England from Ireland, and constituting the real payment for much of the labour of Manchester, were this year not to be had. Not the exportation of gold, not the importation of corn, but the want of importations from Ireland has reduced the value of goods in Manchester. Unfortunately

there was another failure of a similar kind in the United States which affected Manchester in the same way. The cotton crop, the payment for much of the finished manufacture, was deficient. The total quantity of cotton in Liverpool, London, and Glasgow, which is the best criterion of the deficiency, as that is the stock to which the manufacturers have immediate access, was on April 30th, 1845, one million and forty thousand five hundred and four bales; 1846, nine hundred and sixty-six thousand one hundred bales; and 1847, six hundred and forty-eight thousand three hundred and fifty bales; showing a decrease of about forty per cent. in the present year, as compared to 1845, of the quantity of raw cotton offered to the manufacturer in exchange for his finished goods. Thus both the quantity of cotton and the quantity of food to be exchanged for manufactures have suffered a serious decline. While the manufacturers must give more for the raw material, their finished production fetches less. Similar facts are true of other manufactures, though they do not suffer in the double manner that the cotton manufactures are suffering. Considering the extent of the operations of the numerous trades connected with cotton, such a combination of circumstances explains their difficulties, and is almost sufficient to explain the national embarrassment.

Manchester, in truth, and we use the term to represent the manufacturing interest of England, is affected by the potato rot. Some insects, in the United States, or something in the soil, have, by lessening the cotton crop, lowered the value of our products. Those who are unable to sell at the prices they expected, and within the time they expected, find a difficulty in taking up their acceptances. They want a great deal more than their accustomed money accommodation. Those who deal in money, or have to lend, are as well acquainted with the circumstances which have influenced the value of their manufactures as the manufacturers themselves, perhaps better. They look forward, too, because they lend for repayment; and they are aware, as the means of payment have to such a great extent failed, that the depreciation of the value of manufactures must continue or be increased. Of course they are not so ready as in abundant seasons to lend; in many cases they will not lend at all, and in others require a high premium, or rate of discount, for the increased risk they run. Hence from the failure in the crops, comes tightness in the money market.

This teaches us a not unimportant lesson. The manufacturers have a strong pecuniary interest, we see, strictly coincident with the interests of humanity, in the welfare of the peasantry of Ireland; were they, in general, well provided for, habitually opulent instead of subsisting only on lumpers, they could spare something

still for the products of our manufactures in spite of the loss of their harvest. But, being so wretchedly poor, their loss not only deprives the manufactured articles of value, and checks the credit of the manufacturers, it also, from the necessity to maintain them by a loan, lessens the power of lenders to accommodate the manufacturers. The destitute are driven to feed on their stock and their seed, and thus their poverty forces them to eat up the germs of the future prosperity of Manchester. Its markets at present have failed, and in future will be diminished. The growing prosperity of the United States may partly supply the loss of the produce of Ireland, but the declension of the sister island for years, which cannot it is believed under our present policy now be averted, will be a permanent injury to the people who were paid for their labour by the bacon, butter, meat, and corn, imported from Ireland.

What is true of the destitute condition of the Irish peasantry is true of other labourers. On their abundance, if abundance they have, the capitalist, by a reduction of wages, when a struggle ensues, can fall back, and then they share with him one general calamity. It is spread over a greater number and more easily borne. But when the labourers are habitually destitute, as is the case generally with the Proletarii of Europe, they have nothing to give up, and when the harvest fails, must be provided for by the state or the workhouse. It is greatly, then, for the advantage of the opulent that the poor should have abundance, and their general destitution, as is now exemplified by the Irish, when any loss occurs, is sure to overwhelm capitalists with ruin. We shall understand the whole phenomena better by now turning our attention to credit.

Mr. Tooke observes, speaking of the crisis of 1792-3, which he calls a memorable derangement of commercial credit, that 'one of its principal causes was an undue extension of the system of credit.' Of the crisis of 1836-7, he says, 'it was quite clear in the spring of 1836, as it had been in 1825, that a considerable part of the speculations in shares could only have admitted of proceeding to the length that they had done by an undue extension of credit, which allowed full scope to the delusive prospects then held out.' He further says, 'the revulsion of credit, and the fall of prices in 1836-7, were the necessary consequences of the previous undue extension of credit and exaggeration of demand.' From the undue extension of credit, which is nearly as perceptible now as in 1792-3, 1824-5, 1836-7, it is customary to conclude against all trading on credit, and under the name of speculation to denounce it as a moral delinquency. The derangement is at no time confined to one country. That of 1792-3 was spread over the continent of Europe; that of

1824-5 extended to all South America and part of Europe; that of 1836-7 included the United States; the present derangement has already affected France and India, and will probably yet embrace a wider circle. However undue may be the extension at times of credit, so universal a practice as trading on credit must have a natural foundation. By tracing it to its source, and observing the laws it ought to follow, we shall more distinctly ascertain its due boundaries and the extent of the divergence. We must know the real uses of a thing before we can tell in what manner and to what extent it is abused.

The just foundations of all credit are the short periods in which the wants of man occur, and the long periods required to procure the means of gratifying them. Hunger, returns daily, or rather twice a day, but bread, from sowing the seed in autumn, till it comes from the bakehouse, requires a year to prepare it. A still longer foresight must be exercised to provide an ample supply of flesh meat. Two, three, or four years are required to bring meat of different kinds to perfection. We want our breakfasts every day, but tea or coffee is not grown and brought to us in less time than bread and meat are prepared. In the great system of division of labour, which is of no mortal contrivance, unless man with all his affections, aptitudes, and intellect, have created himself, and which has for its object the supply of our daily wants, the rewards of some foreseeing toil are not realised for years, while other toil is completed and rewarded in a few hours. The farmer, the grazier, or the India merchant, has to wait a year, or two years for the completion of his produce, but the baker makes and sells his bread in less than a day. A part of the grazier's produce is the hide of the animal, on which he expends labour and care for years before he can sell it; the butcher flays the dead ox and disposes of the hide in a few hours; the tanner does his part with it in a few months; the currier in a few weeks; and the shoemaker in a few days. So through all the varied departments of industry of which these are only illustrations, it requires very different periods to perfect and bring to market different and equally useful commodities. It is usually said, that those who require so long a time to prepare their commodities, subsist in the mean time on previous savings. But this cannot be true, for nearly all the wealth of the world is annually created and annually consumed; much of it, like bread and milk, is of daily production, and whatever a man's wealth or power over the labours of others may be, there nowhere exists at any one moment a supply for a single individual of all useful and agreeable things more than will suffice for the consumption of a few days or hours. It is well known, too, that farmers, whose operations

require the longest periods to complete them, are not in general men of large capital, but an indebted race, who obtain many of their daily supplies by their daily toils, while the animals, or the corn, they are afterwards to sell, are growing under their care to perfection. There exists naturally a great difference in the times required to prepare and bring to market equally useful commodities; and there does not exist any stock ready prepared on which those can daily subsist who are preparing commodities requiring the longest periods to perfect them. Those who prepare them must in the mean time be subsisted, and generally by the labours of others; that is, for the general benefit, or the commodities they are preparing would never be brought to market. These great facts are the just foundations of all trade on credit. The power of the capitalist over labour is the means by which the results are brought about, but the foundations of the credit are these natural facts. It is perfectly clear, that all the operations which require great length of time and much foresight, must be given up, unless credit were the rule, and each person would feel bound to provide for his own daily wants. Thus credit is as indispensable to the progress of wealth as the division of labour of which it is a part and the complement.

The principle gives us the measure of credit. A farmer borrows through the spring and summer up to Michaelmas, or contracts obligations because he knows or expects that his growing crops will then enable him to pay all his creditors. A merchant accepts a bill which somebody discounts on his faith in a cargo which he expects from abroad, or he draws a bill on one he has consigned to some correspondent, knowing the goods will give him, or his correspondent, ample means to take up the acceptance. The manufacturer gives a bill for the raw cotton he requires, expecting by the time the bill is due that enough of his produce will be disposed of to enable him to pay it. Thus, the measure of the amount of credit which an individual, and which all the individuals, engaged in business may take, is the quantity and value of commodities coming to market within a given time. It all rests on future production, or the full and successful completion of human labour. Although modern contrivances, by facilitating communication and production, have shortened the time in which some commodities are brought to market, so as to shorten the future on which credit is taken, yet as society has advanced, foresight has been extended, the sphere of supply has been enlarged, and an increasing number of objects have been made the basis of credit and of calculation for the future. There is a continued accession of new and extended enterprises, all of which will be the foundation of new credit; and when in addition to the credit justly taken by all those

who have commodities on their way to the market, we find governments and individuals in no wise engaged in production who have only revenue, or a share of other people's productions, on which all the credit that can be legitimate has been taken,—also coming into the credit market and continually borrowing large sums, the rule by which the producer and the merchant can be guided is continually obscured and disturbed. The rectification of their errors,—the adjustment of their hopes to the stern realities of life, brought about at intervals, constitutes the crises, which are full of confusion and misery. What is commonly called the derangement of commercial credit, should be named its rectification, or its restoration to order.

It is plain from the nature of hope which casts its own roscate hues over the future, and is the actuating guide in measuring credit, and from credit being continually taken to an enormous extent by government, and individuals who have nothing, and are to have nothing to redeem it, that credit is at all times fully taken to the amount naturally warranted. It is ever close up to the means of payment. There is always in fact a tendency to overrun them. From this circumstance, any great disaster, a destructive conflagration, a great number of shipwrecks—a failure of the harvest, brings credit to the test of real commodities, and it is ever then found to be in excess. Human skill, aided by all the power which a knowledge of nature can bring to its aid, does not come up to human hopes. Something is sure to happen every few years to check the wild expectation of unfounded avarice, and convince those who undertake to rule the markets of the world, that they are but creatures and servants of a higher power than themselves. Deficient harvests accordingly, as in 1846, and in 1792-3, 1810, and 1836, have very generally been the correctors of false hopes, and the forerunners of crises like the present.

The first person who feels the difficulty, is the enterprising capitalist who carries on a large business, as almost all capitalists now do, partly on credit. He cannot get discount easily; there is a great competition of capitalists for more credit, and the rate of interest rises in the market. The higher premium cuts up all the capitalist's expected profit; his motive for activity and enterprise, if it be in the first instance intensified, to overcome his difficulties, ceases, when he finds them insurmountable, he dismisses his workmen, or he freights no more ships, or he sends abroad no more orders; and, although the enterprising capitalist be the first to suffer, all other classes soon come to suffer through his failure. In fact, he is entrusted with the resources of the nation, and from some mistake has misapplied them. This, we believe, is the general course. First

comes a failure of production, then tightness in the money market, as credit, is seen to be in excess, then the inability of merchants and manufacturers, and all others who rely on credit to meet their engagements; bankruptcy, the suspension of many hopeful enterprizes, the stoppage of much employment, the deprivation of so much wages or means of daily subsistence follow; and hence from credit overpassing the quantities and values of commodities, those wide spread derangements arise, which periodically carry distress and misery through the whole world of commerce, and through all the families of productive labourers.

The extent to which our railways have operated to hasten the present crisis, may now be estimated. They are enterprizes of which the fruit is only realized after long periods. But the beginning operations, particularly all those connected with the Houses of Parliament, and the law and the purchase of land, transfer to many persons, such as attornies, solicitors, barristers, and land-owners, a considerable power over the credit market. A number of additional competitors for credit, based on the future production of railways is created. The quantity of credit taken being always as much as possible, is considerably augmented, while the produce to answer that credit cannot be realized for some years, in many cases never. The more distant the realization, the greater the chance of failure, and of something occurring, like a bad harvest, to bring credit to the test of fact, and prevent the success of the railways. They are a somewhat remarkable example of an enterprize extending over a number of years before it can yield the expected returns; they add, therefore, a large element of probable derangement to the credit market, they are necessarily abundant in delusive hopes, and necessarily call forth the vituperations of those rival claimants on credit whose operation they impede by competition, and bring to an earlier test of reality, than was expected. The difference between the expectation and what is actually realized, not the amount of capital embarked, as in all the other operations of trade and production, is plainly the real measure of the injury done by undue speculation in railways. We must express our regret that the legislature should interrupt their progress, for, except its own foolish bills or grants, we see no reason why it should interfere with the capital to be embarked in railways which would not justify its interfering with the capital to be embarked in draining land, in building houses, or in erecting factories; for each and all these may, in taking credit, as much surpass propriety as railways.

By the daily and weekly journals much is attributed to the action of the Bank of England and the currency. We have

said nothing of either. A careful examination of Mr. Tooke's doctrines have long ago convinced us that the influence of both, over such crises as the present, is insignificant. In comparison to the failure of the crops, the undue extension of credit, and the introduction of new operations extending over long periods before their profitable assets can be realised, the effects of the currency and of the bank monopoly are unworthy of consideration. No change has lately been made in either to account for the present distress. The bank is placed in an anomalous position by the state. It is required to regulate the currency, while it is bound to look after its own interest, which may be temporarily adverse to that of the bulk of the mercantile classes. Under the influence of its dignity being willing beneficially to exert the power given it, disregarding for a time the warnings of facts, and overlooking for a season its own interest, it extended its accommodation almost beyond prudence in the latter end of the last and the three first months of the present year. The bank discounted bills to the extent of £6,000,000 beyond the usual amount, and gave trade on credit that additional assistance. At the same time, between last September and the present April, the diminution of its circulation was £107,008. The diminution of the bullion in its vaults within the same period, which can affect only its own liability yet perfectly undoubted and unquestioned, was less than £7,000,000. We subjoin the return, and believe it will be admitted that, unchanged as the currency has been in respect to the standard, the slight variation in its quantity exhibited by the bank returns, is quite insufficient to account for our present alarm and difficulties.

	Bank Notes in circulation.	Bullion in the Bank.	Bills under discount.
Sept. 19, 1846 ..	£20,922,232..	£16,309,292..	£12,321,816
April 3, 1847 ..	20,815,234..	10,182,408..	18,627,116

It is plain that the amount of bullion in the vaults of the bank, and of bank paper in circulation, are no index to or measure of credit. If the quantities and values of commodities coming to market within a given time are large, and the commodities are speedily expected, and the bills on account of them have only one or two months to run, the accommodation given by the bank, as the bills are successively renewed, and fresh commodities continue to arrive, may amount to six or twelve times its circulation. As the commodities are further off in time, and the bills have longer periods to run, the accommodation will be some less multiple of the bank's means. The accommodation varying between £240,000,000, and £40,000,000 will not depend on the bank, but on the bills and commodities

of its customers. Currency passing from hand to hand will always be obtained when commodities in demand are for sale. It is not too scarce now to pay for cargoes of corn; or to purchase articles of daily consumption. Ready money dealers or dealers on short credit, experience no other difficulty than that which arises from a diminution of consumption, which is common to all retail trade. Wholesale trade, which now suffers from want of discount, is mainly carried on without the intervention of a single sovereign. Thus, as long as the standard of value, whatever its nature, be not tampered with by the government, the quantity of currency is of no importance whatever to our wholesale trade, and of very little consequence to our retail trade. It is natural enough, certainly, but it is an obvious error for those who seek accommodation, and receive it through the immediate instrumentality of bank rules, to imagine there is a scarcity of the instrument when the accommodation is refused, though the real scarcity is not of notes, but of commodities to repay the accommodation. All real trade 'kite-flying' falls under the jurisdiction of the law, not of science—resolves itself into barter, and whenever commodities which are usually exchanged for each other are equally abundant, the means of readily and advantageously exchanging them will always be found. When either is in excess or deficiency, no amount of currency can restore the balance.

We beg not to be misunderstood as offering by these observations any defence of the monopoly conferred on the bank of England, of the restrictions on banking and bankers, and of the solemn falsity enacted by the legislature, that gold is invariably of the same value. Banking as a part of trade, and currency as its instrument, should be uninterfered with by the state, and be left to the natural laws from which all commerce flows. But our regulations were not made yesterday, and if they be injurious now, they must be at all times injurious. We believe they are; they violate principle, and inflict as deep an injury in prosperity as in adversity. They have had no great influence in causing the present distress, and on account of that only, they should not be altered. To all such regulations production and exchange accommodate themselves, though feeling at all times the inconvenience. On principle, undoubtedly, they should be altered or abrogated, but not at the desire of needy men whose incorrect anticipations have led them into difficulties. To comply with their demands, would be only to abolish in haste one noxious regulation, and substitute for it another still more noxious.

We might show at some length, that the remedies generally proposed confirm our views. They all have for their object to

give relief to the enterprising capitalist, by enabling him to postpone his actual payments. He wants more credit, and all these schemes end in proposing to give it. They would enable the debtor to postpone the day of reckoning; it is not clear that they would enhance his ability to pay. But, however interesting, we cannot now consider this part of the subject. According to our views, the principal causes of crises at all times is an undue extension of credit, sooner or later corrected by short harvests, or some other failure in customary productions. New enterprizes of protracted duration are amongst the many causes which lead to an undue extension of credit, while the interference of government and those who live on revenue with the credit market, are amongst the main causes of its occasional or continual derangement. Temporary and trifling effects may be produced by the action of the currency, of banks and other bodies dealing in money, though subordinate to the general regulations which govern them, which may be excessively injurious, but to which as long as they are permanent, commerce accommodates itself—these effects are trifling in comparison to the natural causes for crises, such as the variations of the seasons, and the ill-regulated hopes of traders. That a love-sick girl should be led astray by such delusions is too common a folly of youth to excite any surprise; but that grave merchants—men whose success depends on the accuracy of their calculations, whose very business it is to weigh and measure all the chances of seasons, and of all customary changes, should be continually as much in error as a hopeful maiden, excites astonishment. We discover nothing in legislation which can supply a remedy for such aberrations. If corrected at all, they can only be corrected by the progress of knowledge, and by removing a moral cause for them which may perhaps be found in the political constitution of society.

According to this view, the active, enterprising capitalist, who carries on business partly with his own and partly with borrowed capital, is the chief agent in bringing about the crises. The landowners and the labourers are only sufferers by them, and not their active causes. By the repeal of the corn-laws, the former have been saved by the statesman they abhor, from the universal execration which would have fallen on them had their favourite laws co-existed with the present dearth. The bulk of the labouring classes have been distinguished for cheerful, skilful, incessant toil. As they have increased in knowledge, they have become critics of laws, and have demanded other legislation. Never, perhaps, were the laws more generally condemned, and at the same time more generally obeyed. Order has reigned throughout the land, and neither the ruling classes nor the employers can justly accuse the toiling masses with causing

changes from which they are the severest sufferers. The capitalist cannot get his bills discounted, but the labourer loses employment and wages. Perhaps the landlord may feel the indiscretion of the trader on credit, in a difficulty of getting his rent, but the labourer is sure to feel it in slackness of work and deprivation. With the undertaking active capitalist, the other classes, it is apparent, have a common interest. He is the soul of enterprize, and they are elevated by his success, or depressed by his mishaps. In particular the labourers are affected by his conduct, and as his hopes are correct or too sanguine, and blighted by the cold winds of reality, they are subjected to alternations of abundance or destitution. For that we see no other remedy than an habitual and general elevation of the lower classes, which shall enable them to sustain these periodical falls without being entirely ruined.

Brief Notices.

Lays of Ancient Rome. By Thomas Babington Macaulay. With Illustrations, Original and from the Antique, drawn on Wood, by George Scharf, Jun. London: Longman & Co.

WE are not surprised at the extensive popularity of this work, nor are we cynically disposed to attribute it to other causes than its merits. It deserves the favour it has won, and will continue beyond the day of its publication, to minister pleasure to the scholar as well as to the general reader. On its first appearance we noticed it at length, and are glad again to meet it in a style of illustration skilfully suited to its character and worthy of its merits.

The illustrations have been engraved, with the greatest accuracy, from designs on the wood by Mr. Scharf, partly selected from ancient monuments and the compositions of Raphael, Giulio Romano, and Montegna, and partly original. The original designs are about thirty in number. For these the most picturesque portions of the text have been selected for illustration; Mr. Scharf's object having been to embody, to the best of his ability, the vivid pictures of the poet's imagination. The illustrations he has selected from the antique, and from the Italian masters, consist of compositions, coins, and other monuments, which serve to illustrate and explain the text.

The 'getting up' of the edition is most admirable. Few volumes are more beautiful in appearance, or more elegantly chaste in their

illustrations. It is equally fitted for the study and the boudoir, and wherever found it will prove a source of refined gratification. The popularity of such publications reflects credit on the public, and will stimulate both authors and artists to labour for the permanent instruction, rather than the ephemeral pleasure, of their countrymen. We are not sorry to see the class of Annuals giving place to works of a higher literary order, and of equal artistic skill.

A Synopsis of Criticisms upon those Passages of the Old Testament, in which Modern Commentators have differed from the Authorized Version; together with an Explanation of Various Difficulties in the Hebrew and English Texts. By the Rev. Richard A. F. Barrett, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Vol 1. in two parts, pp. 823. London: Longman & Co.

THE character of this work is very fairly indicated on its title-page. The compiler seems happily free from undue pretension. This favourable impression is confirmed by the preface, which gives evidence also of his good judgment. We there learn that his 'object is to lay before the reader the principal alterations which modern critics have proposed in the authorized version of the Old Testament, together with the reasons for or against such emendations. The plan usually adopted throughout the work has been to give, in the following order,—the Hebrew text; the Septuagint version, taken from the Vatican copy, unless otherwise specified; the Authorized version; and, lastly, the explanations, both of those commentators who support the present version, and also of those who consider the Hebrew text to be corrupt, or to have been misunderstood by our translators.'

As the above plan could not be carried out to much advantage or satisfaction, without having recourse to the German critics, the author has taken care to explain himself in regard to their uses and demerits. The estimate he has formed of them appears to us so entirely just, that we cannot refrain from quoting his language: 'though their neologian or rather infidel principles are highly dangerous, yet where there is no question concerning a doctrine, or the truth of a miracle, the German critics are most valuable: for learning and abilities few can vie with them, and they often prove safer guides to the plain sense of scripture than some of our own orthodox divines; for what can be more hazardous for a man when dealing with the Word of God than to assert that a passage is unmeaning, interpolated, or corrupted, simply because he cannot understand it? Yet we find good and learned men, such as Bishop Lowth, and Bishop Horsley, falling into this error, and unhesitatingly rejecting or altering passages which a German neologian will take in a critical manner, and fairly facing the difficulties, offer a possible if not an easy solution, without having recourse to the unsafe remedy of correcting the text

upon insufficient grounds.' Of the justice of this representation we have a most thorough conviction, resulting from personal experience. But we are constrained to express our sincere regret that a gentleman so competent to appreciate the merits of the German contributions to biblical literature and exegesis, has not made more and better use of them. He has, for instance, made no use of the works written in German, such as Tuch on Genesis, a work of much repute for critical ability. Can it be that he does not read that language? But even the works written in Latin have not been duly pressed into his service, some being wholly unheeded, such as the very useful 'Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus in Vetus Testamentum,' by Maurer, which is in some respects superior to Rosenmüller's 'Scholia,' the work most largely used in the 'Synopsis.' Gesenius is, as might be expected, often quoted in the explanation of words and passages; but very unfortunately the reader is not presented with the latest and maturest views of that great Hebraist, as contained in the new edition of his 'Lexicon,' but with his earlier views, very many of which he lived to modify and even to change completely. It is, indeed, mortifying, that in so important a work, brought out in 1847, Gesenius, whose motto was *Dies diem docet*, is made to speak what he thought in his *first* edition, published in 1810, and translated by Leo in 1825, and not what he thought in 1842, the year of his death, when he prepared his last corrections and additions for his friend Robinson.

The present volume embraces all the criticisms on the Pentateuch. If the remaining books be treated in the same way, there must be at least four volumes more of equal size; which will we fear make the work so expensive that only the rich can buy it. The price is, nevertheless, moderate enough, if we judge of it by the good style and accuracy of the printing and the whole cost of production. We could heartily wish that the literary execution were more entirely worthy of the learning and judgment, which the compiler doubtless possesses. It is, however, due to him to mention, that he intended particularly to aid his clerical brethren, whom he speaks of as generally deficient in Hebrew erudition, a knowledge of that tongue not being required of all candidates for holy orders. To such his 'Synopsis' may be very serviceable; and we fully anticipate for it an extensive sale, and a place in clerical libraries side by side with Bloomfield's 'Critical Digest on the New Testament.'

History of the House of Austria, from the Foundation of the Monarchy by Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, to the Death of Leopold the Second, 1218 to 1792. By William Coxe, F.R.S. F.A.S. Third edition. In three volumes. Vols. I. and II. London: Henry G. Bohn.

NEARLY half a century has passed since Archdeacon Coxe published his 'History of the House of Austria' in three quarto volumes,

and nothing has yet appeared in our language to supersede it. The work was open to some exceptions arising from its limited range, and its too favourable estimate of the members of the Austrian House, yet it was distinguished by sterling excellencies, partly arising from extensive research, and partly from its clear and unembarrassed style. Its dimensions and price have prevented it from obtaining a wide circulation, yet two editions have appeared prior to the present. It is wisely adopted by Mr. Bohn in his *Standard Library*, and will, in consequence, doubtless, secure a far larger sale than has hitherto been commanded. It is to be completed in three volumes, of which two are already published, and we strongly recommend it to our readers as a valuable addition to their historical library.

History of the Sikhs; containing the Lives of the Goodroos; the History of the Independent Sirdars or Missuls, and the Life of the Great Founder of the Sikh Monarchy, Maharajah Runjeet Singh. By W. L. M'Gregor, M.D. 8vo. Vol. I.

The History of the Sikhs, containing an Account of the War between the Sikhs and the British in 1845-6. By W. L. M'Gregor, M.D. 8vo. Vol. II. London: J. Madden.

WE owe an apology to Dr. M'Gregor, and his publisher, for having permitted these volumes to remain so long unnoticed. It was our intention to have reviewed them at some length, but circumstances over which we had no control have prevented our doing so, and now necessitate their brief introduction to our readers. The information which they contain has been prepared in the country described, or in its immediate vicinity; and a considerable part of the contents of the second volume were 'collected in the very midst of the battle of one of the most memorable campaigns on record.' There is therefore a vividness in the narrative, a life-like character in the descriptions, not ordinarily found in such works. The author writes as an eye-witness, and sets before us the history of the Sikhs, and their military struggles with the British power, in a style which wins continuous attention, even from reluctant English readers. We do not sympathize with some of the views of Dr. M'Gregor, and deeply deplore, in common with many of our countrymen, the recent revival of an aggressive policy on the part of our Indian government. To all such, however, as are desirous of acquainting themselves with the course of Indian affairs, or of knowing the character and eventful history of the chiefs who have acted a distinguished part in them, we strongly recommend his labours. His volumes bear the impress of a sound understanding, and evince accurate and extensive information on the matters detailed.

History of the Conquest of England by the Normans: its causes and its consequences in England, Scotland, Ireland, and on the Continent. By Augustin Thierry, Member of the Institute. Translated from the Seventh Paris Edition, by William Hazlitt, Esq. In two volumes. Vol. I. London: David Bogue.

WE are glad to see this noble work in a form which will render it accessible to the great body of our countrymen. It has obtained an extensive circulation on the Continent, which is sufficiently apparent from the fact of Mr. Hazlitt's translation having been made from the seventh Paris edition of 1846. An English version appeared some years since, but, apart from other circumstances which indicate its inferiority, it contained no portion of the important appendix of *Pièces Justificatives* which add such value and interest to the work, and among which may be mentioned the roll of Battle Abbey, and other lists of the conquerors of England, large extracts from Doomsday Book, illustrative of the state of England at that period; the relation, by a contemporary of the surrender of London to the Normans; a poetical narrative of the Battle of Hastings, by an eyewitness, &c. All these additions, with others of considerable value, are incorporated in the present edition, which is to consist of two volumes. We thank Mr. Bogue for the selection of a work which adds considerably to the value of his *European Library*.

Reasons for not Observing the Fast. By J. P. Mursell. London: Clarke & Co.

THE substance of this tractate was delivered by the author to his usual week-day congregation on the 24th of March, and we should be glad to secure for it the candid perusal of all our readers. It points out with considerable force and discretion the objections which lie against such an observance as has recently been enjoined, and is pervaded throughout by an enlightened and earnest appreciation of the principles which are commended alike by sound philosophy and scriptural truth. We look upon national fasts as at all times questionable in the authority which enjoins them, and as commonly little better than solemn mockeries and hypocrisy. Should any of our readers be unconvinced on this point, they cannot do better than earn wisdom at the hands of Mr. Mursell.

The Modern Orator; being a collection of Celebrated Speeches of the most distinguished Orators of the United Kingdom. Charles James Fox. Parts I. and II. London: Aylott & Jones.

WE are glad to find that the publishers of *The Modern Orator* are encouraged by the sale of their first volume to prosecute the under-

taking. Our good opinion of the work has been repeatedly expressed. From its first appearance, we regarded it with more than ordinary favour, and cheerfully avail ourselves of the opportunity again afforded to commend it to the warm patronage of our readers. The selection of Mr. Fox's speeches is most wise and opportune. They are specially interesting at the present day, and can scarcely fail to tend the reputation and the usefulness of the series. We hope the editor will not shrink from a liberal use of his discretion in the editorial notes introduced. There is much room for them, and the acceptableness of his labours will greatly depend on the skill and accuracy with which he discharges this part of his task.

The Congregational Year Book for 1846. Containing the proceedings of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and its Confederal Societies for that year. Together with Supplementary Information respecting the Churches, Associations, Colleges, Ministers, and Publications of the Congregational Body throughout the United Kingdom. London: Jackson and Walford.

A LARGE mass of interesting and useful information is brought together and skilfully arranged in this cheap volume, the contents of which are sufficiently denoted on the title-page. To the members of the congregational body, *The Congregational Year Book* will be peculiarly interesting, whilst all others who are concerned to obtain accurate and useful information of what is passing around them will give it a hearty welcome. Few persons are aware of the immense labour which is involved in the preparation of such a work, and we hope that Mr. Blackburn will be sustained by his brethren in carrying out his project. Let us have statistics as full and complete as possible, but let us, at the same time, guard with the utmost jealousy the freedom of individuals and the independency of each of our churches.

The History of England during the Thirty Years Peace. 1816—
By Charles Knight. Numbers IV. and V. London: Charles Knight.

THIS work was commenced in February, 1846, and was designed to furnish to the many an accessible and instructive record of one of the most interesting periods of our history. The rapid growth of popular instruction, though unaided by the government, 'has created,' as the author remarks, 'a new era in literature,' one of the effects of which is that 'class literature, aspiring to be popular, but founded on narrow conventionalities, is nearly at an end.' The work before us is one of the fruits of this improved order of things. It is intended for all, and promises to be well adapted to its end. Mr. Knight has discovered, as we apprehended from the first, that he had under-

so much, and he therefore wisely resolved to suspend his labours for a time, and has somewhat modified his projected course. The work is now resumed in monthly shilling numbers, and will be completed in one volume of a thousand pages. We regard the publication with much interest, and shall take an early opportunity of noticing it at length. In the meantime, we recommend it to the hearty approval of our readers, as a work much needed, and which is constructed on an enlightened appreciation of the present wants of the public mind.

Essays on Human Rights, and their Political Guarantees. By E. P. Hurlbut, with a Preface and Notes by George Combe. Edinburgh: Maclachlan, Stewart, & Co.

A BOOK on human rights, from an American, is like a thief preaching against pickpockets. He comes before us with a practical lie in his mouth, unless his personal integrity be saved at the expense of that of his country. In the present instance we see nothing to form an exception, and therefore shrink from any analysis of Mr. Hurlbut's Essays.

Introductory Essay to Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul. By John Foster. Glasgow: William Collins.

It would be superfluous to recommend this essay. Wherever known it is held in high and well deserved repute as one of the best and most useful productions of its author, and we are, therefore, glad to meet with it in a detached form and at a reasonable price. It is one of the best companions which our youths can have, and we strongly recommend it to them as such. We know no volume so fitted for usefulness amongst the class of intelligent and reflecting young men.

The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. 8vo. Vol. I. London: Charles Knight.

WE noticed the commencement of this work in our last number, and pointed out its distinctive features. We have, therefore, only now to record the appearance of the first volume, which is one of the cheapest and best of the many useful publications issued by Mr. Knight. Such a work is pre-eminently deserving of patronage, and will meet, we are assured, with enthusiastic reception from a large class of readers.

The Pictorial Bible. By John Kitto, D.D. Part VI. London: Charles Knight.

THIS work continues to appear with regularity, and will go far to place, within the reach of all classes, the results of very extensive and multifarious research on all points pertaining to the geography, history, zoology, botany, ethnography, antiquities, and criticism of the sacred volume. We need scarcely say, that it has our most cordial approval. The heads of families can scarcely render a better service to their households, than to introduce it to their acquaintance and frequent perusal.

Patristic Evenings. By John Birt, Author of 'A Summary of the Principles and History of Popery.' London: John Snow.

THE former work of Mr. Birt, on Popery, was the subject, as our readers are probably aware of a highly favourable review in this journal, from the pen of the late Robert Hall, who described it as 'distinguished for precision and comprehension of thought, energy of diction, and the most enlarged and enlightened principles of civil and religious freedom.' Such a testimony, from such a quarter, naturally raised expectations of a high order respecting the present volume. We do not think the author remarkably happy in his title, 'Patristic' (applied to these 'Evenings,' 'because there is in them much mention of FATHERS, both ecclesiastical and lay') being a word especially alarming to many innocent people, and withal, not more descriptive than some others, of the contents of this volume. The paragraphs, without names, real or feigned, are supposed to comprise the portions contributed by the several interlocutors to the conversations; 'and the topics vary quickly and widely, as is not uncommon to conversations in which more than two persons are engaged.' It is not possible to give a particular account of the matters discussed or referred to; anecdotes, history, criticism, religious and moral observations, being strung together without more order than usually obtains in common discourse. The first two 'evenings' are chiefly occupied with persons and things relating to popery and protestantism; and the last two are mainly devoted to the Epistle to the Hebrews. There is much various knowledge and many shrewd remarks presented in a form to fill many 'evenings' with instruction and interesting occupation. As a substitute for a portion of the popular literature of the day, this work will be found very valuable.

A New French Grammar, according to the Standard of the French Academy. By Désiré Pontet. London: Houlston & Stoneman. 1847.

THE author tells us, in his preface, that 'during a professional career of upwards of twenty-eight years, both in Paris and in Great Britain,

he has repeatedly experienced the want of a plain and well-arranged grammar.' Any one who has taken the trouble of looking over the piles of grammars published either in France or in England, will agree with Mr. Pontet, that there is not a single one which is not decidedly bad. But our author is greatly mistaken in flattering himself that '*his*, the result of twenty years laborious researches, will be found better, or more simple than any before the public. In our opinion it is almost the reverse of that. Though it contains 600 pages, it is a most incomplete grammar, on a bad plan, or, rather, on no plan at all; and the most complicated and worst arranged we ever saw. To young students it will be perfectly unintelligible, and the author seems to have intended it, not for them, but for their teachers. We think that French masters tolerably well acquainted with their own language do not require such a guide or assistant; and those who want it are unfit for their duty, and will not be improved by the false, blundering, and absurd denominations, definitions, distinctions, explanations, and rules, borrowed from the old *routine*. Grammar-making is also a speculation, which, like extract-making, picks the pockets of parents without any profit to their children. For our part, we have a very poor opinion of a French master who cannot dispense with them, or whose 'twenty years of laborious researches' produce no better results than this new grammar.

The Three Divine Sisters, Faith, Hope, and Charity; the Leaven, or a Directory to Heaven; A Crucifix; or, a Sermon upon the Passion, &c. &c. By the Rev. Thomas Adams, Minister at Wellington, Bedfordshire. With an Introduction, by the Rev. W. H. Stowell, Independent College, Rotherham. London: Thomas Nelson. 1847.

THIS is one of Nelson's series of English Puritan Divines, intended to introduce a class of works less known than those which have already appeared, and itself less known, as the editor observes, than, perhaps, any of those which will be republished.

Mr. Thomas Adams, whose pieces appear in this volume, will be a new writer, though not a new name, to many. Very little is known about him—the extent of our information, or rather of our want of information, being thus truly described by the editor, 'Though not a Nonconformist, he was a *Puritan*. Though a churchman in the days of Laud, he was a Calvinist. Though unhonoured by the degrees of a university, he abounded in deep and varied learning. When he was born, or where, or how he died, we know not. He has left no diary, and found no biographer. There is no 'Old Mortality,' to explore his grave, and renew his epitaph. His only monument is in his works.'

His works, however, are a goodly monument. Good doctrinal matter, without stint; illustrations in every variety, grand, ingenious, puerile; raciness, quaintness, and pith, both of thought and expression—are the most striking features of his writings. We confess to a liking for them, above those of many of his day and class.

The pieces selected for publication are short—twelve being contained

in this volume. The introduction, by Mr. Stowell, which is of necessity mainly composed of extracts from Mr. Adam's works, is perspicuous, discriminating, and just.

Comprehensive Edition of Matthew Henry's Commentary. New Testament. London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson.

HOWEVER highly Matthew Henry's Commentary has been estimated, its sterling excellence has fully deserved all that has been said and thought in its praise. More learned in fact than it appears, full of the illustrations of Scripture, which are afforded by Scripture, erring by the excess of its thoughts and topics, and apt in quotation, and pithy in phrase beyond all works of the like kind, its past popularity is only a pledge of that enduring acceptance with which it will meet from the large class of readers who combine solid intelligence with a spiritual temper, and a supreme regard to the practical things of life and godliness.

Mr. Nelson has done well in projecting an edition of this work which will be within the reach of all classes of the community. The new features of it are—a collection of Scripture references—various readings from the translations of the Scriptures, by Wycliffe, Tyndale, Coverdale, &c.—Notes on the Manners and Customs of the East, &c.—Notes on the Natural History of the Bible, &c. &c. We have much satisfaction in commending the edition as a valuable, and well-executed one, to all who wish for a comprehensive, able, and practical, comment on the Word of God.

Nelson's British Library.

THIS consists of Shilling volumes of interesting and instructive reading. They are neat, entertaining, and useful. The pieces included are of almost all kinds, of good aim and tendency, and well suited to engage the attention of many besides youthful readers.

The Buonaparte Letters and Despatches, Secret, Confidential, and Official; from the Originals in his Private Cabinet. 2 vols. London: Saunders and Otley, Conduit Street, 1846.

IF we are not mistaken, this is a translation of a work published in French, in the year 1819. Of the way in which it has been presented to the public we cannot speak without condemnation. The publishers ought to have had it carefully translated, and copiously edited by competent workmen, whose names would have guaranteed the fidelity of their workmanship. The history of the papers themselves collectively and separately, ought to have been given, and the authenticity of each and all placed beyond doubt. The Letters are preceded by an introduction, consisting of rhodomontade and rubbish. We submit to Messrs. Saunders and Otley, that they have ill consulted their interests by allowing their names to appear on the title-page of such a mis-shapen production.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The Pilgrimage. How God was found of Him that Sought Him not ; or, Rationalism in the Bud, the Blade, and the Ear. A Tale for our Times. Translated from the German of C. A. Wildenhahn. By Mrs. Stanley Carr.

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